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Midwest Leadership Institute

February 12-14, 1960
Moraine-on-the-Lake Hotel
Highland Park, Illinois

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February 12, 1960

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FRIDAY EVENING SESSION

February 12, 1960

The Dinner Meeting of the Midwest Leadership Institute of the United Jewish Appeal convened at 8:40 o'clock in the Ballroom of the Moraine-on-the-Lake Hotel, Highland Park, Ill., with Mr. Melvin Dubinsky, Chairman of the Institute, presiding.

CHAIRMAN MELVIN DUBINSKY: Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: My name is Melvin Dubinsky. [Applause]
And I live in St. Louis.

Eddie Warburg told me to tell you I was Mr. Morgenthau, but I didn't think that would work.

We are delighted to see so many faces here this evening. I personally want to express my thanks to you for giving up this week end to spend it with us in this conference.

When we think in terms of the sort of weather -- and I certainly don't represent the Chamber of Commerce in Chicago in February, but when we think in terms of the sort of weather you have in the Chicago area in February, and I realize that people came by train and plane, some people even drove hours just from Milwaukee to arrive at 7 o'clock this

evening, when I think about all of this, to gather together over 200 people in this room is certainly amazing.

I also have to sort of make a confession to you in saying that when we started to talk about a Midwest conference, in December in New York we talked about three or four conferences that would be held throughout the country where we could actually work with the people who are deeply involved in campaigns, we thought in terms of perhaps fifty to seventy-five people for this week end, and we have in the audience here tonight some 200 people. I think this is a great credit to you and to the people who live in the Middle West.

Now I think you would also like to know that last week end, last Sunday, we had the kickoff of our campaign, national kickoff of our campaign in Miami Beach, Florida. We only tried to attract the top level of giving in Miami. Some of the people who are here tonight -- it's amazing what your interest represents in the United Jewish Appeal. Some of the people who are here tonight last Sunday were at the conference in Miami. Some of the people here from the Middle West.

You might be interested in knowing that at our conference there we announced and raised a total of \$12,300,000

which actually represents 11 per cent increase over last year's giving.

[Applause]

You know, when we talk in terms of 11 per cent, it means nothing. I imagine if we said something about 20 per cent, the applause would be twice as much.

I just heard Herb whisper to me, "They are holding back some gifts. If they figured it all, it would be 17 per cent." [Laughter]

At this time I would like to introduce the people at the head table.

Starting at my left, I would first like to introduce Mr. David Tescher, Counsul General of Israel in Chicago. Mr. Tescher.

[Applause]

The next gentleman I would like to introduce is my co-worker and my co-chairman, Mr. David Citron of Peoria, Ill.

[Applause]

The next man I will skip. No, I will not skip the next man. The next gentleman that I would like to introduce is my fellow companion and traveler in Israel just a short

time ago, also a co-chairman from Chicago, Mr. Leonard Laser.

[Applause]

The sweet and lovable woman that we all admire all over the country who is really an inspiration to all of the men, our National Women's Chairman, Mrs. Sarah Goodman. Mrs. Goodman.

[Applause]

Josh, I am scaring you.

I will skip the next one, two, three, four and to my right we have a gentleman who was in Miami last week end. I don't think he ever got out in the sunshine. He was busy soliciting, but also one of our co-chairmen, a national campaign cabinet member, Mr. I. D. Fink of Paris and Minneapolis. Mr. Fink.

[Applause]

Commander Rickel was introduced before, but I think that I should say just one little word about him at this point. We had a service this evening. We are having a service tomorrow morning at 9:30 in the morning that will be conducted by Dr. Edgar Siskin. Now this will be the start of our program. The service should be over well before 10:30 when we get into our working sessions that will last throughout

the day, but the Commander today was sort of assisted by an organist and Commander Rickel tells me that Sunday morning he is going to help the organist serve at mass.

This gentleman's name, and I wish he would stand for a bow, is Mr. McGinnis. Mr. McGinnis.

[Applause]

Now last but not least, is the man who just came in from the races, a great man from Columbus, Mr. Herbert Shiff, a national campaign cabinet member. Mr. Shiff.

[Applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, the next gentleman I am going to introduce came to Chicago in his youth from Ireland. I have heard people say that he brought a little of the blarney if Ireland to America and to Chicago. He served as the chairman of the Chicago campaign. He has been instrumental in raising over 13 million dollars in this area. Besides serving just Chicago, he has traveled throughout America, North, South, East and West in assisting the United Jewish Appeal in attaining its success wherever funds are raised.

I consider it distinct privilege and honor to introduce Mr. Joshua B. Glasser of Chicago. Mr. Glasser.

[Applause]

MR. JOSHUA B. GLASSER: Mr. Chairman, you sweet, lovable, Mrs. Goodman, Honorable David Tescher, Commander Rickel, Amos McGinnis, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: You know, when our chairman started to introduce us along the line and started talking about this sweet, lovable, I was scared to death. I didn't know he even cared. [Laughter]

And he made a remark about blarney, and I would like to clarify something here because there is a mistaken impression about that word "blarney" in this country. A great many people confuse it with the word "baloney". [Laughter] But there is a very distinct difference. For example, if a man asked a woman her age and she says, "I am forty-five," and he says, "Gee, you don't look a day over twenty-five," that's baloney. [Laughter] But when a man asks a woman her age and she says, "I am forty-five," and he says, "Gee, I am glad to know it because I have always wanted, wandered, wondered at what age a woman reached the height of charm," that's blarney. [Laughter]

You know, our chairman started this meeting off on a wonderful theme. As far as I am concerned, it's a great success already because going to that service this evening, hearing Commander Rickel, the service and the sermon and

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accompanied by Mr. McGinnis, whose ancestors come from Donegal, and that is the North of Ireland [laughter] that was really an experience I shall long remember.

Mel started off on the theme of what a wonderful occasion occasion. Well, isn't there a song, "Oh, What a Beautiful Evening," and that's just what this is.

This is the first Midwest leadership meeting of the UJA, and the weather, whether or no, certainly did not dampen your spirit nor interest nor enthusiasm nor attendance, all of which makes this truly a wonderful evening, and another thing, it's Abraham Lincoln's birthday. No one can epitomize the things that the JDU and the UJA stand for more than Abraham Lincoln.

I want to tell you that I consider this a rare privilege, indeed, to greet men such as we have here this evening -- Mr. Ed Warburg, Mr. Moe Leavitt, Charlie Jordan and Rabbi Herbert Friedman because I shall never forget my early experiences with them when I first attended the JDC country director's conferences in Paris and visited some of the refugee camps around Marseilles and then went on to Israel.

It has been a constant inspiration to me. I saw

what has been the most perfect demonstration of man's humanity to man. There is no one -- oh, yes, I know some people object to the fact that we are having this meeting on a Friday evening and on a Saturday. I have a letter of protest from a very devoted man, but I would like to have him tell me what kind of a sermon, better sermon he can preach than the one that is being preached, will be preached here tonight, and how much good can be done by having it on another occasion. And I went back to these places where I had been a year ago and to previously and seen the wonders, and it was the only way I could truly measure the great accomplishments of these great organizations in seeing how our money was being spent and the tremendous amount of good that being done for so many.

I want to close on this one note that all of us here, Mel referred to us as people of the Middle West. Yes, the heart of America, and we'll prove to these gentlemen before the culmination of these drives that it not just a geographic connotation. Thank you very much.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Ladies and gentlemen, I must make a confession to you. I forgot to introduce one man. It was absolutely deliberate. I did it purposely. I had the

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privilege of spending several days with this gentleman within the last two months in Poland, and he was sort of my guardian angel. He sort of guided me around the country, and I know that my wife originally came from Chicago, and her family are here tonight, and I just wanted to introduce him a little later when I started to talk about Poland, and I don't want anybody to clap for him outside of my wife's family. I want to prove to her he really watched me and took care of me, the Executive Vice Chairman, of the United Jewish Appeal, Herbert Friedman.

[Applause]

Now tonight our meeting will be completely devoted to the joint distribution committee. Over the last twelve or thirteen years that I have been interested in the United Jewish Appeal, I've made certain assumptions about the joint distribution committee. I just sort of assumed the sort of work that they have been doing. I had the opportunity to see it on several occasions around the world, but I sort of took it for granted.

In spending a few days in Poland the last few months, I had the opportunity to really see the JDC at the grass roots in trying to carry out very effectively their

program of relief and rehabilitation behind the Iron Curtain, and I can tell you without hesitation and without any effort on my part to make a speech about it, that we are getting \$10 worth of value for every penny spent in Poland. The work that they carry on is magnificent. The manner in which they are taking care of people is beyond any expectation that I ever had -- the patience they are taking with them, the manner in which they are nursing them back to health. The manner in which they are giving people their dignity is beyond description.

Now when you think in terms of this sort of work being carried on not only in Poland, because Poland is only one of twenty-five countries where they carry on their good work, when you think in terms of multiplying what I saw in Poland by twenty-five, then you start to get the significance of what this organization means and what they are doing for us and for the Jews of the free world in carrying on their work.

Now as far as the JDC is concerned, there are three men who are very well qualified to carry on this part of the program in so far as this evening is concerned. I would first like to talk about Edward M. Warburg who is the

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chairman of the JDC, and he has been an inspiration to the JDC practically since he started in this work. He also served for many years as the general chairman of the UJA and at the present time he is the honorary chairman. I want to be careful about the blarney, but I can truthfully say that Eddie Warburg has been an inspiration to all of us throughout America in the manner in which he has conducted himself and the manner in which he has stayed with this problem and the manner in which he will stay with this problem until it's completed.

I think it's a great privilege and a great honor for all of us to be able to work with our communities or at a national level with Edward Warburg.

[Applause]

He is a very modest man, and he is accompanied by two illustrious gentlemen. One gentleman is Moses Leavitt, the executive vice chairman of the joint distribution committee who also served as Eddie Warburg's inspiration, and he serves also as a guiding light to many of us around the country. Mr. Moses Leavitt. You will take a bow now.

[Applause]

Charlie Jordan. The third man of this team is director general for the overseas operation of the joint dis-

tribution committee, and he has just returned from Geneva for this meeting and one or two others that we are having around the country. Mr. Jordan.

[Applause]

My part of the program is concluded, and from here on-out you will have the privilege of listening to Mr. Eddie Warburg. Mr. Warburg.

[Applause]

MR. EDWARD M. WARBURG: In planning this meeting here tonight, I asked Herb Friedman and the offices of the UJA whether it wouldn't be possible to devote one evening quietly and comfortably together discussing the program of the JDC not because I have any particular interest in seeing it isolated out, but because frankly after the many years in which we have had missions that have gone over each year, either first to Paris or to Geneva or last year to Vienna and have been briefed by the staff of the Overseas Joint Distribution Committee, each one of these people have come despite many mailings that we have sent out and the attempts we have made throughout the year to keep in contact with the workers throughout the country, each one of them have come out of those meetings saying, "Why didn't you tell us the big, large

picture, the scope and the scale of the JDC?" And it seems fantastic that in the years when we are all speaking to much and going to so many meetings that in the necessary shortness of time allotted to us at fund-raising occasions, we never have the opportunity to do anything more than hint at the program.

We could spend the whole week end discussing the history and the evolution of the methods and the procedures of the joint distribution committee. At the present moment some of us are busy helping Herbert Agar who is coming out with an extraordinary book on this subject of the meaning of the joint distribution committee, a book that ought to be out by next year, and I think will be one of the highlights in the literary as well as the philanthropic field because this book has long been overdue, and I think through its pages will come clear that the story of the JDC is not so much what it has done, but how it has done it, and I want, if I may, in my part of the program before asking Moe Leavitt and then Charles Jordan to cover the various aspects of the work, to make it a bit of a preliminary statement, and I make this statement and I know that Moe and Charles in their presentations tonight aren't making it only to you, but we are trying here to speak through you who are our loyal friends, and if anything tests

that loyalty is the fact that you came here through all this weather into these surroundings where possibly you aren't as comfortable as you might be in more chic surroundings. Nevertheless, we come together in this place where we can spend a few hours without rush and without interference by the outside goings on in order to consider these things, and I promise you from my experience last year of a similar meeting, that when you leave here, you have gotten something very exciting out of it because frankly we, none of us, have a chance to talk on these terms and in this matter. So what I am saying here and what the others will be saying, is in terms of a presentation which we hope will not only be meaningful to you, but through you to the larger community, and after we are through here, and it will not be a long presentation, I hope that you will have questions and that you will ask them, and we will have a question period, and if we find it gets going too long, we will stop it and we will find plenty of room in the program throughout the week end so you can keep asking the questions until we really satisfy you.

It is this kind of a conference that we envisage for this week end.

Now what you will hear tonight is a report of

special interest, but it is an unusual kind of report. It's a report that will deal with far-off places, with extraordinary figures, with remarkable people, but none of these is what makes this report so special. What does make it unusual is that each of you here tonight -- and every American Jew -- has had some part in the preparation of this report. For it is a report on the work of the joint distribution committee.

If we are dealing with the affairs of a corporation, we would list this as a "Report to Stockholders". Of course, the columns in the ledgers would have to carry certain extraordinary headings. Not "profit and loss" but "lives saved," "homes built," "men and women rescued and reborn".

I have said that we would deal with faraway places. Tonight you will hear the names of twenty-five countries, those in which we are doing our work at this very moment. But if we were to go back through the forty-five years of JDC's history, we would need to list the names of seventy-five or eighty countries, some of them long departed into history, but all of them countries in which at one time or another we have done our work of healing and building and rescue.

I said that we would deal with extraordinary figures,

and I would begin with the fact that in this year alone we are bringing your aid to more than 200,000 men, women and children, giving them food and clothing and medical care, giving them dignity and purpose, often giving them life itself.

But this figure -- gripping as it is -- is dwarfed by what you have accomplished in forty-five years. For in those years your aid has gone to some five million in need -- and that is as large as the entire American Jewish community.

Your help -- through JDC -- has meant the necessities of life -- a pair of shoes, a vial of medicine, a roof and a bed -- small things, but the things of life.

But these small things all together have helped to keep whole communities alive, or to revive them after catastrophe. And these small things have given life to generations which might have perished, or remained unborn. And these small things have changed the map of Jewish life -- not figuratively only but literally -- so that today not only the areas of our concern, but the geography of Jewry would be unrecognizable to those who founded JDC forty-five years ago.

On our map -- on the map of Jewish need -- on the map which is engraved on our hearts and our minds, the Polish "shtetl" has disappeared. And the names of the cities of

Germany. And lesser names, but important too, the names of cities in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and Yemen and Libya to which our lifeline of aid once reached out, but which have now disappeared, as the Jews of those areas have disappeared from them to find other, happier havens.

Today there are other names. Israel, of course, and in the first place. But other names as well. In Western Europe, particularly in France where tens of thousands from North Africa, from Hungary, from Egypt and elsewhere have taken refuge. In North Africa and other Moslem areas where ancient Jewish communities have somehow maintained their Judaism, where our aid is beginning to make the difference in their unequal struggle to stay alive.

If you as a stockholder in this unusual corporation, the JDC, were to examine the books there are other names there today which might startle you -- China, the Philippines, Australia. In some of these, there are the remnants of those who fled from war and persecution and catastrophe. In others, refugees have found hospitable soil in which to plant new roots.

Some of them live only because of you and what you are doing. For others life has begun again, but it is a life

which is still bleak, and you are the sun coming up over the dark horizon.

You are a stockholder. Let me tell you what your holdings are. I have already told you that you hold in your hands the lives of more than 200,000 men and women and children this year. More than 100,000 of them live in Moslem countries -- in North Africa and Iran. More than 50,000 are in Western Europe and Poland. Some 40,000 are in Israel, the majority under the care of Malben, the JDC program on behalf of aged, ill and handicapped immigrants.

But this represents only the beginning, although the most important part of your holdings.

For these tens of thousands of your aid is today providing a network of services and institutions, medical and child care, educational and cultural, religious and vocational, feeding and community life.

There are hospitals and sanatoria, clinics, dispensaries, mother and child health centers. There are schools and kindergartens, day care centers, talmud torahs and yeshivas, vocational training schools, a school for the training of social workers in Israel, schools for illiterate mothers in Iran, schools and classes to train nurses and kindergarten

teachers. There are youth centers and Golden Age Clubs, there are community centers and homes for the aged, there are feeding canteens and homes for orphans and other youngsters in need. Everyday there are programs and projects undertaken by our staff in a dozen languages -- French and German and Spanish and Hebrew and Arabic and Farsi and Italian and Hungarian and Yiddish and Ladino and Polish and even Roumanian and Russian.

And there is a supply operation which in addition to thousands of other items, distributes annually millions of pounds of food, and thousands of items of clothing and shoes, medicines to fight tuberculosis and tinea and trachoma and dysentery, and even some ailments that you and I might get. And we even provide prayer books and religious articles, where these are needed; and on Passover there is every year a special distribution of matzoth and matso meal and wine and kosher fat so that it may really be Passover.

And as stockholders, you are entitled to know that all of these services and programs and projects, all of the hospitals and homes and centers, all the medical aid and training is provided on five continents by a total JDC staff of fewer than 2500.

But, here there is one item which I cannot give you

for your balance sheet. For there is no way of counting or weighing or measuring what these people of JDC's staff and the others who work with them give in the way of love and devotion and self-sacrifice to that all the needs to be done will be done.

This is JDC. This is your corporation. It is what you have made it. It carries out the mission which you entrusted to it. It uses the tools and the instruments which you provide.

Because you are the kind of stockholder you are, it would not occur to you to ask: What am I getting from all this?

But we are getting something each of us individually, and all of us together.

Through this work, through the work of the JDC and the United Jewish Appeal, we have become a community. Each of us and everyone of us had, and has his memories of Kishinev and Auschwitz and the quota system and the doctors' plot and Exodus and Cyprus and the DP camps, of closed doors and closed frontiers and refugees finding no place for refuge. Everywhere there was pain and agony and anguish, and we shared that pain.

Only when we found our way to each other, only when

we had joined ourselves together were we able to minister to that pain, to ease that anguish. In this mission we found our common purpose; out of this purpose we became a community.

And it is as a community that we have given our answer. There are still refugees; but they are no longer unseen. There is still suffering; but it is no longer unnoticed. There are still cries for help; but they are no longer unheard.

And so we come, here too, to an item that no books can show, no scales can weigh, no yardstick can measure. Gratitude and love and peace of mind and fulfillment -- the gratitude of a mother for the medicine which healed her baby; the love of an aged couple to whom we have a home; the peace of mind of the family which has at last found refuge; the fulfillment of our own highest purpose. No, we cannot put them on the books, but these, all of these, are our reward.

Thank you.

[Applause]

I am going to ask our executive vice chairman, the executive head of the world-wide joint distribution committee, Moses Leavitt, known to all of you, if he would not speak in the particular sense about certain aspects of the program. I will ask him then to be followed by Charles Jordan to speak

on those aspects particularly which relate to his recent trip both to North Africa and to Poland and to that which he is so closely in touch with, the work which we don't talk about, the work behind the Iron Curtain.

I want to say before they start I have been assured, but I don't care how many times I have been assured, I still make this statement. I have been assured there are no members of the press present. Unfortunately, the work is so sensitive that the mere fact that someone looking for a headline, someone looking for a scoop might possibly drift into this meeting and take something that we were talking about and blow it up, might endanger thousands of lives.

This is the last thing that we would want to have happen, and so certainly from now on all that has been said, all that is going to be said by these two gentlemen, I am sure I speak for them, is off the record, and now, Moe, I turn the meeting over to you.

[Applause]

MR. MOSES A. LEAVITT: Thank you, Eddie. My Friends: I have chosen two aspects of the work of the JDC, the work in Western Europe and the work in Israel. Charles will talk to you about the problems behind the Iron Curtain and about

the problems in the Moslem lands. Mine is a much more pleasant task, a much more hopeful one and much more reassuring one.

It will be in a few months just fifteen years that the war ended, and when it ended in 1945 the Jews of Western Europe were a shambles. There probably were not 5 per cent who lived in the same homes or the same streets, in the same towns that they had lived when the war started. They were displaced, almost totally displaced. They were disseminated. Not only were they destroyed, but everything about their lives was destroyed, their institutions, their synagogues, their homes for the aged, their schools, more important even, the leadership, the rabbis, the professional people, the lay leadership, the professional workers. They were all gone in that great catastrophe.

When the Joint went into Europe behind the armies of the allies, it was as great a problem as ever was faced by any welfare agency in the history of organized philanthropy. I am talking about the hundreds of thousands of DP's. I am talking in terms to you of a Western Europe which was a civilized Europe, where in some countries 80 per cent of the Jews were destroyed.

Now if you will look at Europe with some 450 -- Western Europe, I am speaking of -- some 450 to 460,000 Jews, you will find a thriving Jewish life, and it seems miraculous that one can in such a short period do so much or to have the Jews themselves do so much in rebuilding not only their own shattered lives, but the shattered Jewish community life which had meant so much to them.

We helped. We helped; you helped. There was poured into those countries tens and tens and tens of millions of dollars, millions and millions of pounds of relief in kind. We sent in skilled workers, the best that American could produce, We had at one time during that period some 400 foreign service employees. Today that number has been reduced to about seventy, and what do we find today? What is the story today?

In France, in Belgium, in Holland, in Austria, in Germany, in Italy, in Greece, in Yugoslavia these are the countries that constitute and are JDC, Western Europe.

You have two-thirds of the Jews in France, and the other third scattered in the other countries, so that in France with its 300 or 325,000 Jews you drop down to the next country, 30,000 Jews in Italy or 30,000 Jews in Belgium. It's a tremendous drop. Ten per cent of the Jews in France live

either in Belgium or in Holland. The result is that you have a small number of Jews in a large number of communities, scattered all over Western Europe -- ten families, five families, one hundred families, fifty families.

Take France itself with its population of over 300,000 Jews. Paris has 150,000 Jews, and the next largest city after Paris is Lyon with 12,000 Jews. That gives you some indication of the splintering of the Jewish population in Western Europe.

What is so interesting to us, what is so important and so significant is the fierceness with which the Jews are clinging to their Jewishness in these tiny little isolated communities. "How do you stay a Jew?" Is the cry from them. "What do we do to keep our children Jewish?"

It would seem that the less number of Jews there is in the world, the stronger is the desire of the remnant of the remainder to keep going as Jews, and it's not easy. It's not easy to be a Jew in Western Europe today and to teach your children to be Jewish.

Sure, it's easy in Paris where you have 150,000 Jews, but it's not easy in the little town where there are five or six Jewish families. Where do you get the Jewish

teacher? Where do you get the mixture of Jewish families one with the other to socialize? How do young Jewish men and women meet each other so that they can learn to love each other and be married as Jews?

These are the problems. They are everyday problems for the Jews of France and of Germany and of Austria and Italy and so on, and yet they are facing these problems day by day, and there has grown up in the last fifteen years a new lay and professional leadership, and they come together once a year. It used to be in Paris, now in Geneva, this leadership of the Jewish communities.

Some of you may have sat through some of our meetings in which they discussed the problems, the common problems to all of them, and it's an extraordinary sight. It has never been done before in Europe to find Jews from Italy and Jews from Belgium beginning to talk the same language, the language that all of you as Jewish talk in your own community.

They talk of fund-raising. They talk of Jewish community centers and programs. They talk of Jewish education, all of the things that make a Jewish life in this country and in the world so meaningful to all of us.

We were able to do it. We were able to do it because

we continued to give the people in Europe the actual benefit of everything that we ourselves have evolved in this country. Western Europe today is stabilized, stabilized as much as Jewish life can be stabilized anywhere. It is stabilized as of this moment, let us say. What will happen tomorrow no one knows, but there is a feeling as you go through Europe that the people, the Jews are there, that there will be for this generation at least, a Jewish life. What will happen in the next generation is very difficult to foretell, but certainly these little pockets of Jewish life, many of them, will disappear. Nevertheless, Holland has emancipated itself and is not any more dependent upon relief from abroad from the United States or any other place.

We believe in the next year other countries will follow the lead that Holland has taken, and we will find that other countries will also free themselves of dependence upon JDC and upon the United Jewish Appeal, upon monetary relief, but that they will need the kind of advice, the kind of experience, the kind of counseling, the kind of technical experience that we have secured, that they will need for some time to come.

More and more the Jews of Europe are paying their

own way, and it's not easy to pay your way when you are a small community as some of the communities are in these countries, because communal services of the kind that Jews are accustomed to have a high price tag on them, and Jews are not as rich as they were before the war and before the great catastrophe.

This in a nutshell is Western Europe. A community of some 450,000 Jews with a hard core of about 25,000 men, women and children who will be taken care of and will have to be taken care of for the rest of their lives. Whether we take care of them or whether their friends and neighbors take care of them, they will have to be helped. The old, the aged, the sick, mutilated people who cannot ever again become self-supporting. This is our inheritance from Hitler, and it's the inheritance which the Jews themselves have, and it is on their shoulders that their burden lies.

I speak to you now about Israel. As country after country was emptied and the population without any selection whatever poured into Israel, hundreds of thousands I may say of what they call "social cases" in Israel came into the country. Hospitals were emptied in Roumania and other places. Homes for the aged were emptied. People were put on ships, and they

came from North Africa, from Yemen and from Iraq and Libya.

The tuberculars and the aged and the sick and the prodigally handicapped, they all came to Israel and came during the period when Israel was fighting the armies of the Arabs on all its borders. The burden was a crushing one, and some ten years ago the Government of Israel, the Jewish agency and the JDC organized an institution known as Malben, to begin to deal with the problem of the handicapped, the problem of the people who could not live by themselves. Many of them without friends, without families. They were totally dependent upon the good will of the Jews of Israel and the Jews of the world, and when we started to work in Malben some ten years ago, we were told that there were hundreds of tuberculosis cases walking the streets in Jerusalem and of Tel Aviv. A mortal danger to the population, to the whole of Israel.

It was one of our problems, how do we curb, how do we stem the trend of tuberculosis? We began to build hospitals. So did the Government and so did other institutions.

There were at its height over 2200 beds devoted to tuberculosis alone in a period of a few years, and then thanks to the work done in the field of tuberculosis, I can tell you today that tuberculosis is not a problem. There

are about six or seven hundred beds, and they are more than sufficient for the needs of the tuberculars in Israel, and the result of that has been that there has evolved an unified program which has not only the element of cure, but also all of the elements of prevention as well.

In the near future, we will be turning over to the Government of Israel a modern hospital of 550 beds as well equipped as any and probably better equipped than any in that whole Middle and Near East area to take care of whatever residual tuberculosis problems remaining in the country or for any new ones that may be coming in there, and as a result of the work in the field of tuberculosis and as a result of the work done in taking on the care of the aged, we developed a series of institutions with about 6000 beds in them.

Now those are more beds than the Federation of New York has under its care in all of its hospitals, in all of its homes for the aged -- 6000 beds. It's a lot of beds.

There is a staff of about 2000 in Israel working for these people. We deal with some 10,000 people a year because the beds are always occupied. We have introduced into the care of the aged all of the new concepts of geriatrics where

practiced in the United States or in England or in the Scandinavian countries or Holland or Belgium. Wherever there has been advance work and thinking and action and precedent we use it.

We had a waiting list for our homes for the aged of about 2000 a few years ago. Today that waiting list is down to practically nothing because we have learned to treat the aged not within the walls of an institution, but outside the walls of institutions as so many of you know so well in your own communities, that the homes for the aged will in the future not be for the aged, not for the mobile aged, but for the infirm aged and the mobile aged will continue to live as nearly normal lives as it is possible for them to lead, being properly taken care of by social workers, by nurses, by doctors and by careful supervision and handling by the Golden Age Clubs so that they feel themselves again a part of the community.

We have set up workshops for the handicapped. We have carried on a tremendous activity in constructive ways so that handicapped people could learn to become self-supporting and thousands of them have.

We believe that we have in the course of the last

ten years done, treated and rehabilitated physically, socially something like 100,000 people.

There was one field, however, which we did not touch. There was one field that nobody to any great extent dealt with in Israel. It was a tragic field. It was the field of the mentally ill for whom there were no institutions that one could call modern institutions, for whom there were no skilled psychiatric assistants available, and it is to this field that we and the Government of Israel at the present time are giving a great deal of time and effort and thought and money in building up a coordinated program that will do for that field of the mentally disturbed, emotionally disturbed the same kind of service that we have given in the tuberculosis field.

It means building up a core, cadre of psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers. It means setting up clinics of assessment of what kind of mental illness is involved and a whole series of therapeutic and other services which will have to be developed in the course of the next years. That is Malben. The problem dealing with people, with handicapped people, with people who apparently are in their terminal state but who if you seen them in the conditions under which they live will make you feel that they are just beginning to live

again. For many the only hope of living the balance of their lives in security and dignity is Malben, and the one motto that we place over all our homes for the aged is the one which you feel when you come is there, and that motto is: "Not to add years to life, but life to years." Thank you.

[Applause]

MR. WARBURG: Now I am going to ask Charles Jordan on who shoulders has been the tremendous responsibility of being the listening post for the needs of the joint overseas, their counselor and the administrator of the program which he and his colleagues have worked up, and certainly there is no one who can speak with greater authority on the complex problems that daily not only face him and his office, but in the many, many field trips that he makes on your and my behalf. Certainly one of the great statesmen in our field of social work, Charles Jordan.

[Applause]

MR. CHARLES H. JORDAN: Eddie, Honored Guest, Ladies and Gentlemen: I must confess that I have a problem, and I have a feeling that I share that problem with you. The problem is how can simple human beings like ourselves keep sensitive and alert and feeling about the many, these diverse,

these profound human problems and human misery with which we have been dealing now jointly over a period of more than twenty years? How do we manage to maintain our sense of proportion? How do we manage not to become what in our trade is called over-identified and hand out help with full hands, with both hands, without discriminating as between different needs or how do we keep from becoming like the famous rich man who tells a servant to throw the bag out because he breaks his heart.

Well, I have found a solution to my problem for myself, and I want to tell you about it. One is that as Eddie Warburg said, I am compelled from time to time to come back and report to the meeting of the stockholders. That is a very healthy exercise because I come to the stockholders with a profound sense of humility because it is you who are making possible the carrying on of these tremendous undertakings of which Eddie Warburg and Moe Leavitt have already spoken. But I also keep my sense of humility despite the fact that I am the administrator globally and administrators as you know are people who never have the satisfaction of knowing what's going on except in a very vague and all-embracing way, by keeping in touch with people in following through on what is

happening to people who have been given the benefit of the assistance which we can give them, thanks to your generosity. Today I just want to talk to you about some of these people and perhaps by doing so, I will state that which they symbolize in larger terms which very often are so large that they overwhelm us, and I want to tell you a little story to supplement something that Moe Leavitt said about the European situation.

I have been keeping in touch with a young man I met over eleven years ago in Europe. He is now in the United States. This boy was the son of a couple from Vienna who after Christiana fled from Vienna into Belgium where a second young boy was born, but the Germans came, and these people had to flee again and fled to France where in the meantime Vichy had happened, and this family was in turn in a famous or infamous camp called Gurs from where the husband and the older son were deported to slave labor in Germany. The woman and the little boy managed to escape and to hide and to be hidden by Christians in the South of France. In the slave labor camp at that time, the boy was eight years of age. One day the SS came and took his father away from him for deportation to Auschwitz and his father gave him his picture which he carried in his pocket, and he wrote on the back of it and he said:

"Be a good boy. If you get out of here look for your little brother and make sure that he will be brought up as a good Jew."

Father was deported and nothing was ever heard of him again, and this boy by that time nine to ten years of age escaped from the slave labor camp, made his way back to Gurst, where he found no trace of his mother and the little brother and the next seven years of his life were spent in going from village to village, from farm to farm sleeping in hills or working for farmers looking for his mother and for that little boy so he could follow the instructions of his father.

He finally located his mother and his little brother in a village in France since then, ladies and gentlemen, and that was only possible through the UJA and through the agencies that are supported by UJA.

A complete process of rehabilitation has been undertaken with this family so that today this young man at the age of twenty-eight lives in this country. He is married. He has two lovely children and his young brother is now on his way to become a very fine young man and is himself engaged to be married, and the mother, too, has found a new home in this country, and what would have become of this

family I would like to know without all of us having done what jointly we did? Multiply this by tens of thousands of people, and that gives you the totality of the work that has been undertaken in the rescue and in the rehabilitation of victims of Nazi persecution.

Now let me take you for another place to show you an example of a human being, what your money does, what your devotion and your dedication does, and how we are trying to be your agents and your representatives in carrying out this mandate.

Mr. Leavitt has referred to the fact that I have just come from Morocco. I was in Tangiers. In Tangiers there are hundreds of Jews stranded there. They are on the streets. It is with great difficulty that we can manage to put a roof over their heads against the Moroccan authorities. Who are these Jews? Where do they come from? What are they doing there?

You know that two and a half years ago after letting out 100,000 Jews to go to Israel, the Moroccan Government suddenly closed the doors and did not permit Jews to leave any more. These Jews are from the most backward places in Morocco. Many of them cannot read or write. The only thing

they know is they must leave this unhospitable country. The only thing they know is they want to make their way to Israel, and they give up everything, and they have very little, and closed the doors behind them and go on the road. They hitchhike to Tangiers because Tangiers is the port of exit. This is the only thing they know.

Fortunately, and Mr. Warburg has warned you that many of the things that we deal with are things that we must not talk to the press about, and this is one of them. Fortunately, many of them get through. Even today despite the most stringent security measures applied by the Moroccan Government, they get through, but some of them don't, and these people are subjected to search, to arrest, to jails and to deportation within their own country back to their own communities from where they came, and you will find today people drifting into a community like Casablanca and trying to move in with people in the milieu which some of you have visited and know the crowded conditions which these people live to find a little corner in a room in which already six or eight or ten people live in order to avoid having to return to their habitations in the Atlas Mountains where there is no longer a single Jew whom they can go to to be with as a community

of Jews.

We are taking care of such Jews as we believe we have a mandate from you to do, and we hope that with the most patient, painstaking negotiations which we are presently carrying on with the highest officials of the Moroccan Government, we may be able to resolve some of these problems in the foreseeable future.

We say that statistically in a country like Morocco we are ministering today to let's say 30,000 children who are in Jewish schools. [Five schools listed.]

We say that X number of Jews are coming to the dispensary which we are maintaining to get treated for various ills. We say that relief is given to so many people in so many different places and so on, but I go much further, ladies and gentlemen,

I say that American Jewry as represented by the joint distribution committee today is the only agency in the whole of Morocco as it is in the whole of Tunisia which affords a measure of legal and humanitarian protection to the entire Jewish population of Morocco.

Never mind the statistics about how many people turn up at the dispensary, and it gives a terrific morale boost

to the whole -- I use the word reluctantly -- persecuted Jewish population not only of Morocco, but of the Jews of all the Arab and Moslem countries including some of the countries in which we cannot turn proficiently and efficiently as the JDC because either Mr. Nasser or one of his henchmen would not permit us to do so.

I want to assure you, and I think it will please you, to know that we do not let obstacles like that stand in our way, but that we find means, that we find ways of getting through to these Jews who for practical purposes officially and for the record are cut off from us, but they are not cut off from us, from the JDC directly or indirectly. We manage to get through to them whether they are in Cairo, Alexandria, Tripoli, Beirut or in Kamichli which is a restricted area on the border between Syria and Turkey, and we are getting help through to the people who are in the restricted areas as if they were living under Hitler.

Now let me give you some news from other people who are for all practical purposes, official record purposes, cut off from us. Let me read you a letter which came through to us, and let me tell you something from these areas. Letters are coming from the Iron Curtain countries at the rate of 1200

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a week addressed to a variety of crazy names. Some of them simply say Joint Munich. It's delivered. One says: "Hilsha Fine, Basle." There is no such a thing. It comes to us. It comes to us. Any letter addressed to anything sounding like a Jewish welfare organization lands in my lap in Geneva.

I have an office. I have a room in Geneva which some of you I would be glad to take to which is locked in which I can show you piles of letters from the different countries in Eastern Europe addressed to those variety of names, and I have sometimes started to count them, but when I got to 35,000 I got tired of it, and I said, "Ah, the heck with it," and I let it go at that.

These letters some day, I think, will be documents that will make strong men weep when they can be used to tell the story of how Jews are deliberately being cut off from contact with the West, how one tries to make out that they are not in need of anything when they are suffering want, when the whole position is being falsified for political reasons, and I think it will also prove a wonderful document testifying to your and to our courage and to your and our determination not to let us be separated from our Jewish brethren in these countries when it is shown to what extent they nevertheless

keep in touch with us, and how we get through to them the kind of help that we can afford and that we can get through.

Here is a letter. I have the original here. I have it translated to some extent. You can't really express the nuance, the shading of the feeling of it. You have to understand it in the language in which it is written because it is written with the blood of these people.

"Dear Co-Religionists: I do not know whether it is a custom on your side of the world, but nevertheless I wish to thank you for the parcel which we received which gave us infinite joy. Everything is fine and very good for the children. My little boy loves his shoes so much that he won't give them up except when he is ready to go to bed. I am very grateful for everything, and I shall try to educate my children in such a manner that they will become human beings such as you are. My children, too, thank you very much, and they will try to become faithful members of the human race."

I could read you more letters like that.

I have here a card that was sent from a little old lady I knew in Vilna. She sent her picture. She sent

her picture from Vilna, and she says simply on the back of it in Yiddish: "That is me. Please help me in my old age."

That's all very simple. I could go on and on, but I think you understand what is happening here or what is happening when a man writes to you. "I am a very religious man, but I can't get a talis here. Please. I don't want anything else from you, but send me a talis."

And here we send him a talis, and here he sends us a picture with a little something written on the back of it in Roumanian language saying how deeply moved he is by our having responded to this request because man doesn't live from bread alone as we all know, and this is very important to these people.

Now to just review an idea of the scope of this work alone, and those countries alone about which we can never talk, which we can never refer to publicly or in this beautiful publicity that is issued by our various agencies, and we feel frustrated because of it, we are sending help today to 40,000 families in five such countries, but at an average per capita cost to all of us, and I think that is a misstatement. I should put this differently. We cannot afford to send them in most instances more than the equivalent of \$20 a year.

I have letters here in which people describe nevertheless what meaning it had to them to receive even that little amount of money because we have thousands of unfilled requests, things that we haven't been able to touch yet simply because we haven't got the money for it.

There as in the Arab and Moslem countries the story of this relief and of this help that comes in from the West spreads like wildfire in these countries, and it is the greatest morale booster for the Jews in these countries who know that the lifeline isn't broken, that there is hope, that some day again we will be able to perhaps see each other and talk to each other just as it happened with Poland, and Poland was a very important breakthrough in this respect which all gave people in other of these countries the hope that their country may follow the example of Poland and perhaps call us joint, as they call us, back to do for them what the Polish Government now permits us to do for the people in Poland.

Now what does it all add up to? I sometimes have to search my soul, ladies and gentlemen, to justify before myself and my wife and my family why I and my associates live like a bunch of gypsies and go looking after the poor and the miserable and the broken in heart and in body and in spirit.

Why does that have to continue all the time?

Well, let's face it. Despite all that we have done together during these last twenty years, and it isn't our fault, Jewish misery and Jewish sorrows just keep going on, and how can we withdraw from it? How can any one of us withdraw from it? I can't. I am committed as the chaplain said this evening. I am committed, and I know you are committed. There is not a question of are you committed. I know that you feel that way about it, and if you didn't, you wouldn't be here, and you wouldn't do the things you do, and the greater aspect of it is which has to be kept in mind is that we haven't defeated national socialism. National socialism has bred Arab nationalism and communism -- not bred communism, but has encouraged the viciousness of communism and both of them are systems under which Jews cannot live. If you go through one after the other of these countries you will come to the conclusions that actually Jews are suffocating in these countries, and the best thing that could happen is if we could bring them all out of there and put them some place else, but there are very many difficulties about that, and in the meantime, we must see to it after having lost six million that it shouldn't be our fault that a single additional Jewish life

is lost when we have it in our hands to keep them alive, and that is the greater purpose, and that is what we are dedicated to, and that is what is implied in the twenty-five countries and in the statistics and all the fine things that we could tell you in beautiful pamphlets, but what really makes the difference I know you will agree with me is the human element, is the human being, is our brother Jew.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Ladies and gentlemen, I know that we are deeply indebted to Mr. Warburg, Mr. Leavitt, Mr. Jordan for bringing these stories so dramatically, the story of the JDC.

Now this is not for the press, the statements that were made here tonight. After all, the people who are here represent the leadership of the communities in the Middle West. Some of the statements that were made here tonight if they were carried in the press, would do harm, and I am sure that they will respect us if they are sitting in the room tonight.

Now along the same lines, the panel of three who are here tonight will be happy to answer any questions that you might want to ask pertaining to the work of the JDC. Just

state your name and the question. It's a working session for the community leaders.

MEMBER: We were told a year ago that the joint was going to send teams into the Maabarots to try to clean them out. How successful has that program been?

MR. LEAVITT: It has been done and is going on at the present time.

We have carried out a pilot plan type of investigation by sending in a doctor, psychiatrist, medical social workers. We have taken the hard core cases in one of the Maabarot. Every case has been thoroughly investigated and a special plan made for every case who is a hard core family. The outlook looks favorable. We think that with that kind of approach in which the Government as well as the Jewish agency have their own representatives in the same team that goes in, that we are able to work out individually tailored solutions for these families. In other words, we are attacking the problem by the so-called case work method. The family as a unit is being treated. It's a slow process, but it is bringing in results, and we have been able, we feel -- we will be able to close up some of the more difficult Maabarot because it is as a result of the sickness or illness of one member of

a family that a whole family will sometimes remain in the Maabarot. This is an ongoing program and will be continued.

MR. HARRY WOLFF: Last year we had the Roumanian situation as a problem which was being evolved. However, that suddenly stopped. Could you with all due respects for the press or anybody else say anything on that situation today?

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: I think that Herb Friedman answered the question by saying that this is a closed subject. We can't talk about it. We hate not to answer a question, but you will respect us in not answering it.

MEMBER: I think we were referring particularly to those who have left Roumania and never gotten into it. Aren't there many of them in Europe at the present time?

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: I think you are safe. I can answer the question myself. Those that left Roumania are in Israel or other places where they are permanently taken care of.

Are there any other questions? You have all the talent of the JDC sitting here. This is your opportunity to ask your questions. You must have answered all the questions.

MEMBER: I am going to ask a question about France. Is France as cooperative under DeGaulle as the previous

Government?

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Yes, definitely.

MR. WARBURG: I just want to say one thing. It is perfectly obvious that we geared our statements tonight in view of the total program which you all have at issue. You will see a film tomorrow on Iran which is a fantastically interesting aspect of our program. Also, when we talk about Israel and the figures we give, that is the problem that the joint distribution committee handed us in Israel under the Malben program. Av Harman and others tomorrow will undoubtedly expand on the general problems of Israel. We were just talking about that particular problem which was assigned to us in Israel, namely, the problem of Malben, the immigrants that have come in since 1948. Now that has expanded.

MR. GLASSER: Mr. Chairman, may it not be assumed from what we have heard here tonight and what most of us know that this is an unequivocal refutation of the charge that is being made by the American Consulate of Judaism that only those people that go to Israel are helped by UJA funds? I would like to have a statement made from this chair so that every person in this room will know the truth and go out and talk about that.

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: I think that is a very good statement, Mr. Glasser, and Herb, would you like to comment on that?

MR. FRIEDMAN: Moe will get it covered very well.

MR. LEAVITT: I know that that question must be troubling a lot of people, and I don't think this is the place in which to go into the problem of the Consul for Judaism and of the attacks made on the United Jewish Appeal.

I do want to tell you that, and I will give you just one figure of about 15,000 Jews that came out of Roumania last year in the few months. About 700 went to other countries than Israel, and were helped by the JDC, and the United High Service to move to other countries, and this was done with the full cooperation and with the knowledge, and without the cooperation of the Jewish agency we couldn't have done the job.

We are working as a team in this regard, and there are no problems involved, and I wish you to know that despite everything you hear that we don't discriminate. We never have, and we never will, and that goes not only for the JDC but for the United High Service and for the Jewish agencies.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Very good answer.

Are there any other questions?

MR. LEONARD SHERMAN [Chicago, Ill.]: Gentlemen, since we are all here for the purpose to learn the job of leadership in this conference, in our own communities, and we have to learn our trade well to do the job that you are asking us to do, every year there cannot be a Roumanian crisis, and God forbid there should be, but the story that we must relate back at the lower levels in order to raise these funds can't be properly told. It has been repeated here over and over. We can say it here, but we can't say it outside of this room. Why can't we tell in a less dramatic sense other than a man needs a talis or somebody needs a basket of food what the JDC really does?

We were told this in Geneva. They kept walking around the circle, but never told us what the JDC did in Europe, how they moved people from the border, how ships are loaded, how people go to Israel, Why can't these things be done?

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Charles Jordan, this is a tough question to answer, but it should be answered.

MR. JORDAN: Sherman, I hate to be more precise

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than I was not because I don't feel like busting out all over when I am with my own family as I am with you, and I would like to share my concerns and my troubles with you obviously. Please remember that many of these operations in the Arab and the Moslem countries where we are strictly persona non grata and in the Iron Curtain countries where we are equally persona non grata for perfectly stupid reasons, but nevertheless that is the reality of the thing, the job is carried on by people who are risking their lives.

I could tell you about arrests of rabbis, of Jewish functionaries of plain people in the carrying out of their duties, of sentences given to them fifteen and twenty-five years in jail all because they wanted to help their fellowman.

We cannot be responsible for letting any people down who are risking their lives in these situations by precipitating any talk more publicly than it is possible to undertake in a closed group like this, but I understand your problem, and I wish I could be of help to you.

I personally feel that each leader has a group of his own towards whom he feels exactly the same that I feel towards you here, and that he should be able to share with them some of the things that he has heard from them as long

as he can be sure that they understand what is at stake, and that by trying to be helpful we are not going to be hurtful to people. That is the only thing.

I would go as far as to say that while I would like to have from the United Jewish Appeal a few million more dollars with which to improve on the inadequate type of assistance work which we are now carrying on under great difficulties, I would rather not have the money if I would have to run the risk that anybody, any one person or any one group of persons in any of these countries could be in danger because in addition to the risk to themselves, there is involved the risk to the total community in those countries because if it ever develops that the finger can be pointed at an effort of a purely humanitarian nature which can then be construed as being political, as it was done in Russia in 1953, we are cooked, ladies and gentlemen.

We mustn't permit ourselves the pleasure of being too frank with unreliable, untrustworthy people.

Now if each one of you has a circle of his own in which you feel that you can safely share this information, I wouldn't be against it. I think it's necessary. I think there has to be more public enlightenment about this, but

it has to be done with small doses and with very great care.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Mr. Warburg would like to add to that.

MR. WARBURG: This is a terribly tough one. One of the worst ways to keep a secret is to tell people that it's secret. [Laughter] Because all of us are human, and the mere fact we are privileged to know some information makes our company more desirable and our conversation more attractive, and we have seen one of the best ways to get things passed around is to say: "This is off the record."

It's a terrifying problem. Now unfortunately, or fortunately, I don't think that we have to go and that even if you knew all the detailed facts, many of which I don't know, and many which I haven't been told and don't want to know because I don't want to have that responsibility. I will never forget that just before the Normandy show, I happened to have been one of those people who was classified in being allowed to know where we were going. That had the lovely code name in the Army of being bigoted. I don't know why that word "bigot" was used for that, and people used to come up to each other in the mess and say, "Are you bigoted?"

I found that a very hard question to answer.

[Laughter]

But I was scared to death that somehow, somewhere by mistake in my sleep I would mention the word "Normandy" because I knew it ahead of time.

Many of us don't want to know too much. I don't know to what extent from a fund-raising standpoint all the details need to be known. A lot of work has been done for us by the book, "Exodus". No one says who did what and who paid for it, but the story begins to appear, and I think that what has to be built up more than anything else is the awareness of the scale and scope of the organizations, that is, their general program outline, but I think I couldn't agree more with Charles obviously that you just have got to stay clear of the actual pinpointing of it.

We had that experience only a couple of years ago at a meeting in a nearby area here. One of our best workers proceeded to make a statement which was perfectly all right, but out of context it was all wrong. That statement appeared in the press of the country in which he was working, and it took us months to reestablish our position, and it really threatened the whole program. This was just a phrase that

came out in the course of trying to describe in a "comfy" parlor meeting something that suddenly got into the press.

I think that you must believe us. When you look at us you know we are not trying to play cops and robbers and be tricky about this and be cute about it. It is just one of the things where we have to keep our lips sealed. I think some of the answers you can almost figure out for yourself by the fact when we answer you in the negative, we are giving you an answer. In other words, when we say we can't talk about it, maybe that is good news.

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Very good. We have a question here.

MEMBER: I wanted to ask, the Governments in these countries, know about the program of JDC, though. Is it just the why and wherefore, the details they don't know? I can't believe you carry on this huge operation without the knowledge of the Governments of these countries. I am puzzled.

MR. LEAVITT: I think you ought to know that every country has an intelligence service, and I would be very much surprised if there are any countries that don't know, but we just don't publish these things, and if it doesn't appear in the papers, and this is the point, nobody takes

offense but the moment it appears in the papers then it's a notice to that country that it must take action, and that's the danger of it. That is why we say, "Let's not talk about it."

We are now engaged in working with Mr. Agar as Eddie told you on the history of the JDC. There is a lot that won't appear in that history, that can't even today years after the events have taken place, cannot appear because people are alive.

Some day the history of the JDC will be told when most of the people that had anything to do with it are gone, but we cannot take the chance that there won't be somebody who knows somebody else and tips off a newspaperman, and for that reason we are perhaps leaning backwards a little bit more than we should in the light of the experience last year, but take our word for the situation. We are trying to run a campaign under raps. There is no question about it, and you are right. It is more difficult, but realize and let your prospects know that the fact that we can't talk about it as Eddie says is good news.

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Thank you. Is there another question over here?

MEMBER: I think I can appreciate Mr. Sherman's problem because we have worked on drives together, and I think he has a very good point. People through the years have had their heartstrings plucked so frequently by these emotional appeals that these heartstrings are no longer taut, and people are shielding themselves from such moving things as Mr. Jordan has told us tonight.

Now we as fund-raisers want to know how to reach these people. All of you have had the experience of trying to get people to dinners, and you have found out that so many affairs are going on that night because they use every excuse in the world. They just don't want to come. They just shut these things out.

Now it seems to me that we have got to sit down and present these people with facts on end on an intellectual basis.

We have got to give them facts. We have got to reach them, and that is going to be the situation more and more. This sounds all very true, and we all here in this room believe them, but we have to get these other people to the dinners. We have to reach these people, and if you don't give them the facts, I think Mr. Sherman's question is how

are you going to continue to reach these people year after year until the job is done?

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: I think I would ask Herb Friedman to answer Mr. Sherman's question and the problem as you have presented it here tonight. Herb, would you care to give us the answer to it?

MR. FRIEDMAN: Let me try to make a reference to what happened last year, and then come right to your point. We talked a great deal last year about this Roumanian situation. It's obvious a year later that it's very much present in everybody's mind. It was a great, tremendous dramatic, historic moment and opportunity, and when we talked about it, and I was probably as guilty, if not more guilty than anybody talking, of talking too much about it, it caught on and everybody in America got excited about it and heard about it quickly, and our whole attention was focused on it. Then I would like you to remember that on the 9th day of March about three months after we started to bring attention to it, the movement stopped.

The dangerous, the awful, the negative, the boomerang effect which has been described here so carefully, a Government taking offense, a Government feeling that it had to do

something to save face, a Government feeling that it had to answer Arab Governments that were protesting about it. Once a fact became known in public, that Government in question was obligated to react to that public attention, and the reaction was negative as far as we were concerned, and we lost it. We lost, that is, the opportunity for people to continue to come out, and then everyone said: "Well, now that the immigration has closed down for whatever reason beyond our control, the bottom will fall out of the campaign."

You remember how we were all fearful in those weeks of March and how we all tried to duck around it, and how we all tried to make our campaign speeches in such a way as not quite to indicate that it was closed because we were afraid to admit and so on and so on, but you can't suppress facts as you so correctly say, and the fact percolated and got around that Roumania had closed.

What was the effect of fund-raising? I think all of us should be very much enheartened and encouraged to know that fund-raising didn't drop even after the news got around that the immigration stopped.

Now it might have been higher than it was, the big campaign of 1959 might have raised more than it did, but

it didn't take the nosedive that everybody was afraid of by any manner of means.

The American Jewish community was mature enough to understand that a great event occurred, that something caused it to change which was not in our control and money continued to be given as an act of faith and as the only means of helping those thousands who did get out and who had to be taken to Israel and absorbed there and whose cost was tremendous. So that by talking too much maybe we helped bring about a negative closure. The negative closure did not so adversely affect the campaign that we could look back and say we lost terribly and therefore we were right to have blasted it so widely in the paper. We weren't right to have blasted it so widely in the paper in our search for more dollars because while no one knows how many more dollars could have been made had the immigration continued to be open, we do know that not that many more dollars were lost after the immigration was closed.

This is the way you have to weigh and balance between the needs of telling a story publicly to get more money and the possible dangers of telling stories too widely in the search for that money and walking, that is, a terrible,

terrible tight rope.

Now to come to your point about the question of facts. You have got to tell people facts. You couldn't be more right, and what we tried to have you get tonight was a factual description of a global program that is being carried on, and if you stop to think of it in specific and concrete terms, visualizing it exactly, you have to think of a man like Mr. Leavitt sitting in an office in New York talking on the telephone all the time to a Mr. Jordan sitting in an office in Geneva, and between the two of them trying to keep their fingers on the pulse of things that are happening all over this globe.

Now those are facts, and if you took your clock, your watch right now, half past ten in Chicago, it's half past eleven in New York. It's half past five in the morning in Casablanca. People are beginning to wake up right now. They are beginning to stir around in the milieu.

Down South of Casablanca in the town of Mogador or Casablesch down near the Sahara Desert, there may be one of Mr. Jordan's workers, a man by the name of Mr. Henry Louver who may be waking up right now, getting ready to get in his automobile and go to some small town and talk about how many

Jews there need what, and come up to the capital Rabat and talk to the American Consulate about getting the United States Department of Agriculture supplies in and port clearances and getting flour distributed or rice or penicillin or something, and it's half past five in the morning in Casablanca, and anybody in this room who works hard in the campaign has got the perfect capacity with his words and with his brain power to try to describe the condition of life among 200,000 Jews in that country who are being helped by the approximately two million dollars a year that this organization is spending in that country, and you don't have to write a novel. You don't have to make up things that aren't true to get the most factual, at the same time most emotional story that it is possible to get.

And you can move over one hour on the clock, and it's half past six in the morning right now in Yemen, and down there where ten years ago the JDC was running a camp to take Jews out of the desert and fly them up to Israel, and we thought the 50,000 Jews who came out were finished and that was all over, and we thought it was a dead issue, something that could go down in past history. Well, it turns out there are about 1500 or 2000 Jews who suddenly emerged ten

years later. Nobody knows where they came from. They came out of the woodwork, and all of a sudden you have to start this process again, and Colonel Lee Pedis down there ten years ago, maybe is going to have to go there again.

MEMBER: He is there.

MR. FRIEDMAN: And again they will start the business with the camp, and again start the business with the airplanes.

And it's half past seven in the morning right now. Go further East over into Teheran in Persia, and there are 80,000 Jews there, and 40,000 of them are living in the most incredible conditions, much worse than Casablanca, and they have a professor of parasitology, a Professor Beoca, a non-Jew from Rome whom they bring over to Persia, and they have him study the conditions of the Jews, and they find out that everybody has got worms. It's a shocking, horrible thing, and you only have one way to clean it up, and that's burn every damn thing down, and so you start burning and cleaning, and you have to train people to be sanitary engineers. You start a program in the most backward country. Persia is Babylonian. Maybe these Jews have been there 2000 years since the Babylonian exile. Who knows?

You are trying to bring them up out of 2000 years of misery, dirt, primitiveness. These are facts.

You have got a girl by the name of Miss Peters from Milwaukee who is a nursery schoolteacher who is teaching young Persian people how to become kindergarten teachers, and if they can train 100 young Persian girls how to be good kindergarten teachers and give the kids a bath every week and cut their hair in the school every week and give them a lunch everyday, all these are facts. Slowly but surely you will pull the whole community of 80,000 people out of the Dark Ages.

Now all you have got to do is keep going. Keep going on your clock. Keep going from country to country, twenty-five countries. They have got a man in New York, and you have a man in Geneva, and you have a dozen men scattered around the globe, and they are spending 17 million bucks of our UJA money.

I wish we could give them twice 17 million dollars. They would spend it well. These facts never come out. When I say never, they do. People who speak try to get these facts out.

You are cramped at a meeting where you are making a

talk for twenty minutes. Take ten, and tell some of this story. Speech after speech, slowly but surely you will educate the people. You will inform the people. That was the whole point of this panel tonight.

You know, we are living in such an enormous historic moment that our whole attention gets focused on Israel. We sometimes fail to realize that not all Jews in the world who are in need are in Israel, that there is this whole great spreading of the Jewish population whom we choose not to neglect, and all we have to do would be to contemplate what our problem would be if we tried to set up an organization today that had not had forty-five years of history behind it knowing how to run this kind of a relief operation.

Supposing we had to begin de novo, and let's contemplate what our job would be as Jews with this conscience wanting to do something in everyone of these countries and having to begin from scratch to start to organize something to take care of this problem. We would be years and years away from making a dent in it.

Here we have got something with forty-five years of history, a great body of knowledge, experience, trial and error, personnel, who have been in it for decades ready-made.

They are one of the greatest tools and instruments the American Jewish community ever created. Thank God we have got them -- in a quiet, undramatic way because most of the time this part of the story gets overlooked in the heat of making a fast campaign pitch. We never get these facts out, but I think we should, and I think you are right.

People are more mature. People are more intellectual. People are more intellectually oriented and they want more facts and less emotion. Let's say right here now facts without emotion aren't worth beans. This whole business is emotion. The one basic emotion of our not wanting to see one Jewish life lost any more as Mr. Jordan put it. That is an emotional substructure of conviction.

Now on top of that, emotional conviction you build the bricks of fact. Maybe it's not exciting or dramatic to talk about what is happening with the last bit of a remnant of Jews in Poland because we hope that most of them will move and go out to Israel, but I think it is. Three and a quarter million Jews living in Poland before Hitler. We are talking about the last thirty thousand. That's a fact, and what we do with them and how we treat them and how we handle them is as important as any other 30,000 Jews anywhere else in

Galilee or Demona or anywhere. You just have to conceive of this, it seems to me, as a global roundup, as a big international organization in which you have to keep in mind all the time as we did during the war in a war room, where the front shifts all the time. There is a big map across the wall and pins in the map as to where the front is. You have to think of this office over there in Geneva as our war room, and the map that is on the wall is the map of the whole globe, and the pins in that map are a lot of anonymous guys whose jobs you wouldn't take, not a one of you in this room if somebody offered you five times the salary that these men are earning.

They are our unsung, anonymous, unknown Jewish civil servants, and you have to think of these ten or twenty scattered guys out there. Look. I saw a man living in Persia with his wife and a couple of kids, and his wife didn't know any Persian and had to learn the Parsee language in order to make sure the water was boiled every single day because she came from Utica and she didn't want her kids to get worms.

It's a tough thing to transplant yourself to another part of the world in another place.

You think of that war room in Geneva. You think of

that clock going around twenty-four hours a day. You think of people rising in the morning or sleeping at night. You think of whom they depend upon, and you think of the people far off who are giving them this courage and this sustenance and this support, and then you think of all the people back in Chicago and Peoria and Southern Illinois and St. Louis who are as far from this as if this were taking place on the moon, and you and I have got to find the words to translate it to them. That's the trick.

You and I have got to find the words to take this operation way out there on the moon and bring it down to real life in Omaha or in Kansas City.

Now that ain't easy. Nobody knows it better than I do because I probably make too many speeches anyway, and the effort to try to make the speech and get that feeling of closeness and personal participation, and this is my problem, to bridge the vast remoteness of time and space is the toughest job in the world, but that's what makes campaigners. That's what makes everybody in this room an important person in his campaign, the ability to bridge that gap and the ability to come across the remoteness of time and space.

The facts are here which can be told, and there are

so many of them that the facts that cannot be told, I think, slide into relative unimportance and insignificance. If we were without facts that could be told, then one would have a right to say we have no armament. We have no ammunition.

We have so much ammunition that we need not tamper with that kind of a bullet that might explode in our own hands and do us damage.

I don't know whether I have answered the question or not, but what I tried to do was make a kind of roundup of this whole business.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Some fellow, isn't he?

MEMBER: Could I have a tape recording of that?

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: I am sure that Herb has made sufficient impressions so that your question has been answered.

Now at this time, Eddie, do you want to add to it? Instead of answering questions, we are going to ask them now.

MR. WARBURG: I just want to say one thing. During these days I hope there is going to be time because this question brings up something that I am very much interested in. I don't know whether it's a matter of lack of Jewish education or general education.

I happen to be a regent in the State of New York, and that means I am responsible for a lot of educational things. One of the things that fascinated me is that while they teach people how to read, nobody seems to bother.

[Laughter]

I don't know what you do about getting these facts. Those that we do have and are available, how do we get them across?

It is one the most extraordinary things. Now we used to have in the JDC a tremendous community relations program. We spend hundreds of thousand of dollars on it, and we tried to organize all kinds of -- this was before we were in the United Jewish Appeal, and we went on after we were in, and we tried to keep contact with the contributor and leaders and tried to come out and see the people and bring the story across. When the UJA came into being, it seemed perfectly ridiculous the money we wanted to send overseas spent on overhead of running campaigns which duplicated one another. You have to have publicity.

You don't have to be married to be successful in Jewish fund-raising work, but it helps. [Laughter]

MR. GLASSER: Is that for the record?

MR. WARBURG: Everything is off the record, but if you take the Council of Welfare Funds program you could find out how you could spend every week end at a conference and in between times what are you going to do about your fund-raising? You know, you have to be busy every night so that actually the calendar is jammed full. Still there is a possibility of mailing.

We are fully conscious that most of our mail goes into file thirteen, the wastepaper basket. No matter how we dress it up, no matter how pretty we make it, no matter how we say "Dear John," when we can't remember what he looks like, what is your salutation to this person? I often have a ready answer, but I am not allowed to use it. [Laughter] But the attempt to get the story out, mailings, publicity, digests, summaries, all these things we have tried them all, and the funny part about it is no matter how many years we have been in campaigns and how successful we have been nobody ever beats a door at our place and say, "Say, I have a check, I want to give you first of all." If they do, we won't accept it. Obviously, he is trying to get away with something. He could give much more. [Laughter]

Secondly, nobody ever comes and says, "Look, I would

like to find out these facts. Are they available?"

The chances are we have got the answers, and most of those facts are available, or we can tell you which ones you have to watch out for because they have got booby traps, but one thing that we are tremendously interested in now, look, we did a good deal of thinking about how we were going to present it here tonight. All I am aware of at the present moment, I am sure Moe and Charles are in the same shape, and Herbert, too, is the amount of stuff we didn't talk about.

It's perfectly unbelievable how much we have left unsaid. We can't do it, and we took an hour and ten minutes and Herb made a speech all by himself in his own way and managed to fill in some of the things we left out, but there is a terrific corpus of material available. How do we get it to you so it doesn't end in the wastepaper basket? How do we get it out to you so that it's read and so that it's used? How do we get it geared into this thing because please, all of us are getting acidosis from fruit cup going around speaking. [Laughter]

You know, it's a most amazing thing. We try to keep ourselves informed, and I find out that people say it's very nice. I always like to hear this because it makes life easier

for me. They say they try to get you to speak out there, but they have had you. [Laughter]

We have a terrible time selling ourselves. We try to be attractive. [Laughter] We try to get our foot in the door to be able to tell the people the facts. It is just very difficult. We can't do it through the mails, we can't do it anyway. We know, and we finally come and speak to the people who know the story anyhow, and the ones who aren't there are the ones we are trying to get hold of, and your problem of trying to get people to come, I will tell you, the only way I know the answer to be specific on it, in New York City people have found a very interesting way. They accept all our invitations. This is the new trick. Everybody accepts our invitation, so you don't follow him up. He is coming. [Laughter] The fact is, he doesn't show. [Laughter] I hope I am not teaching you anything. [Laughter] But we have found a very good system, and that is we break up into teams. We break up. That's quite true. [Laughter] And we go around, and it is really something. It is an experience in itself.

I have a pal, and we do this quite often. We start off on a morning, and we walk into people's offices unannounced.

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If you announce yourself they wouldn't think of seeing you. [Laughter] And you go in there and you ask to get the gentleman, and sometimes he is embarrassed into letting you come in, and finally you get in, and let me tell you there is where you really do fund-raising. You don't do fund-raising making speeches. Speeches are only effective when people have done this other process first, and you have got the key gifts in line because as we know, the people come into a room with their minds made up. They have told their wives, and they wouldn't go back on their word [laughter] for the world.

She sometimes would change his point of view, but he very rarely changes her point of view, and then you also have your psychiatrist, accountant, and all the other people who have told him at exactly what level [laughter] and we give our all. [Laughter] We give our all making a speech, and there are those, especially our guests from overseas who come back from a tour of America and say, "I raised eight million dollars." [Laughter]

I spoke at such and such an occasion, and we raised three million dollars. It's never raised there. It's the focal point of all the efforts gone into making that meeting a success, and then the rest of it, let's face it, is a sort

of -- a kind of show, and you do hope you can get across a little bit of flavor.

All I am saying here is as far as JDC is concerned, we couldn't be more interested in getting the facts across to you. We would love to mail it to you. We would love to send it to you in any form.

We are working on movies, working on television stuff. We are working on all kinds of material trying individually as JDC, and of course, through UJA to bring this material to you and to work up those sessions where we are not cramped by fund-raising which is after all what we are most interested in, but all the same we have a feeling -- it's an illusion maybe, but we like to believe in it that people who know what they are doing will do more when they understand what the problem is.

The best answer beyond any question are the people who have been over and have seen, and if you have people who are going over and are taking a trip to Paris, let us know about it. We have people to show them the program in an area. Take a morning off and see some of the things. If they go to Vienna or Rome there are programs. If they go to Geneva or Israel, there are programs. Missions are most successful.

Everyone who has been on the thing and has seen with his own eyes comes back and says, "Why haven't you told me?" As if we haven't tried to.

If you can give me ideas and help on this, and if you will storm us with requests, this is what we are in business for, and we couldn't welcome it more. Thank you.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Ladies and gentlemen, we have some sessions tomorrow. We will continue answering questions, but let me say I thought I was listening to Eddie Warburg, but I think it was George Jessel by the humor, but really, it's been a wonderful, wonderful evening.

We have had our tears, we have had our humor, and this is the way it should be.

Now I think that we are deeply indebted to the panel from the JDC for presenting this story so well.

[Applause]

And I just want to talk a little bit about tomorrow morning's program. We have our Sabbath Services at 9:30 in the morning. There is a large room right off the center of the lobby. At 10:30 we have two films for you to see, and at 11 o'clock you know there was a premeditated opinion that

worked into something. We were trying to give you a little bit of a preview of what you are going to hear at 11 o'clock. Herb didn't really want to get in the act tonight, but we just wanted to give you an idea of just about what you are going to hear because Herb will address the entire group at 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Now that's our program. I know you had a long day. There have been trains and planes and busses and cabs. You are tired.

Thank you for your attendance. God bless you and good night.

[Applause]

[The meeting recessed at 10:45 o'clock.]

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION

February 13, 1960

The address, "The UJA Needs in 1960," by Mr. Herbert A. Friedman, Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal was delivered at eleven o'clock in the Ballroom.

MR. HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: I never saw such a bunch of early risers. You have all been milling around here. No choice? Listen, anybody who missed the service this morning, missed a good talk about Tientsin and China. It was good. It was really good, so you ought to feel badly.

The rest of you got breakfast, and let me explain the reason that we altered the time of the film. We have two that we want to show you, and each one is approximately half an hour, so that the attempt to get them squeezed in between ten-thirty and eleven-thirty, if we started this session at eleven-thirty, which we didn't want to do, might still have been too tight, so we put them off until four o'clock this afternoon. At four this afternoon the meetings will be over. We hope, and it's not time yet to take a nap, so you can go to the movies from four to five. They will be held in the South Room which is downstairs, and let me tell you that I think you will enjoy

both of them.

The movies have been changed. For those of you who went to the service this morning, you know where that room is. It's the Terrace Room. It's the room in which we had the service. Epicureans who didn't go to the Terrace, you will have to find where the Terrace Room is. So it will be much more comfortable room in which to look at the movie.

One of the films is about the condition of the Jewish community in Persia, in Iran. It's called by the name of a boy, "Shamsi." The film follows him around during the day as he goes through one day in his life in this terrible place in which they live.

The film is a little bit introspective in terms of seeing everything through the eyes of the boy, but I think that is the best way to do it, and the reason I think it's the best way to do it, is because the second film does the same thing.

The second film is called, "The Key," and that is also shown through the eyes of a little boy living in a Maabarot in Israel, and how he feels about trying to get out of that maabarot and what his family life is like living inside of those conditions.

Both films, I think, you will find valuable for

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showings in your communities. Let's not enter into any discussion whether they are fund raising films or educational films. I am not sure what the borderline is between those two facts. They are films which will bring comprehension and understanding with warmth. That's what they do, and you figure out the best use you can make of them in your own communities.

Now this morning what I want to try to do is slowly and carefully put the bricks together, put the bricks together of what this campaign is all about and out of it each one of you can take whatever he can find for himself to use.

I am talking to you now as though you were a group of speakers, a group of campaign officers, a group of officials who have to tell the story to somebody else, to thousands and thousands of people, and everybody who speaks has got his own style. Everybody who speaks has got his own system and his own method. Nobody can custom tailor a speech for anybody else. All that I can do is try to cover a wide range of material out of which you pick what you can use, and you use it in the way in which your own chemistry works, and the way in which your own vision works, and it will come out as good as you are. No speech is any better than the person who makes it.

Therefore, I would like to try to begin to build the

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bricks in the whole framework of what the UJA is and does and means.

In order to understand that, you have got to follow through with me on one or two basic principles that we have to agree upon. The first thing that I would like to bring clearly is the act of faith upon which this whole campaign is based, and if we agree on this act of faith, then we will work harder and longer and more knowingly. It's all based upon a simple thing, ladies and gentlemen. It's based upon the importance that we attach to the concept of the survival of the Jewish people.

If somebody were to ask me in one sentence, "What's the UJA all about?" that's the one sentence. We are fighting for the survival of the Jewish people -- nothing more or nothing less.

Why is it important to us? Because I believe and because you believe and I think everybody in this room believes that the Jewish people carry within themselves those ideas which are the basis of our whole Western civilization. Our whole system of morals and ethics and political system of government and correct principles of living in society, in economics, everything that we call social justice, everything that we call

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"mishpa", everything that we call "tzadocka", everything that we call ideals that motivate democracy and freedom, and free social organization and free structure of mankind so that each person can rise and be a high, dignified individual. All of these most immense and warmest things which bred the French Revolution and the American Revolution, and I even think the Russian Revolution, although it has gotten so horribly perverted. These ideas and ideals are the heritage of the Jewish people which form the basis of Western civilization as we know it.

That is a very big, broad statement. I believe that it is true. Many books have been written. A man wrote a book called the "Hebrew Origins of the American Republic." The man's name was Oscar Strauss. I could cite to you all the books and all the speeches over the hundreds of years in which all knowledgeable and thinking people come to the conclusion that from ancient Judea, from the ideals of the Bible and the ancient prophets, the Hebrew prophets filtering down through the democratic ideals of Greece, there came into our modern world the stream that we call democracy.

We believe that we have some sort of a mission on the stage of world history. They have tried to knock us off more times than we can count. We say we will not be crowded off the

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stage of history because we have something to give to the whole human race. We have given religion. We have given political ideas. We have given democratic goals to be striven for. We have given a feeling of optimism. That is the most -- most important underlying note of the whole Jewish truism, optimism that these goals and ideals can be achieved.

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We sum it all up in the word "messiah". We are not smoking opium. We really believe that you can make the world a better place and the infusion of that belief, the pumping of that belief into Christianity became the whole basis for Western civilization as we know it.

Therefore, we think that the survival of the Jewish people for the further maintenance and promulgation of these huge ideas is indispensable for the whole world, not just for us.

We are not just trying to survive to make a record that we can keep alive on the face of the earth four thousand years instead of three or five thousand years, instead of four or six thousand years, instead of five. That's "baush". That's nonsense. There must be a reason for daring to survive and perdu and ender until the end of time, and the reason is because we feel we have got something to give to the whole human

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race, and we are stubborn enough so we are going to stick around until it's done.

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This may seem vague. This may seem metaphysical. This may seem esoteric. If you don't understand this, you don't understand why the devil we give a damn about two thousand Jews in Tientsin that the chaplain was talking about this morning.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
Why? What are four thousand Jews in Tientsin more or less? He was talking about the survival of a community in China. So what if you get five thousand more Jews out of Poland, so what? What's the point?

I am pleading for an understanding of the basic doctrine that lies under the whole thing. The point is, the point of Jordan saying last night we don't want to see one more Jew killed. The point of saying that simply is our survival is crucial to us because we think it's crucial to the whole human race. If you believe that, you will fight like a tiger for the life of every one Jew everywhere. If you don't believe that, then the whole thing is a game. That's all.

Now on the basis of that article of faith that our survival is an absolute prerequisite to the maintenance of our moral heritage, you then devote yourself to the proposition of

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how to insure the survival of the Jewish people. How do you insure it?

Well, there are two kinds of survival that you talk about. One is spiritual survival, and one is physical survival, and we have for the last fifty years been concerned with the physical survival of the Jewish people because that happens to be the item that is under attack in this Twentieth Century.

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I am not saying that the spiritual survival of the Jewish people is guaranteed. Jewish ignorance is rampant. Jewish lack of commitment is widespread. Spiritually I am not sure in what condition the great rich Jewish community of America finds itself. We are five and a half million. We are loaded with synagogues and temples and centers and hospitals and God knows what. We have got a physical plant alone which we have expanded in the last ten years to the tune of one half billion dollars whether you know it or not, and you people in this room have been responsible as anybody else for building that plant.

Who here has not been on a hospital board, building campaign or a center building campaign or synagogue building campaign or an old folks or what? Everybody in this room has. You have built a half a billion dollars worth of plant in the

United States in the last decade, all designed to try to guarantee the physical, spiritual survival of the American Jewish community.

Well, our physical survival is not in danger, so it's our spiritual survival that we are trying to guarantee here. God bless us if we think we can do it through the building of a big physical plant. I have nothing against that. I am not sure that is automatically designed to achieve the end, but we have been concerned less with the spiritual survival of our people than with the physical survival of our people for a very simple reason that in the last fifteen years the attack from our enemies has been on our physical existence.

I would like to tell you a simple truth that Hitler understood much better than we. He was interested in destroying civilization and supplanting it with a rule of barbarism. In order to destroy civilization you have to destroy the ideas of civilization, so he was determined to wipe out Christianity.

This may come as a surprise. He was determined to wipe out Christianity. Seven hundred priests were killed at Dauchau early in the game. In order to wipe out Christianity he has to wipe out Judaism first because Judaism gave birth to it, and in order to wipe out Judaism he has got to wipe out

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Jews because he knew the secret of Jewish people. He knew that if there were no Jews on the face of the earth there are no more Jewish ideals on the face of the earth. Our ideals are carried in our flesh and blood, and if there is no flesh and blood there are no ideals.

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Do you know the Catholic religion can exist without any one single Catholic living on the face of the earth? Because the principles of the Catholic religion exist in the mind of God, according to their doctrine, and when I in the army as a chaplain wanted to say services and had to go find ten Jews, and God knows where I would find them to get around the tailgate of the truck to make a minion, my Catholic chaplain colleague did not need one to say mass. He lifted up the talis to say his mass to Jesus. He didn't any more. He didn't need people.

"Voscou." You need people in Judaism to keep the ideas alive. You don't pray without ten.

The attack on our people in this century has been an attack on our ideas, and so when we stand here trying to protect the physical existence of the Jewish people, we are trying to protect the spiritual existence of the Jewish people at the same time. They are indistinguishable, and I would like to say once and for all that I would want to lay the ghost to all the

11 attacks and comments and criticisms that are made by those who say, "Oh, you people in the UJA, all you are interested in is houses and food and calories and budgets and trains and planes and all that stuff. That's all materialistic nonsense."

Great, great attacks are made upon you and me by learned rabbis in this country who accuse us of being concerned only with the physical things.

Well, those dear colleagues of mine don't know what they are talking about because if you are so concerned with the spiritual things that you neglect the physical things, I tell you, you are going to lose the spiritual things. We have to protect the flesh and blood of every Jew because inside the flesh and blood the brain case and the nerve system of every one of us there beats the ideals of Isaiah and Jeremiah and Moses, and while an awful lot of us might be stinkers, there are always among us an awful lot of heroes, and any one of us is the potential descendent of Isaiah and could be another one.

That's the premise, and that is why every life is important.

Well, in the last fifty years we have been running one great big rat race around this globe to protect the physical existence of the Jewish people. Sixty years ago in 1900 was the

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high water mark when hundreds of thousands of Jews were migrating from Russia and Poland to the United States. My father came here from Vilna. Your father came here from Kiev or Kishinev or Odessa.

I don't know. It doesn't matter. From 1881 until 1914, thirty-three years, three million Jews came to the United States. If there had been an UJA then, somebody would have been raising money for one hundred thousand immigrants a year who were coming to America. Three million in thirty-three years is one hundred thousand a year, and there were people who were raising money at that time to help the absorption of these immigrants into America. Although it didn't take very long before the guy came up through Hester Street and Houston Street and Canal Street and wound up on Central Park West, and he was the boss instead of the worker in the sweat shop.

Okay, the integration took place fast. There were plenty of Detroits and plenty of Pittsburghs and plenty of big industrial complexes in America ready and willing and able to absorb the immigrant labor that was coming in. It was an easy country into which to push millions of immigrants, but the Jewish world began to change fifty, sixty, seventy years ago.

Already then we could see the beginnings of the downfall

13 of Eastern and Central Europe as the source from which all Jewish power and inspiration came, and we could begin to see that the pole was shifting westward. We began this century, is what I am trying to say, with a mass movement of migration. We began the Twentieth Century with that. The whole Twentieth Century has been up to now for sixty years a continuous flow of Jewish migration, and by the way, that is how I would term this century.

We play with it whether to call this the century of great destruction, six million, whether to call this the century of great rebirth -- rebirth of Israel.

I would give it neither one of those titles -- neither one. I would call this the century of the greatest Jewish migration in our entire millennial history. This is the century of Jewish migration par excellence. There has been no other. Not when the Jews were thrown out of Spain and migrated, not when the Jews were thrown out of Palestine and migrated to Babylonia, at no time has there been such migrations as have taken place in this century, so we began it with the biggest mass movement of East European Jews to the United States.

We are going to end it with the complete mass movement, it seems to me, of all Jews who are not free in the world.

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I think Charlie Jordan used the word last night "suffocated." Jews who feel suffocated in any country in which they live, suffocated physically or suffocated psychologically, spiritually. We are going to end this century with the completed migration of all those Jews who are suffocated wherever they are into Israel, and I predict that when this century of migration is over and finished, the Jewish world will be polarized into two enormous constellations. One in America which at the end of this century might well be six or six and a half million people, and one in Israel which at the end of this century might very well be close to that number, and around these two huge polarized populations of the Jewish people there will be the peripheral satellites, and I am not attempting to derogate them or deprecate them, but three hundred Jews in France or fifty or one hundred thousand Jews in Australia or three-quarters of a million Jews in South America. These are peripheral communities to the great two poles, and at the end of this century of migration the physical existence of the Jewish people will be guaranteed, at least as far as one can foresee history because we are firmly convinced that it will be guaranteed in Israel unless Israel is obliterated from the map by a hydrogen bomb, and we are equally firmly convinced that it

15 will be physically guaranteed in the United States unless the United States loses the essential precious characteristics that mark her today.

When the century of migration is over and done with, the Jewish community of the world will be polarized in two great places, and in those two great places it will be safe.

We are in the middle of the struggle. We are right smack in the middle of it. You couldn't have been born at a more exciting time. You couldn't have been born at a more meaningful time. You couldn't have been born at a tougher time.

We are in the middle where we have been working for any number of years that anybody in this room wants to say he has been working. One or ten or thirty, and there are people in this room who have been working for all those various lengths of time on the question of the physical survival and on the question of movement and on the question of building the Israel which is the other pole that we must make secure. That's the whole UJA, and as we have been inching forward to the goal to the end of the century, we have been making perfectly fantastic and incredible progress.

Where do we stand, first of all, on this question of

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migration in terms of what happened in the last dozen years? I say dozen years because in a couple of months Israel will be twelve years old, and we might as well take that as a marking point. In the last twelve years we have moved one million three hundred thousand people. Do you believe that? We have literally picked them up and moved them. One million three hundred thousand people. One million have gone to Israel. Three hundred thousand have gone to other places -- Canada, Australia, America, South America. If we were to add up all of the people of the countries of the world who are suffocated and don't forget that that is the criterion, let me try to tick it off for you and see what is there left to do.

North Africa. Charlie, check me on the figures. Morocco, maybe two hundred thousand. I am giving you the total Jewish populations in those countries. Morocco, two hundred thousand. Tunisia, sixty thousand. Put in Algeria although the Jews there are citizens of metropolitan France. Nevertheless put it in. One hundred thirty thousand. Tripoli is empty. Salonika is empty. Libia is empty. Yemen is empty except for one hundred fifty or two hundred who showed up. Iran eighty thousand. Syria, Lebanon, if you could get your hands on everybody, twelve, fifteen thousand. Egypt, ten, fifteen.

What?

MR. JORDAN: All together, twenty-five thousand.

MR. FRIEDMAN: In Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, all the deepest enemies of Israel, the block that surrounds it, twenty-five thousand in all those countries put together. Come up, swing into Europe, Bulgaria, empty. Yugoslavia, empty. Albania, empty. A few thousand Jews living in the countries but remnant of the remnant of the remnant. There will be no more movement. Practically speaking. Hungary, sixty thousand. Poland, thirty thousand. Roumania, two hundred twenty. What would you say? Two hundred twenty, two hundred fifty thousand. Czechoslovakia, eighteen thousand. "Sahiko". This is the whole thing. What have you got? Seven or eight hundred thousand. Who has added? Seven or eight hundred thousand Jews. Eight hundred fifty-five thousand. Okay.

We have moved one million three hundred thousand people in the last twelve years with your money. Now comes the big question which Mr. Warburg points up quite properly. Russia now admits publicly in the last census to two and a half million Jews. Taken this was published just a few days ago in the New York Times, I would say if Russia admits publicly two and a half million Jews, there are probably more than that.

The great dream of our life, the deepest, strongest, most powerful yearning we could have would be to get those people back into the fold of the Jewish religion, the Jewish dream, the Jewish idea, the Jewish peoplehood.

Any chance? Look, there are two theories on it.

One theory is that it is absolutely impossible ever to break into that curtain and get hold of those Jews, either to help them get out or to bring relief to them inside. Impossible, goes one theory, because the Soviet position would never permit it to make the tacit admission that its Jewish population is different from its other population or has contacts abroad with another group of people, or is in such trouble that it needs anything of special help from abroad.

Governments also have faces to save, and one argument is that the Soviet position would never permit it to make any exceptions whatsoever for its Jewish population to permit its Jewish population to be serviced or handled or be allowed contact with Jews of the West so one argument goes we will never get to them. They are dead. They are locked off. They are forever kept from us.

The other position goes the opposite way. The other position goes that the great, great Soviet Union is no different

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from anybody else. When you have got a bone in your throat and it's sticking you, and it's needling you, and it's bothering you, and it's a cause of annoyance to you, you do one of two things with the bone in your throat. You swallow it or you spit it out. Now it's clear that the Jews are bone in the throat to the Soviet Union. That we know. When one hundred kids from Israel go to Russia a couple of summers ago for the Youth Festival and go into the Dynamo Stadium there where one hundred thousand people are sitting and as the little Jewish delegation of one hundred kids comes in carrying the flag of Israel, you would think that one hundred thousand voices roar with approval of that sign of Jewish identification. You would think everybody in the Dynamo Stadium that day was a Jew.

Well, I don't know whether one hundred thousand people were Jews, but enough of them were about so that they let up one hell of a howl. This is a terrible sign as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. It shows that their Jews feel themselves to be Jews, and this means that they are a bone in the throat because they are not assimilated. They are digested into the Soviet body politic or into the Soviet economy.

Well, if you have got a bone in your throat and you swallow it, swallowing it in this sense would mean deportations

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out to Siberia, sweeping them under the rug, getting rid of them somehow. Swallowing them. They might even go so far as to involve a program of unleashing terror.

I might as well give you my own feeling about it right now. I have a very black feeling about the future of the Russian Jews. I think they are in for a very terrible time which might involve deportations and might even involve physical terror against them.

That's what I mean by swallowing them down.

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The other way that you do with a bone in the throat is you spit it out, and by that is meant permitting emigration of Jews out of Russia who want to go out, and of course, you know the position of Israel on that. You know the position of America Jewry on that. You know that if there ever were any permissible, large scale emigration from Russia either forced by time or circumstance or expulsion or even general permission, permission you may go, you know that you would rally as you have seldom rallied in many a year, and you also know that in Israel they would take their standard of living and they would break it like this in order to absorb one hundred, two hundred, five hundred, a million, whatever number of Russian Jews would be allowed out.

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For the purpose of this present analysis, however, I would like, having said what I have said about Russia in response to Mr. Warburg's correct reminder, I would like to leave Russia alone because we don't know. We don't know whether she will keep that curtain tight or whether she will spit her Jews out or what she will do.

We can with more reasonable prognostication attempt to anticipate what will happen with these other eight hundred fifty thousand Jews, and I would like to say very simply this. It's clear, and it's obvious that not all of them will leave the countries in which they live. I am not now making any editorial comments as to whether they should leave or whether they shouldn't leave. I am saying it's clear that they won't.

If you have two hundred thousand Jews in Morocco, it's clear they are not all going to leave Morocco. What I am saying is that your maximum possible potential, one hundred per cent reservoir, if everyone were to leave would only be -- only be another eight hundred thousand people when we have already moved one million three. We haven't got as much left to do as we have already done.

That's the startling thing that emerges when you make this kind of analysis. And we won't get all eight hundred

22 thousand. They won't all move, so that I can't tell you -- it would be playing a numbers game -- how many more there are to be moved. All I can give you is what the potential reservoir might be, and then you reduce the eight hundred thousand by any factor that you think is scientific, and maybe four hundred thousand more Jews will move or five hundred thousand more Jews will move over the course of another four, five, eight, ten years. I don't know.

I can only tell you that from the Israeli point of view, and they are the recipient of most of this movement, they are trying to think ahead over a long range, and they make calculations based upon an expected annual average emigration -- and I am using the average of forty to fifty thousand a year for the next ten years. Now look, if something happens your average changes in any one given year.

You remember Iraq. Iraq had one hundred twenty thousand Jews. They gave them twelve months to get out. Then it was extended by three more months. One hundred fifteen thousand people were moved in fifteen months in the year 1951. Does anybody here remember it? No, no. There is maybe no reason why you should because history moves so fast. We don't remember what we did yesterday, so if an expulsion comes, if,

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God forbid, somebody comes and says, "Take all the Jews and get them out in twelve months," your average goes cockeyed. That you can't anticipate. Nobody can make you any promises.

If you take this historical look as I am suggesting and as the Israelis do, then you say average annual for ten years, fifty thousand means you might anticipate another half million people coming into Israel in ten years exclusive of Russia, and you know what that would do to the calculation.

Now what about the other half of the story? Not just the movement, but the people who live in those countries where they are today, and as I said, not all of whom will move even as time goes on. Do we or do we not agree on a proposition that every Jewish community, everywhere in the world, wherever it's left behind, whether it be four thousand Jews who are left behind in Yugoslavia or whether it will be ten thousand who will be left behind in Poland when the movement finishes or whether it will be thirty thousand that will be left behind in Tunisia when the movement finishes or thirty thousand in Iran when the movement finishes, do we or do we not agree to the proposition that every Jewish community of any size no matter how large or how small left behind in the country of its residence is or is not entitled to continuous support from you

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and me as long as they need it? If we agree to that proposition, then you and I must envisage the maintenance of the work that was described last night by the Joint Distribution Committee as being a program of quite indefinite duration to be measured by the needs that exist in every country as the situation in that country fluctuates.

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You heard last night a statement that many countries now in Western Europe didn't need anything more. "Okentraya." They are now being urged to begin to develop their own fund raising apparatus to begin to take care of their own needs which they can do. Bravo. Good.

It's not saying we don't care about the Jews of Belgium or Holland or Sweden or any country that can begin to get on its own feet, but when it gets on its own feet, "B'Vaka'sha". Go take care of yourself.

As a matter of fact, how about raising a little money to take care in Morocco? And they are beginning to do that. How about raising money to take care in Israel? They are. That is good. Surely but surely you get a country on its feet. You can drop it from the rolls of a country that needs help by the JDC, and you can put it on the rolls of a country that will begin to make its own contribution, however small.

25 Nobody has ever said, and I don't think anybody would dare say, leave behind and ignore and don't care about the "sheleach Ha'platah". The remnant of the remnant of the remnant that will be left over in any particular country.

None of us are so cruel, heartless or stupid as to say anything like that, and so as this century of migration goes on and on, rolling towards its conclusion, we see that the big movements will continue to take place as I have described, and that always there will be the leftover, residue whom we will care for with as much love if there are only five thousand as if there are fifty-five thousand.

Focus now the attention away from the countries of the world in which the Jews live over into Israel because that's the other half of the thing, and just as I tried to indicate to you what the balance looks between what we have achieved and what we have yet got to go in the rest of the countries of the world, let me talk to you about what we have achieved in Israel and what we have yet got to go in Israel. And maybe in a way that is really some of the statistical data or what somebody asked for the facts, the factual data that go into the preparation of this year's story.

I will give it to you in generalization of the million

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people we have brought to Israel in the last twelve years. We have gotten about two-thirds of them on their feet. Now let me not make a big, long social worker's analysis of what it means to get somebody on his own feet. I have got a simple way of describing it.

When you have got a guy off the relief rolls and get him on the taxpaying rolls you have got him on his own feet. When you can put him to the point where you can begin to extract taxes from him in Israel so you can begin to help other people who are coming in. Pfft. He is fine. He doesn't need any more. About two-thirds of the people are in that condition. Isn't that fantastic? Was anybody here in Israel in 1950? Was anybody here a tourist in Israel in 1950? Do you remember the fish you used to eat? Charlie, Sarah. Who ate it? That is right. Nobody ate it. The country lived on what we called fillet which was that frozen stuff that they brought in from Norway or Denmark, and the other thing was carp that were grown in little carp ponds up in the Galilee domestically produced, but you know, you have to let the fish stay in the water long enough for something to grow between the head and the tail. [Laughter] There wasn't any food in Israel in 1950, and they were pulling the carp out of the carp ponds before anything

27. grew, and all you got on the plate was the head and the tail and the eyes looking up at you from the plate, and there was nothing there to eat. [Laughter]

Did anybody go to Israel in 1950 in this room? How many people? You, you, you. Who ate at Lucky's Bar in Tel Aviv? [Laughter] Ah, ah, ah, ah. Look. Do you want to make a description of the progress of Israel from 1950 to 1960? You got it.

It's fantastic to think that in these ten years two-thirds of these people who landed on the beaches the way it was described in Exodus, the way this guy, Sherman from Chicago who asked the question last night went there and fought to help them get that done. Two-thirds of the people in Israel only brought there, and these rough, tough twelve years are on their own feet. They have got a house. They have got a husband or wife. They have got kids. Maybe it's the second family. Maybe it's the third family. It doesn't matter. It's a new family. It's a new child growing up. There's a good, clean red roof over your head. There is all the reason in the world to be so proud of that what we can bust our buttons. However, that requires us to look at the other side of the coin because it's obvious that if two-thirds are in one set of circumstances

28. which I am describing glowingly, one-third are obviously in a set of circumstances which, well, should really make us feel quite inadequate, and as though we haven't done enough and should serve as a spur to us to further effort.

Now I don't want to go into the details of the way this one-third of the emigrant population in Israel is living. You all heard about the riot that took place in a place in Hais called Haifi called Halisalib. It was a big business. It was in the papers in the United States. Do you know how the riot started? In a bar between a pimp and a gangster and a crook and a cop, and somebody yelled at somebody and somebody hit somebody over the head with a bottle and a cop shot, and then you know how a crowd gets excited. What was it? It was a barroom brawl on where? What's your bad street here in Chicago?

[MEMBER: We have none.] [Laughter]

MR. FRIEDMAN: You know, we were very surprised. We were very surprised at it in Israel for this reason. People who are idealists who live with their heads up in the clouds, who make these wonderful speeches and intoxicate themselves with the speeches and hypnotize themselves and anesthetize themselves with their own speeches as they talk about the Jewish ideal of the hero with the gun on one shoulder and the flower on the

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other shoulder, I don't know why it doesn't break down carrying all this equipment, but this image, this boy in Exodus, you know that is how we think of this great Israeli. We get kind of shocked and kind of upset when we realize that they brawl around in bars and bums in slums and gangsters, and we don't like it. It doesn't sit well with us. It "hain't" for us. It just isn't. You know it.

You know it down deep in the fabric of your being. We don't have that kind of thing in Jewish life. We haven't had it.

Somebody talked about the "stekel" last night. We didn't have it in the big cities. There were hidden pockets of vice, sure, and everybody knew where they were, and it was kept under the rug. It didn't emerge out into your metropolitan life where your kids could see it in view. Where there could be a general lowering of moral tone in the whole community.

We haven't had it in Jewish life. We don't like it when we see it emerging. We are surprised as we continue to make our speeches of the heroic image of the new Jew in Israel to find out that in the back alleys and in the gutters we are growing a certain kind of Jew who is a slum dweller.

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Now, look, fellows, we don't like it, and there is no reason for us to continue with it, and there is no reason why it grows and takes root except when there is a culture medium in which it can ferment and yeast and grow, and that little test tube in which it grows all the time is the slum of Walicaled or Hatikva quarter of Tel Aviv or Muscraura quarter or other quarters of other cities I could tell you where we have allowed Jewish slums to fester which we just damn well ought to eradicate.

It's a question of housing. It's a question of re-location of families, a question of social workers coming in, a question of putting kids in vocational schools, and a question of getting papa a good job.

You know what it is. Everybody here is familiar with that. There are lots of things you can't do by money, but there are lots of problems that are totally amenable to complete solution by money, by the application of money, and these slums and these maabarot where sixty thousand people are living, all the things that we say we don't like, all the things of the life of one-third of the immigrants which have been brought to Israel can be eliminated and all the achievements that we have

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31 made for the other two-thirds can be made for this remaining one-third by the application of money.

I will read you a very brief statement. There is a man many of us in this room know, Dr. David Tanne. Mr. Tanne is the head of the housing department. He told reporters on January 7 that eleven maabarot would be liquidated by the end of March. They are -- and he named them: Bet-Shemesh, Maot, Yavneh, Ofakim, Akko, Ashdod, Kiryat Shmone, Mlaharia, Haruvit, Yikon and Hiriya.

By the end of 1960 he said the number of maabarot will decline from seventy to twenty-seven. There are seventy thousand. There were two hundred fifty thousand a few years ago. Maabarot is a transit camp. You are supposed to go through it on transit into better housing. It only takes six or seven years to go through it. The number of maabarot will decline from seventy to twenty-seven at the end of 1960. There will only be nine thousand four hundred four families against twenty-four thousand nine hundred seventy-three families living in the maabarot now.

Bravo. Good old Tanne sits there in the housing ministry and he struggles with the paper and pencil, and he breaks a lot of pencils because he writes heavily, and he tries

32 to figure out. He says, "I have got twenty-five thousand families living in these places now. I promise you by the end of the year I will only have nine thousand five hundred families" Good. Good.

He didn't tell the reporters anything at all, you know, about how he is going to pay for this. No, you know. No reporter is going to bother them with finances, money. Figures, who? What? How? Who is going to build seventeen or eighteen thousand houses this year?

We know from a lot of experiences it costs about three thousand dollars a house. Josh Glasser thinks we ought to take the campaign and put it on the base of getting three thousand bucks a house. Seventeen thousand houses, by the way, you know is fifty-one million dollars.

Let's talk this afternoon about Josh's idea, whether we pitch the whole campaign on the basis of three thousand dollars for a house. If we were to spend fifty-one million dollars on housing in 1960, just for the lousy maabarot and nothing else, what would happen with the program of the JDC? What would happen with the program of taking in new emigrants? I don't know whether it will be forty thousand this year or fifty thousand or twenty thousand. It doesn't matter. You have

33- got an average I told you that you have got to anticipate over a ten-year period, and that average costs you money in one year. If it doesn't cost it to you in 1960, it will cost it in 1961 if there are twenty thousand that come this year and ten thousand next year.

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If you spent fifty-one million dollars of money just for the maabarot housing dwellers alone with the UJA, you couldn't take care of the JDC. You couldn't take care of the new immigration coming into the country. You couldn't do all the things that have to be done with the old immigrants who came there three, four, five, two years ago.

It sounds funny, doesn't it? If we wanted to run a campaign among the Jews of the United States just to build 17,000 little houses, we couldn't get enough money to do that, and do everything else that has to be done.

I tell you that in order that I may indicate to you that the program of bringing the remaining one-third of the immigrants who are still underprivileged up to the standards that the other two-thirds now enjoy is not a program which can be done in one year, and I am making that warning now very simply because I don't want to have anybody argue with me next December 31 as follows, and I can see that gentleman arguing with me as

34- follows: "You told us that the campaign of 1960 is to help meet the backlog of needs of the immigrants who are underprivileged. You told us you wanted to clean out the maabarot, and you wanted to bring up the employment, and you wanted to clean out the slums. You told us all that. We gave the money. Now there are still maabarots, and there are still people in slums, and what did you do with all the money we gave you?"

05 101402 I am anticipating this actuarial gentleman who will come with his table of statistics at the end of the year and confront me by telling you now in advance we aren't going to be able to clean out all the maabarot this year. We aren't going to be able to clean out all the slums. We aren't going to be able to take all the farm settlements and bring them up to snuff.

You know, you people in this room are all farmers. You established four hundred eighty-five farm settlements. You did with your money. On those farm settlements you put thirty-two thousand families in the last twelve years, farming families, Jews from Mogador, Margadesch, Vasavel, Debrish and in Transylvania, who never were farmers in their lives, but you put thirty-two thousand Jewish families on farms. You know, not one of those farms is paying off yet. You know, not a one of those farmers is making his living off that farm. You know the reason

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is you haven't invested all the money into those farms that is needed to make them pay. So I don't want anybody coming to me at the end of the year and saying, "You put money into farm settlements in order to bring them up to snuff, but there are still so many hundreds of farm settlements that are still not yet fully capitalized." Right. There won't be.

Leonard Ratler has the greatest story in the world on that one if you know him in Cleveland. He really has a story. He talks about the Jew he went to solicit this year. He said, "I want so much money."

The fellow starts to argue with him. "Look here." I can't imitate Leonard. Those of you who know him, know I can't. You can.

But he tells it with such beauty. He starts to argue with this Jew and he says, "Look," the man says, "I am not going to give you any money. You made promises to me in the past. You never kept your promises to me. You came to me four years ago, and you told me the Jews are coming, Austrian, Hungarian, 1956 revolution, and you told me 60,000 Jews are coming, and only 20,000 Jews came, and so you owe me 40,000 Jews from 1956." [Laughter]

"And in 1957 you told me that Jews are being expelled

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from Egypt, Nasser something, and you told me fifty thousand Jews are coming and only twenty-five came. You owe me twenty-five. That is sixty-five thousand Jews you owe me.

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"In 1958 you told me it's Poland, and you owe me 40,000. That is 105,000, and then 1959 Roumania, You bluffed me completely. You said one hundred thousand. There were seventy. So it's one hundred seventy-five thousand Jews you owe me.

"Mr. Ratner, for the last three years you told me you were taking out so many Jews. You didn't take them out."
[Laughter]

Leonard was nonplused, you know, but not for long if you know Leonard.

He comes right back and he says, "Schmero, look. In 1956 I came out. It seems to me I asked you for \$50,000. You gave me \$8,000, so you owe me \$42,000. [Laughter]

"In 1957, I thought you should have given \$50,000, but you only gave \$8,000, and so I came and asked you for \$60,000 in 1958 and I only got \$8,500, so you owed me" -- by the time Leonard got through the guy owed him \$287,000.
[Laughter] And he owed the guy 175,000 Jews, so it was a standoff. [Laughter]

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And Leonard said, "I will tell you what we will do. Let's begin from scratch now," and the guy said, "You are right."

We don't owe each other in this game. We can't make any promises to you that you can hold us to any more than you can make any promises to us about how much money you will give that we can hold you to. We ask you for money, and you go ask others. You, in turn, ask us to take that money and use it in the holy way in which you want it used. You want it used to save Jews. You want it used to build Israel. You want it used so that love can be lavished upon Jews whom you have never seen and never will see, but who are bone of our bone and who are part of this whole question of Jewish survival. You want us to take the money and use it for Jewish survival, physical and spiritual. You want us to protect Jewish bodies with a big green shield of money that we put around them so that disease won't get at them or hunger won't get at them or enemies won't get at them or despair won't get at them.

You want us to protect them with a shield of your money so we can bring to them all the things that are necessary for life to be maintained, and you want us to do the same thing with Israel, and you want us to take the green money and make

38 the brown soil of Israel with it, and in wanting us to do those things you are really responding to the deepest urge within yourselves because you want to keep the Jewish people alive because you know that the ideas for which the Jewish people stand are the ideas of civilization.

It isn't something we can do in a year or five years or a decade. It's something at which we have been working now for several decades. We have only got several more to go. It's really nothing. It's a spit of a moment in the passage of time. Where we go from the dim beginnings of Moses whose story we read this morning to the far, far dim endings of time when we will create a society upon this earth of which all men will be the beneficiaries, not just the Jews. We are stubborn. We are mean. We don't let the enemies push us off the stage. We are nasty because we won't lie down and die peacefully when others would like us to be quiet and not talk about our miseries. We are determined. We are convinced, and we are absolutely unshakeable and unbeatable when we are united, and that's why this is a United Jewish Appeal whose purpose is survival and whose instruments are you. That's the whole story. Thanks very much.

[Applause]

Look, I apologize. This has been an hour and five

39 minutes. That is a long time to talk. It is longer to listen. Secondly, we have got Mel Dubinsky, the Chairman, who has got announcements he wants to make about transportation and other things, but the plan of this thing we have got another easily fifteen or twenty minutes if there are any questions, and I wish we would go on with questions.

051191407
Mr. Jordan is here. Mr. Warburg is here. Mr. Levitt is here, and I would like us to continue and go on. I will only ask that questions about campaigning be ruled out because the whole afternoon is devoted to that. No speeches. Honest. No speeches. This afternoon is only campaign questions such as How do you take an hour-and-five-minute speech and make it twenty minutes. That is a campaign question. That we will get to this afternoon. If there are any more questions about fact, fact, fact, we want to get all the facts out this morning. Anything you want to know about farms, irrigation, immigrants, houses, anything of factual matter we want this morning.

First, let Mr. Dubinsky make the announcement about transportation. Then we go on to the questions.

[Announcements by Mr. Dubinsky.]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: We have about fifteen minutes til lunch. Then if you will follow your program and attend

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your respective meetings, there are three different meetings at lunch time. Just follow your program and we will take the balance of the time in questions and answers.

MR. FRIEDMAN: All right, there was one question right over here.

MR. SAMUEL WEISS [St. Louis]: Mr. Friedman, I am the Chairman of the Real Estate Division, and I am vitally interested in money as pertaining to financing home construction, and I am interested in knowing do they or do they not have some form of FHA in Israel whereby this maabarot we could build seventeen thousand homes for \$51,000,000 with an initial investment probably of only \$50,000 or \$100,000? Don't they have any savings and loan association we can borrow money from? I mean you speak about building homes. Anybody can buy or build real estate with money. We do it with equity money.

MR. FRIEDMAN: That is a cute one. "Anybody can do it with money."

Well, look, most of the people who need to occupy these homes, let me say, 99 per cent of the people who must occupy these homes can't pay for them.

MR. WEISS: No down payment?

MR. FRIEDMAN: Almost none -- pennies.

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MR. WEISS: We do it here with the Veterans.

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MR. FRIEDMAN: And therefore the answer to your question is yes. It's not what we call FHA between the government of Israel and the Jewish agency of Israel to whom we give our money. Practically all of the houses are built with one hundred per cent mortgages on them for the people who move into the house and the paper, the mortgage paper is held respectively by the government of Israel or by the Jewish agency, and the Jewish agency to whom we give these millions and millions of dollars every year owns millions and millions and millions of dollars worth of houses, and thirty, forty, fifty years from now they may get paid off at which point we won't have to have any more campaigns because they will have all the money coming in from the property.

MR. WEISS: Mr. Friedman, I had in mind getting the JDC out of real estate. I am perfectly willing to make a trip for you, but get JDC out of real estate.

MR. FRIEDMAN: I can tell you what has been done with Levittown and several other buildings and others interested in this and they have helped very much, by the way.

MR. JOSH FINEBERG [Indianapolis]: How do you reconcile this three thousand dollar figure on the housing problem

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with the Israel bond movement also set up to raise three thousand dollars per house?

MR. FRIEDMAN: I am not sure what you mean by reconcile. Reconcile means two things are incompatible, and they have to be reconciled.

MR. FINEBERG: Are they?

MR. FRIEDMAN: No, that is not the case. Housing in Israel is done by two bodies, let's call them bodies. One, the government of Israel; second, an organization called the Jewish Agency.

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The Jewish Agency -- I don't want to give you the long story of how it was formed and when and what the background is, fifty years and so on. The Jewish Agency is the philanthropic organization that works with Israel. The United Jewish Appeal raises its money for the Jewish Agency, the philanthropic body. The Bond sell their bonds for the government, governmental project. Both the government and the Jewish Agency build houses. A house doesn't cost any more for the government to put up than for the Jewish Agency to put up. The contractors in Israel charge the same to the government or the same to the Jewish Agency, so that there is no reconciliation of incompatibles.

43. The Bond organization tries to get people to buy \$3,000 bonds or \$3,000 worth of bonds which goes to the government so that the government can put up \$5,000 units, \$10,000 units, \$20,000 units a year. The Jewish Agency also builds housing. If we can give the Jewish Agency more money, they can build more houses. If we give them less money, they build fewer houses.

They are not a government. They don't have the power of taxation. They are a philanthropic group depending upon contributions from abroad such as we give them or the Jews in South America or Canada or England where they all raise money for the same thing.

There is no incompatibility at all. There is nothing to be reconciled. In one case the Bond organization is selling bonds whose proceeds go to the government, and the government uses them for housing or electricity or factories or power lines or railroads. In the other case we are asking for philanthropic contributions which we give to the Jewish Agency which it uses for housing, for schools, for vocational retraining, for food and so forth. Am I making myself clear?

MR. FINEBERG: There is no duplication of effort?

MR. FRIEDMAN: Not at all between the government and

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the Jewish Agency. They are both building houses. Not enough houses are built, and that is why people are still living in shantytowns.

MEMBER: I have a question. I would like to direct my question to Charlie Jordan.

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Last night you mentioned that the JDC has offices in many cities in Europe, and you invited individuals to come and look at some of the projects through them. Now there are individuals who I know of who go to Europe or are going to Europe who have not been involved in the UJA, and I was wondering how we could extend an invitation to those individuals to go over there and see what is going on and what is the physical agenda and just exactly how does it happen? Who do we contact, and would they be welcome?

MR. JORDAN: Well, I would suggest that anybody known to us who is a Jew and who you think could be interested in developing a relationship to this problem should be directed to either the UJA office in New York or to the JDC office, but I suppose as a matter of coordination it would be better to do it through the UJA office, and he can tell them where he is going, what places he is going to stop at, and he will be given a list of places, offices of the JDC in these different countries

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to which he can turn for information and advice, but the UJA would then also advise these offices of the JDC that Mr. XYZ may be coming at such and such a time, and that we should give him all the courtesies and so on, and take him to the installations which would be of interest to him. We can easily arrange that.

MEMBER: And you would welcome people of substantial means or people that should be involved in this thing to come there, I take it?

MR. JORDAN: Very definitely. Yes, we welcome that.

MR. FRIEDMAN: All right, you have heard the answer to that. I would like to underscore it.

Look, fellows, you know how many people travel abroad. A large number every year, more and more and more people go. Charlie Jordan was very sweet and very polite when he said, yes, he would be delighted to see everybody. He obviously means that he would be delighted to see everybody who is interested to come to see. It really would not matter how many people he gets swamped with, if he gets swamped with too many people, he will start hollering for help. The more people who go abroad who can stop in his office in Geneva, or if not Geneva, then Vienna or Paris or in Rome, or anywhere, you go in a cruise on

46. the Constitution or the Independence and you go in to the Port of Casablanca. The ship stays there one day. Get off the ship for the day. Go over to their office for a couple of hours and see what is happening at one of the Jewish communities in Casablanca. Spread that word around, and they would be delighted to have all the visitors in the world.

MR. BILL SELZER [St. Louis]: I see your speech is being transcribed. Will we get a copy of it?

MR. FRIEDMAN: Sure, if you want it, but what you would want it for with all that bad grammar is beyond me. All right, if you want it, if you would want it, then what we will do is clean it up, polish it up and mail it out to you.

MR. SELZER: Just as it is.

MEMBER: Now.

MR. FRIEDMAN: Right away. I don't know how long it takes for the notes to be transcribed. We will get it to you as quickly as we can which would be a matter of days.

MR. ED ELK [Flint, Michigan]: Last year we used your recorded speech of Miami very effectively, and possibly a recorded speech such as you just gave us today would serve for the same purpose.

MR. FRIEDMAN: Mr. Elk, let me answer by saying this.

47 A recorded speech such as today is impossible because it's really too long. I did, however, last week make a recording that takes twenty-one or twenty-two minutes on a tape or record. That's done. We have that in the office. That's available to anybody who wants it.

It contains the essence of this a little more elegantly phrased. That's all, but with the same yelling and everything, I mean. [Laughter] But it's available. Our office has it.

It's called the "Critical Year Between Crisis." We have no crisis this year. There is no headline, no crisis. This is only a critical year between crisis, and so that takes twenty-one or twenty-two minutes, and anybody who wants it is welcome to it. All you have to do is write to the office or call.

JOSH GLASSER [Chicago]: Herbert, are you going to be in the session this afternoon?

MR. FRIEDMAN: Yes, for a while.

MR. GLASSER: Because I would appreciate very much an opportunity -- not that I want to debate with you. I am not that smart, but I would like to give my version of what I told to you and others about the housing.

48 MR. FRIEDMAN: Right, sure.

MR. GLASSER: It has nothing to do with the basic campaign need, and as a matter of fact, Herbert, we have been trying out the idea here, and it's working in Chicago.

MR. FRIEDMAN: Then it's exactly a subject fit for this afternoon's discussion on campaign techniques and how to raise more money.

MR. GLASSER: I hope you will be there to hear what I actually said about it.

MR. FRIEDMAN: Good, I will be there.

Question? All right, let me say this then. You have been darlings about this whole thing, so be good for two more minutes. Sitting here so quietly and so regally on the platform has been Mrs. Sarah Goodman all morning. Her private clique applauded her when she walked in, so that is fine.

Sarah is sharing and hostessing or whatever the word is a luncheon session for the Women's Division right now. In other words, the women are having lunch in a separate room with Sarah Goodman, the Chairman of the Women's Division. We haven't said anything about the importance of that. The importance of it is obvious by the fact that we want Sarah to be an integral part of this conference and the women are an integral part of the

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campaign.

I would urge all of the ladies to go to this luncheon and there whether you are active in the women's division of your town or not, you know somebody who is, go to the women's division luncheon with Mrs. Sarah Goodman which is held -- Sarah, in which room?

MRS. GOODMAN: Terrace, I think.

MR. FRIEDMAN: In the Terrace Room. You will find it. The men then will retire to the big stag dining room and eat in all your ugly loneliness without any feminine beauty to grace the dining room, and then the men will split in the afternoon into the two sessions of the large communities and the small communities. The session of the small and medium communities will take place in this room after lunch at one-thirty. In this room because there are more representatives of small and medium communities. The representatives of the large communities -- does everybody know the large communities are Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, all those people of the large communities have to go out of the building. Their meeting is next door. The small and medium communities stay in this room. The women stay with Mrs. Goodman. The movie at four o'clock.

MEMBER: I move we adjourn.

[The meeting recessed at twelve-thirty o'clock.]



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SATURDAY EVENING SESSION

February 13, 1960

The Dinner Session Meeting convened at 9 o'clock in the Ballroom with Mr. Melvin Dubinsky, Chairman of the Institute, presiding.

CHAIRMAN MELVIN DUBINSKY: Consul Tescher, Honored Guests, Officers of the United Jewish Appeal, Ladies and Gentlemen: Again I am Melvin Dubinsky of St. Louis, and still as Herb said, it is my privilege to serve as your chairman again tonight for this dinner session for our Midwest Leadership Institute that has been held the last two days.

I would first like to read a cablegram, a message from Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion of Israel to the 1960 United Jewish Appeal.

"To you and all friends of the United Jewish Appeal, I send warm greetings from the people of Israel as you gather to launch your 1960 campaign. This year offers us great and creative opportunity to bring up to a self-sufficient level those immigrants not yet absorbed in our economy. The work of receiving and absorbing early a million newcomers to Israel in which you have so notably

engaged together with us has resulted in magnificent accomplishments. Two out of every three newcomers are today contributing to Israel's advancement, but some 350,000 men, women and children must have quickly decent housing, full-time work, farming necessities, special education and welfare service, and we must never permit ourselves to forget the many thousands of people who wait for the opportunity to join us in the building of our own land.

"We must speed up help to those immigrants still not absorbed so they can, too, take their places in the ranks of citizens. Be they a helping hand to other newcomers as they arrive.

"Our partnership which has resulted in the miracle of a reborn nation and a people is as important today as in the day of emergency immigration. Am confident you will prove in 1960 that the mission of UJA is not only to save lives, but to rebuild them on a solid foundation for the future.

(Signed) David Ben-Gurion."

[Applause]

It's wonderful to have an overflowing crowd. We

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still have people coming in. Come in and make yourselves comfortable.

Now you know, ladies and gentlemen, this message from David Ben-Gurion is wonderful. I just wonder if -- and I am sure he would appreciate it, if he only knew the trials and tribulations that most of us had to go through in getting here on icy roads and bumpy planes, rough train rides, very efficient cabs that brought us out here. If he only knew about all that and if he could only see this overflowing audience, I am sure, just like the officers, he would enjoy this meeting in the knowledge that we share this common problem together tonight as comrades in arms.

Now we have a visitor here tonight, and incidentally, I can look around the audience and I see that you count the heads at the table, and you happen to miss the Israel Ambassador, Mr. Harman. I want you to know there have been rumors spreading all over the lobby and throughout the rooms at the Moraine that the Ambassador is going to miss this meeting. I just want to assure you that he landed about thirty minutes ago, and he is on his way.

[Applause]

I know that you sympathize with Mr. Harmon, but I am

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sure that the efficient taxi service will get him here on time.

Now we are going to nice and quiet, and I am going to have your attention, and we are going to proceed with the meeting. Right?

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The first thing you are going to do is put the candles out on the tables. Right? Now we are going to have three cheers for the United Jewish Appeal. That's an unsung hero for the United Jewish Appeal.

I will tell you, I have got a number of orators at the table here. I am having a difficult time with them. You know, one of them wound up being a competitor with George Jessel last night and did a wonderful job. Did you enjoy him?

[Applause]

As a matter of fact, Josh Glasser said he is now a candidate to take Jack Paar's job. [Laughter] He doesn't like the late hours unfortunately, so we are going to keep him.

If you were given enough leisure to read the Chicago papers in the lobby today, our dramatic presentation of "Eva" based on Meyer Levin's best seller would have required

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no introduction from me. You know, of course, that it is a true story about an eighteen-year old girl who left her family and friends in her Polish village at the time of the German occupation and daringly assumed the name and personality of an Ukranian girl. How she managed to survive even though denounced afterwards as a Jew and sent to a living death at Auschwitz is one of the most remarkable feats of spiritual fortitude and human endurance of our generation.

What enabled Eva to succeed where millions of others just unfortunately failed? It was the magic courage that saw her through her terrible trials. The answer will be unfolded to you when the curtain goes up. We are deeply grateful to Meyer Levin for helping us to prepare the dramatic script that you are about to have performed for you.

The cast in order appearance are:

Lee Hauptman is the narrator.

Lucia Villela is Eva.

Joan Peters is Esther and Nina.

Eleanor Merriam is Mrs. Eberhardt.

David Crane is the Gestapo Officer.

Howard Witt is Slavek, Stashek, Ari.

The name of one other important character has been

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purposely omitted because I am sure that by the time the play ends she will need no introduction to you, and now "Eva" by Meyer Levin.

[Applause]

[The presentation of "Eva" was presented at this time.]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Ladies and gentlemen, the real Eva, Mrs. Eva Lev of Israel.

[Applause]

MRS. LEV: [Applause] This interruption gave me the opportunity to relax. I was very moved and you can imagine how difficult it is for me now to speak. I am still deeply moved when I hear the story about my life in spite of the fact that I have heard so much about it and I have spoken so much about it, but I told my story because it was my duty.

When I left my home in Poland, my mother said, "If you stay alive, you must tell it," and I did it.

There is another reason. The new generation knows nothing about those terrible years, and they must know. They must know what it was like to be a Jew. They must never again be forced to deny it.

I have lived in Israel with my family since 1948,

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and I remember very well how difficult was life for us. I also remember the great help which we got from the "Suknuk". It was not only financial help, it was a spiritual help. We felt that we have friends, and they help us to build our life anew.

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Now I can say proudly that I live a normal life as a proud Jew in Israel. In Israel today all generations should be able to hold their heads high, but there are still some who look at the ground. They are worried about a good house to live in, about a good job, education for their children. They are still struggling, and they must not feel alone in their struggle. That is the worse thing in the world to be alone. Even in a concentration camp the most important thing was friendship.

As long as my friends in Israel have the friendship and help of Jews in America, they will not be discouraged. They will win their struggle and take their eyes off the ground and hold their heads high once more. Thank you.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: I know the spirit of American women can be typified by our Chairman, Mrs. Goodman, who is the National Women's Chairman that wants to present you with

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a corsage. Mrs. Goodman.

MRS. SARAH GOODMAN: Eva, I want to say to you that we are so happy that you are with us. Not only do you have friends in Israel, but you have friends wherever you go in America, and we are happy that you are so young, that you have so many years before you that will be lived in happiness with your family.

We want to give you this white corsage that stands for purity and love and all that goes with it.

MRS. EVA LEV: I thank you very much.

[The assembly arose and applauded.]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Please be seated.

Up again.

[The assembly arose and applauded as Ambassador Avraham Harman entered the room.]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Ladies and gentlemen, I think the cast deserve a tremendous round of applause. They are just walking out.

[Applause]

Now our flying Ambassador is here safe and sound. This is perhaps about the tenth meeting he has covered this week. The tenth? Fifteenth. He stopped counting, but he is

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here, thank goodness, and we will enjoy his remarks a little later in the program.

I know my comments about the production would be gilding the lily. However, the author and actors want you to know that Mr. Elliot Schick and Mr. Sid Mayer directed this performance. Mr. John Green was the technical director, and Mr. Lee Simpson was the stage manager. Let's give them a hand, too.

[Applause]

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We have an Israeli in the audience here tonight, and as I look around, I am amazed by the number of people that I know have been to Israel in the past few years. This man is a public relations man that's well known to us who has made this round circuit of Israel with his good guidance. Mr. Danny Sedansky. Will you take a bow, Danny? Danny, take a bow.

[Applause]

Our guide, champion public relations man.

At this point, ladies and gentlemen, I consider it a distinct privilege and honor to introduce the first speaker. Much could be said about him. I am actually on his home grounds. It makes it rather difficult for me to say too much.

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I am almost trying to hold myself back, but I can truthfully say as an American myself, I feel very humble in his presence. The gentleman that I am about to introduce, when the history of this century is written, in my humble opinion, will go down as one of the greatest living Americans, as one of the greatest living Jews of our time. He is a past president of the B'nai B'rith, served them with a tremendous degree of loyalty for many, many years. Fortunately, for us at this time he is serving as one of our national chairmen. I consider it a distinct privilege and honor to introduce Mr. Phil Klutznick of Chicago. Mr. Klutznick.

[Applause]

MR. PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK: Your Excellency, Honored Guests, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am not too fond of my predicament. Whether I live through the century or part of it, living through tonight is going to be quite a problem. Following in the wake of a true life story dramatically and poignantly presented with words uttered through the lines of the principal character is sufficient of a handicap, but then to precede the distinguished Ambassador from the State of Israel, the only suggestion I can make to myself is that I might as well have continued staying in bed as,

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indeed, I did the first five days of this week.

I was in Israel just a week or ten days ago. I left there a week ago Friday, and while I was there I was visiting at the university with a very old and dear friend, Mosha Davis. Dr. Davis has a way of collecting stories between trips, and I don't vouch for the authenticity of this one, but in a sense it is appropriate to my own predicament, so I tell it to you.

The story that was going the rounds was the story of the Satler rabbi who on the eve of the election last November heard that the Belzer rabbi had given permission to his "kausedum" to vote.

Now if you know the niceties of the ideological conflicts that are involved here, then you know what a great concession this was. So the Satler rabbi went to the Belzer rabbi and said, "Is it true?" He said, "Yes."

"Why?"

"Because it's a mitzvah."

The rabbi said, "A mitzvah? Is it a mitzvah like eating matzoth on Passover?"

He said, "It is not such a mitzvah. It's more like the mitzvah of eating bitter herbs on Passover."

My predicament tonight is more like the mitsvah of eating bitter herbs on the Passover and not like eating matzoth.

I heard already on my arrival here that last night was one of the great nights of the conference with Eddie Warburg, Moe Leavitt, Charles Jordan telling that great and true story of the joint distribution committee.

I heard it two weeks ago in Amsterdam. I can hear it time and again because it is the honest expression of a great job being done out of the hearts and minds of good people and ably done, and it was thrilling to pick up the aftermath of the applause of last night's evening, and I heard, too, of the tremendous performance, and I shouldn't say performance because Herbert Friedman never really performed. He just expresses himself, and when he expresses himself I guess it's a book in itself. So what there is left for me now that we wait for the words of the Ambassador, is simply another expression from the heart, and I give it to you in a few moments.

When I thought that Av Harman was delayed, I was going to take a long time. You are saved that trouble. I give it to you in a few moments.

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I arrived in Israel a week ago Thursday, and was greeted at the airport with the news of the shooting on the Syrian border. Of course, I had a telephone call from home. People are always more worried 7000 miles away. I must confess that as I slept at the hotel that night, a little bit weary from a few trips through Europe, that I heard some shooting, at least in my mind, but no one else did.

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Life went on. There was peace in the streets of Tel Aviv, and on the next day in Jerusalem. The interesting thing about the whole experience is that to whomever I spoke there was a confidence whether in the highest places in the Government or among the people in the streets that this was not a real threat to security.

I spoke to our Ambassador, Ogden Reed, and from the American point of view the same view was expressed.

I wandered through the offices and among my friends, and I saw the growing strength economically of the State of Israel. Growing even within the six months that I had last been there when I saw it aglow with agricultural strength, the like of which I had never hoped to see, and I thought maybe they were right.

I came home. I had all this week to lay around

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fighting flu which I contracted in Chicago, not in Israel.
[Laughter] And I had an opportunity to think, and I want to say some things here and now which I hope the Ambassador will forgive me for saying in his presence, but I speak as an American Jew no less sincere in what I am going to say than that remarkable statement you made a few moments ago. I am not so sanguine that the security picture is as comforting as some would have us believe. I am not so happy with what I hear, and I see in other places as well as in Israel. I have a slight suspicion, my friends, that we may be entering into another series of events in which our Government is playing a leading role which may unconsciously contribute to the suggestion to those who surround Israel that this may be their last chance to take a try at what they have announced for a long while they would like to do.

The Arab League meeting just completed may not have been the success that the releases indicate, but there is no doubt in my mind that there was a recitation of successes on the part of Arab nations in the last year or eighteen months in their diplomacy which suggested to them that maybe the Western World is willing to look the other way.

What would you think if when you blockaded the

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Suez, Western powers including our own Government was willing to look the other way while you received a little gift of 56 million dollars to help improve it? What would you think if in the midst of this kind of intimate piracy, or violation of international covenants and conditions and conventions money was being shoved at you from many sources and many places? Would you, if you were on the other side, begin to suspect that you were the favorite darling of the hour?

If you wouldn't, you would be the most unusual, and I suspect that there is from what reports I have had and interpretation of the attitude of the Western World in its attempt to try to balance matters in the Arab world, there is an interpretation growingly evident that this is perhaps the hour.

Maybe there is encouragement, and certainly not discouragement, and this is heightened in great measure, my friends. It's heightened in great measure in my opinion by the attempt to tighten the Arab boycott. This itself evidences a realization that what we have been doing in trying to help our co-religionists is succeeding, and that the economy of Israel is growing strong and stronger, and that it may be too late if there is too long a wait.

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Now what's the significance of this to American Jews? I know, my friends, where I travel people say, "Why don't you talk to the state department?" We do. Why don't we pass resolutions? We do.

There are even great mass meetings when there are anti-Semitic incidents in which we indulge in that understandable therapy for ourselves when we shout at each other and at the world we don't like it. But it is not any of these things that in my judgment are adequately and completely understood.

Adlai Stevenson wrote a very searching article on the foreign policy situation of our country a few weeks ago, and in it he referred to the problem in the Middle East with these words: "This problem may wear out before it's solved."

And some problems do wear out. I don't believe that the present circumstances suggest that the atmosphere is sufficiently relaxing that it wear out. There are too many vital forces at work in the area and too many gross political and diplomatic maneuvers to permit of the suggestion that we can relax or that anyone can relax in this and in the days ahead.

Let me tell you one incident, and with this I con-

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clude. You may or may not know from a reading of the press that there has been some suggestion that the World Bank is considering an application of the State of Israel for a reasonably substantial loan. Only by accident on my return and through a third party to whom a responsible officer of the bank had spoken I heard the suggestion that the only thing that stood in the way was some doubt on the part of some of the people in the bank as to whether or not the degree and extent of support which has been provided from outside Israel will continue for any length of time. Because they consider this in the bank in view of the three hundred million dollar gap the greatest single asset which the State of Israel and the people of Israel possess.

If you talk in fiscal matters what happens here and what happens in this campaign may make all the difference in the world in the solution of the economic problems, but if you want to talk in matters of security I tell you that the Arab League reads with every bit of avid interest that does the World Bank, not the resolutions we pass, not the meetings we attend or the representations we make, but the rise and fall of the support as translated in our willingness to give to the State of Israel.

We have it within our own grasp, it seems to me, in reaching for the solution of some of these major problems by giving as we have given in the past, but more. We have it within our grasp to discourage those who might try to challenge the strength of our co-religionists surrounded as they are by enemies on every side.

I think this year's campaign, and I say it with absolute conviction and not as campaign talk. Before it is long on the way will become one of the most important and significant factors in the political and diplomatic life of that area, and that in our hands and in our pockets we may hold as much the answer to the security problem as there may be in the guns and in the planes that defend the borders of Israel.

I believe this. I believe it with all my body and all my soul, and I ask no one to confirm it. I hope only that the events don't make me entirely too accurate, and the one way we can be sure is if we rise with human strength and courage to meet this challenge as this lady met hers in the days through which she dreamed.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Mr. Klutznick, we are deeply indebted to you for your stirring message. Let's give him

another hand. He was wonderful.

[Applause]

A famous political scientist once said that it isn't the size or brand you are that makes a nation great, but a brilliant diplomatic corps.

Well, if that is a political truism, then Israel's future greatness is assured because in Avraham Harman Israel's Ambassador to the United States, we have one of the most brilliant statesmen of our times. London born, Oxford educated and truly one of Israel's Mayflower stock, he is also one of Israel's outstanding young leaders.

Again, for reasons of protocol and because of his reserve, I shall oblige him by refraining from any further laudations. That I know I can leave to you by the manner in which you will greet his name. His Excellency, Avraham Harman.

[The audience arose and applauded.]

AMBASSADOR AVRAHAM HARMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Dubinsky. Eva Lev, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very glad to have this chance of being with you tonight even though I came rather late. The weather wasn't very hospitable, but the end result of it makes up for that very much, and it's

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very encouraging, indeed, for me to be permitted to spend these hours at this gathering of Jewish leaders from communities, I think from eleven states in this important area of your country.

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The trouble with Israel at the moment is that it's not permitted to attend conferences of the Arab League, but that will come one day as well, but until that day comes, it is possible for us to attend conferences of the United Jewish Appeal. [Laughter] And I can think of nothing more significant for the people of my country than this, as Phil Klutznick pointed out, and I think pointed out very well, indeed, because in a very real sense we will attain our objectives in the Middle East, I am quite confident about that. We shall attain peace in the Middle East and the decisive factor in that is going to be the performance of the Jewish people and the performance of the Jewish people is, I think, symbolized by the men and women who are in this room, what they have been doing for a long time and what they are planning to do in the future.

Now I have been introduced as a diplomat, and I would like to tell you in all frankness what the tradition of Israeli diplomacy is. It was set for us by the immortal Dr.

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Vauxman who was defending his Korea of Zionist leadership against bitter attack. I remember that the Zionist Congress in December, 1946 when our fortunes were at a very low ebb, and the future was clouded with great anxiety and uncertainty. He summed up his Korea, I think. It was, I think, the last speech that he made before a Zionist Congress after decades of activity. He summed up his Korea by saying that in every stone in the village of Nahalat and in every factory in Tel Aviv there was a drop of his blood.

The course of diplomacy that went into Stats of Israel and the course of Israeli diplomacy since then has been to try to reflect and at the same time, try to mobilize the growing strength of the facts that we create in the land of Israel.

Diplomacy isn't talk. It's a reflection of the strength of the people, of the needs and aspirations of the people and the ability of the people to attain its aspirations is entirely conditioned by its capacity to create facts which underpin its existence, and on the basis of which it can construct the building of its national human and social life, and therefore the big diplomats of Israel are not the people that make the speeches. They are the people such as Mrs.

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Lev here tonight who gathered the people, who needed the land and brought them to the land, and the people that made it possible when they reached the land to be nursed back to health and to take a root in it, create in it the basis of livelihood for themselves and their children and their grandchildren.

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The diplomats of Israel are the people that cover the hills with forests and the people that build new plants and creat new jobs and add to the conomic strength and resilience of Israel, and it is because I am aware of this that it is so comforting and encouraging for me to be here with you and to see this expression of the power of the United Jewish Appeal.

The United Jewish Appeal is a philanthropic organization. Its purpose, as I understand it, for the past twenty years or more has been to track down the human needs of Jews in want of homes and health and of human care and to satisfy those needs wherever they could be satisfied, and fortunately in the United Jewish Appeal there has never been an ideological discussion. You support Jewish migration wherever the doors are open for Jews. You care for Jewish needs wherever Jewish needs exist, and you make no choice

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between one need and another, between one way of satisfying a need and another, but because you are not an ideological institution, because you are an expression of a desire to fulfill the age-old Jewish commandment of redeeming captives, you have taken an entirely pragmatic approach towards the possibilities in our generation of satisfying Jewish needs, and you have come to Israel in the course of your work, and you have used Israel in the course of your work for Jewish rehabilitation because it has become abundantly clear in the last fifteen years or so that Israel was needed as an instrument of Jewish rehabilitation, that it was willing to allow itself to be used as such an instrument, and that as the years go by it becomes a growingly more powerful instrument of saving Jewish lives and of winning back to human, social and occupational health hundreds of thousands of Jews who but for the existence of this instrument would have no way out.

I discovered the true meaning of Israel just about ten years ago when I was sent abroad on my first assignment as a Consul to Montreal, and when I was getting briefed for that job in Israel among other things I was called to the Ministry of Immigration. At that time we had a Ministry of

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Immigration. It was abolished, I think, in 1951 as being redundant because Jewish immigration into Israel, it was then claimed, should be regarded so much as a matter of course that there was no need for any special apparatus to signify that it was going to come in, but at that time we had a Ministry of Immigration, and I was called in by the Director General to get my briefing, and he turned over to me some rubber stamps and stenciled sheets of instructions. He said to me, "It's all very simple really. Any Jew that comes to you and says that he needs to go to Israel and wants to go to Israel, you just put this stamp in his passport, and that's all there is to it."

Now this was in 1949 just a few years after the end of the war when the memory was still very fresh in my mind of how during the critical and anguished years of Jewish suffering in Europe millions of our people had faced everywhere in the world closed doors, and it seemed to me at that time that everything which had been dreaming of for centuries and everything that we had been fighting for in Palestine for decades was all of it summed up in this rubber stamp, and in this forthright and simple instruction that you as a representative of Israel when you are approached by a Jew that

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tells you that he needs Israel and wants permission to go there, give him a visa.

It's as simple as that really, and that's what we have been doing since 1948 to about one million people now who asked for this stamp and who got it because the backing for it in Israel had been created during three generations and more of consistent struggle with the help and support of Jews all over the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, the stamp, the visa and the door that has been broken open in Israel is just the first step. The Jew couldn't get through that open door without your help. Ninety-five per cent of those million Jews who have come to Israel in the last twelve years came on assisted passages because they came from communities which had been pauperized as a result of the calamities which had overtaken them, and as they presented themselves at that open door, they needed help, any mental help to rehabilitate them physically, to make them over occupationally from a gypsy people into a people with a normal economy, and they needed help to take root in that economy, and that is just where you came in with the massive assistance of the United Jewish Appeal.

You have achieved a great deal these last twelve

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years with those million people who are today in Israel. Nearly all of them today are gainfully employed. They are working in agriculture and in industry, in the growing communication system of Israel, and in Israel's growing commerce, and this is a tremendous achievement because they came to us without means and without skills and occupations that were of any use to them in the condition of our country.

Less than one per cent of them in their country of origin had earned their living as farmers, but about 18 per cent of them today in Israel are living off the land with the work of their hands. Few of them, 2 per cent of them in their country of origin, had been working in the building trades, but today they have achieved a constructional capacity in Israel not only to build houses for themselves, but even to enable our country to export constructional ability because today the great construction concerns of Israel are bidding successfully for construction contracts in various parts of the world, in the Middle East and in East Africa and recently in Western Africa, too.

This is a tremendous occupational revolution that has been accomplished to a decisive extent as a result of what you have done, and the children of these people in

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Israel today have acquired a new aspect and new appearance.

Our school population in Israel at the primary level has jumped since 1948 from about 70,000 to its present figure of about 400,000. This is a tremendous human asset which has been created very largely by you.

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You have done all this in the interest of saving individual human lives and rehabilitating those lives, but in the process of that drama of human rehabilitation, you have created the human foundations for Israel's independence, for Israel's capacity to withstand the great dangers which were referred to, and rightly referred to by Phil Klutznick. The great dangers which surround us still on all sides.

Now this job isn't over. The human aspect of it isn't over.

Ladies and gentlemen, many of you have been to Israel. We are not a sausage machine there. This is not a kind of mechanism into which you introduce a penniless refugee from wherever he may come and with one flick of the handle there comes out at the other end a smiling, rooted, dignified, gainfully occupied citizen. It isn't as easy as that.

If somebody comes to our country with tuberculosis, he needs to be cured. If a widow comes with five half orphaned

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children, then this represents a most difficult social problem, and you need facilities in order to solve it, to take care of the children in order that you can retrain the mother in order that the mother can then be able to find some work that will give her a feeling of independence, but to do it in a way which will not separate her from her children, and if old and sick people come in without children on whom they can depend, then they have got to be looked after all the time, maybe in the hope that some of them can be fully or partially rehabilitated, but if that's not possible, in order that they can live out the span of their lives with some kind of dignity and some kind of comfort.

And so when you go to Israel today, you find that great institution, Malben which I think is the noblest tribute that has ever been made to the true aristocracy and nobility of the Jewish spirit, that there was a sense of obligation on our part, on yours and on ours in Israel that these aged people whose children were slaughtered, that they became our responsibility to honor as we honor our own mother and our own father, and it is of enormous importance to Jewish self-respect that this debt of honor was assumed by our generation and has up to now been faithfully dis-

29 charged, but it needs to be discharged for as long as it will be necessary to discharge it, and that will be for many years to come, and not all those millions who came to Israel have received the dignity of decent housing. They are out of the tents, and they are out of the tin barracks, but there are still about 90,000 who are in wooden huts and other makeshift arrangements. There are many, many thousands of children who have been born in those conditions in Israel in the last ten years, and that's not healthy, not for them nor for the society in which they are growing up.

05 110 448 That's one uncompleted job, but another uncompleted job is to do those positive things for the people who are still coming in, and they are coming in, not as many as we would like and not as many as came in two years ago, but they are coming in. They are coming in as they can get out of the countries which they want to leave, and that is a fluctuating situation.

Some months it's more and others less, and three years ago it was 71,000 and two years ago it was 26,000, and last year it was just over 30,000. We pray that this year it will not be less than that, and we pray even though we are quite conscious of the burdens that any new immigration imposes

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upon us in Israel and upon you here, but we pray because we know that this is the prayer of those Jews themselves, and we join them in that prayer that they will be able to join us as they want to do and shift themselves from the debit side of the Jewish ledger to the positive side -- shift themselves to Jewish communities where they will be free and rooted and equal citizens and be able to bring up their children to be Jews in accordance with their own conscience.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

This is the continuing job, but behind it all there is one thing that I want to convey to you if I can by way of conclusion. Those of us who have been living in Israel for some years and who have been living in Palestine before it became Israel, when we tried to sum up to ourselves what has been the purpose of our lives and what is the satisfaction that we have secured, and we have, I would say it's this, that we have in Israel within the boundaries of Israel those 8100 square miles, we have created an area in which the Jewish will is entirely sovereign. We have always been besieged there and beleaguered. We have always been subjected to threat and to aggression, but we have proved to ourselves, I think, in the last twelve years that where the Jewish will is prepared to express itself, that in that territory there is

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nothing that we can not do.

Phil Klutznick referred to the boycott, the Arab boycott against Israel and the blockade against Israel, and it's a very real and a very damaging thing because without it we would be a whole lot further on the road to our economic consolidation. Tens of millions of dollars that boycott and that blockade has cost the State of Israel in the last twelve years with no concurrent advantage to the Arab country. They caused us damage with loss to themselves because the essential, underlying characteristic of the Arab boycott is not that it can bring a positive economic or commercial advantage to the Arab countries, but it's spiteful character as far as Israel is concerned.

It is an instrument of economic warfare against Israel. So it is conceived and so it is administered, but the Arab boycott against Israel which began before Israel proclaimed its independence. In 1946 and 1947 it began. The Arab boycott against Israel has not prevented us from building an economy, has not prevented us from increasing our visible and invisible exports from Israel from about 48 or 49 million dollars in 1950 to 280 million dollars in 1959. The Arab onslaught against the desire of Jews to

32 reach Israel has not prevented the growth of Israel's population by immigration in the last twelve years by these million people.

05.10.1451 We have grown economically. We have grown in social cohesion. We have grown in our defense capacity in spite of ceaseless attack and aggression against us economic and military and diplomatic throughout these past twelve years, and we have been able to do that because we have exercised this capacity for expressing the sovereignty of the Jewish will in the land of Israel.

We decided that we would build this country and we built it. We decided that we would bring Jews in and they came in, and we decided after the experience that Jews went through in World War II, that we would use this objective capacity that we now have in Israel to defend ourselves because we have got land underneath our feet, and we use that opportunity, too. We have created a living instrument which is at the disposal of the Jewish people to care for its homeless and its rootless, for its sick and for its needy, and to do in the most adverse of circumstances politically and militarily because this is the purpose of our independence. This is the reason for which we fought for it, not that there

33 should be a flag, not that there should be a new name on the map of the world, not that there should be a diplomatic representative, but that there should be an instrumentality that would insure Jews against this curse of rootlessness from which our people have suffered for so many centuries.

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This is the purpose, and when we defend the land of Israel we defend this purpose, and when we build a new plant in Israel, we enoble this purpose, and when we build a new school in Israel we advance this purpose that the Jews may defend themselves against attack, that they may have a place in the sun, that they may have the dignity of being unshakably rooted and imbedded in their own place. This is the purpose, and I want to congratulate you for having realized the historic nature of this great opportunity, for having appraised this instrumentality and its true worth and for having used it so effectively and to nobly during these past twenty years and more of the existence of the United Jewish Appeal.

Yours is a great record, and the fact that you have this record is, I think, an assurance to all the Jews who need you and who need Israel that this great instrument will continue to be used and that this grand purpose which is the

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central theme of the Jewish history of our generation you will pursue until it is finally attained, that there will be left in the world not one single Jew who is unintegrated, who is not free, free to be a Jew the way he wants to be, who does not possess the dignity of equal citizenship.

Thank you.

[The assembly arose and applauded.]

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Your Excellency, I think the applause is a practical demonstration of our appreciation for your being here with us tonight. We know the trials and tribulations you have been through, and your message was simply wonderful.

Ladies and gentlemen, we promised you entertainment tonight. I just want to call to your attention in the Terrace Room upstairs we will have music and dancing, but one warning. Our breakfast in the morning starts at 9:30. We would like to conclude our program tomorrow about 11 or 11:30 so that you can make your respective connections. Do us the favor of being at the breakfast on time.

Just a minute. Again we have had a most enjoyable and stimulating program. I think I would like to express our appreciation first to Eva. [Applause] Second to Phil.

35 Klutznick, and third to His Excellency. [Applause]

And please audience, accept my sincere appreciation for being such a wonderful audience the last two nights. This is stimulating to us and to all the officers and members who are sitting here who represent the United Jewish Appeal. Thank you for being so wonderful.

[Applause]

[The meeting recessed at 10:55 o'clock.]



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SUNDAY BREAKFAST SESSION

February 14, 1960

The closing session convened at 10:15 o'clock in the Ballroom with Mr. I. D. Fink, Co-Chairman of the Institute, presiding.

CHAIRMAN I. D. FINK: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

I hope that those of you who are still eating will not mind this interruption of your breakfast out of consideration for those who must leave shortly to get started back home, and if the waiters will leave the clearing of the tables until after we are through and will serve those whom they are serving quietly, we will be able to get started with this morning's session.

I think you will all agree with me that this has been a fabulous conference.

[Applause]

We have gotten the story of Jewish needs from those people best qualified in the entire world. Nowhere could we have gone for a conference and had the privilege of speaking to people better qualified to tell of Jewish needs, and surely at no time could we have had a conference in which

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we were able to ask more of the questions that bother us, obtain more information about the techniques of fund-raising and to meet a finer group of people.

There is one thing that remains to be done in this conference. As you all know, during the working sessions yesterday, we were split up into various groups, and I think it would be beneficial if before we go home we could summarize and reacquaint ourselves with the work that was done in these individual sessions so that as we leave we have as complete a picture as possible of all of the work that was done during this Institute.

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So with your permission I would like to call on Dave Citron of Peoria, the state chairman for Illinois, co-chairman of this Leadership Institute to report on the workshop seminar of the medium and small communities that was held yesterday. Mr. David Citron. Dave.

[Applause]

MR. DAVID CITRON: This will be a very brief summation of the meeting that was just referred to.

Chairman Mullen's opening remarks emphasized the the major problem of the smaller and medium size communities. The decline of funds raised by them. This trend must be and

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and can be reversed. Increases can be secured. The ability to give is there as proven by the fact that in 1958 there were thirty-one committees that raised more than they did in 1948, generally regarded as a peak year. He pointed out that efficient organization and improved techniques would get desired results.

Speaker Charles Auerbach set the pace of a spirited discussion, calling for development of a favorable campaign climate by several devices:

1. There must be thorough familiarity with the needs of issues confronting us. The community must be aroused through newspaper and all other available publicity. It must know that it is an inseparable part of a large and urgent movement. In so far as possible, people of influence, big givers, must be persuaded to assume active leadership.

2. The campaign should be scheduled with definite beginning and ending dates and should not be allowed to lag.

3. Precampaign budgeting should be instituted with the end in view of involving more people,

4 especially those with interest in diversified organization, thereby creating a broader base for activities in the campaign and a more united effort.

4. A thorough knowledge of the diversified needs for which UJA is responsible.

One of the discussion leaders dealt with the theme that those who lead must be convinced of the urgency of our task, of the historic challenge it presents, involving as it does, the fundamentals of Jewish survival.

The discussion from the floor that followed was a constructive recital of experience in various communities.

1. The utilization of national UJA help in connection with organizational work connected with campaign.

2. Make use of well-organized parlor meetings to reach directly those who contribute on the upper and medium levels. This has proved effective in many communities.

3. Unify and motivate the community through the welfare federations by appealing to existing Jewish interests other than Israel, local, national

5
and overseas.

4. Special emphasis was placed on the necessity of using every possible means to involve, encourage and train potential leadership.

Although there was considerable discussion on the subject of an annual publication of the names and amounts of pledges, there was no general agreement. However, in the main, experience has demonstrated that such information for general distribution in committees has more often resulted in increased giving in subsequent campaigns.

Card calling it was felt, is a technique wherever it can be instituted as a device that brings desirable results.

Over-all, the discussion proved that good campaigns were the result of detailed, timely and efficient planning. A rating committee to rate cards and cards distribution with the end in view that each card bring maximum results.

The discussion was concluded on the note that in campaigning there is nothing to take the place of detailed planning and hard work.

Thank you.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN FINK: Thank you, Dave.

In addition to the session yesterday held for the medium and small communities, there was an exciting meeting held for and among the representatives of the large cities.

To report on this meeting I should like to call on Charles Goldsmith of Columbus, chairman of the Columbus Campaign who will report on the seminar held for the large communities. Mr. Charles Goldsmith.

[Applause]

MR. CHARLES GOLDSMITH: Thanks, Iz.

Yesterday it was certainly invigorating to see the turnout in our meeting involving the large communities.

Some fifty-six delegates attended the seminar. The meeting was chaired by Mr. Leonard Lazer of Chicago. Following a few introductory remarks by the chairman, which laid the basis for the ensuing discussion, Mr. Elliot Jacobson of Kansas City made a presentation dealing with the campaign problem of 1960. He made four chief points:

1. Although the story which the campaign is trying to project for 1960 is as good as it was in 1959, yet it will take more skill to organize it. Therefore, every worker, chiefly those who call on

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the larger gifts, should know the full story of the campaign.

2. The worker must take the time and the trouble to explain the full needs of the campaign to every prospect.

3. Prospects should be solicited by pairs, or teams of workers. Definitely they should not be solicited through telephone calls.

4. In many cases it will be necessary for workers to repeat their visits to the same prospects in order to finally achieve a maximum contribution.

Mr. Jacobson stated that the best campaigns are run by simple ideas properly executed. He talked on the subject of "sleepers" -- contributors who have annually given small contributions but have the capacity for much larger givings. With regard to this category of prospects the problems were, "How to find him?" and "How to get to him?" He stated that it was necessary that the list of prospects should be reviewed by different groups of workers in order to find this type of giver.

The speaker then spoke of "cliques" -- social groups

which in the eyes of the campaign worker are "a protective society against adequate giving." The way to solve this problem is to work on one or two members of each group in order to infiltrate that group with the idea of adequate giving.

He said that our campaign story, emergency or no emergency, is a powerful and dynamic one and since there was general acceptance that what we were doing overseas was right, the 1960 campaign could be most successful.

He further stated that one of our difficulties was a tendency to rely on "crutches" the auxiliary instruments which we use in the campaign such as publicity, gimmicks, speakers and so forth. None of these instruments are magic. The best instrument in the campaign is ourselves, the leaders and the workers. Using ourselves to take advantage of the good will which has been developed in the community over the years for the causes which we represent, we can do a good job in the 1960 campaign. At this point, Mr. Lazer interpolated that with the above two items we need the expending of "shoe leather".

I then took over the discussion chairmanship of the meeting which was quite invigorating.

In the discussion a full exposition was given to

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matters such as initial gift meetings and their preparation, community campaign coverage, the enlistment of an adequate corps of workers, the value of the general one-day solicitation, the problem of the solicitation of doctors, the proportion of workers to prospects, the building of campaign climate in the community, the utilization of the Jewish country clubs, non-Jewish givers, and other related campaign problems.

Mr. Herbert Levy of Columbus, Ohio made one valuable suggestion which is as follows:

He felt it was a good idea to invite an internationally known tax expert such as Mr. Max Schiessinger, to come to the communities and to speak before groups of top givers in which an explanation of the legitimate steps for tax assistance in giving would be explained and described.

The general tenor of discussion took the line that 1960 campaigns in large cities can be overwhelmingly successful if we build a good campaign climate, we educate and train an adequate group of workers, if we have effective cultivation of prospective givers, and if the workers apply themselves diligently to the task.

Thank you very much.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN FINK: We have been here now for two and a half days and in a meeting of this sort it is essential that we summarize, that we bring together the sense of this meeting, and this is done through the presentation and action upon a resolution which fairly and truthfully reflects our reaction to the facts and to the problems that have been presented to us.

Yesterday a large committee met to act upon a proposed resolution for this purpose. I am going to ask a member of that committee, of the resolutions committee, a man with many, many years of devoted service both on the national scene on behalf of the UJA, on the local scene in behalf of his local federation and in behalf of every organization operating for the benefit of our people everywhere.

I am going to call on Mr. Calman "Cokey" Goldenburg of St. Paul to present this resolution.

[Applause]

MR. GOLDENBURG: The resolutions committee at a meeting yesterday as is typical of most resolutions committees received a mimeographed resolution. [Laughter] Surprisingly, under the prodding of Mr. Shiff, chairman of the committee, there was quite a bit of discussion, but unanimity prevailed,

and I will now read the resolution.

We, the representatives of thirty Jewish communities from the States of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin, have assembled for the Midwest Leadership Institute of the Central States Region of the United Jewish Appeal at the Moraine Hotel on February 12-14, 1960 to consider the needs that the United Jewish Appeal will have to meet in 1960 and to formulate plans to meet those needs.

The needs are clear.

One of the most urgent and pressing problems which has ever confronted the United Jewish Appeal is the grave need of approximately 350,000 Jews in Israel who are part of the nearly one million fellow Jews whom we helped rescue and bring to Israel within the past decade. Generous as our contributions have been and though they have been augmented by admirable support from the heavily taxed people of Israel, the tragic fact is that there have not been sufficient funds to accomplish the absorption of

those 350,000 into the life of the country.

a. Some 90,000 are still living in the squalor of the maabarot and in other miserable slum dwellings.

b. Many other thousands live in farm settlements which are not self-sustaining because they are deficient in irrigation, livestock, and a large variety of essential buildings, equipment and machinery,

c. A great number of the settlers on the incompletd farm communities and others, who must be trained or retrained, are by the circumstances in which they find themselves, forced into make work projects where their earnings are hardly sufficient to sustain life.

We owe these people a special debt of honor because when we helped bring them to Israel we did so with the understanding that we would give them not only the precious gift of freedom, but also the opportunity for a life of dignity. Such life is possible only if we provide the additional funds needed to give these people decent homes and the means to become self-sufficient.

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In addition to the needs of those who have already come to Israel, there is the continuous immigration of the present. Jews are coming into Israel in substantial numbers, from Europe, Africa and Asia. We must make sure that when these new immigrants reach their destination, their absorption into the life of the country is completed with the minimum of delay. This in itself, will require vast outlays of money.

Furthermore, there is another reason why the immediate absorption of the past and present immigrants is most urgent. There is always before us the question of the future. Experience has taught us to expect the upsurge in immigration resulting from the sudden raising of barriers that are presently closed. We know now that if this should materialize we will, as in the past, respond to the call of these fellow Jews for help. At the same time, we must realize that unless we have made adequate provision for those who come to Israel before, a new mass influx into Israel will necessarily mean prolonged suffering for those who came before and

now suffering for those who will yet come.

We further recognize that all of these needs set forth above are in addition to our commitments to fellow Jews in need in twenty-five countries other than Israel, whose only hope lies in the help we provide.

It is apparent from the foregoing that an extraordinary effort on the part of the Jews in America will be required in 1960 to meet the needs which press upon us. Only if we make this effort shall we discharge our obligations to our fellow Jews in need and enable the heroic people of Israel to maintain Israel as a true haven for distressed Jews everywhere.

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE to endorse in full the resolution of the Annual Meeting of the United Jewish Appeal held on December 11-13, 1959 constituting a special fund for 1960 corollary to the regular campaign for 1960.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this resolution.

CHAIRMAN FINK: Ladies and gentlemen, may I have your comments on the resolution?

[Applause]

Please feel free to make your comments. If there are none, will all those in favor of the adoption of this resolution say "aye;" those opposed. The motion is unanimously carried. Thank you very much.

MR. GOLDENBURG: The only other resolution that was presented was that we should thank the people of Moraine-on-the-Lake for their fine hospitality.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN FINK: I am going to close the meeting by calling on Herb Friedman who will summarize briefly the work of this Institute. Herb Friedman.

[Applause]

MR. HERBERT FRIEDMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: Has anybody got any planes to make before 4 o'clock? I am long-winded this week end. Actually, I think I will be through in about five minutes, and we will be ending much earlier than we thought, so you will all pack and get going in time.

It's too bad that after holding you captive here in this nice warm place for two days we are now going to send you out in the cold in about half an hour, but you have

to go and brave the elements because you have got to go home now and try to transmit what happened here. That's always the problem.

The mood was very high. I think everybody felt it. The speeches were good. The food wasn't bad. The effort to make us comfortable was considerable. The feeling that we had a success on our hands was prevalent throughout the whole thing.

Now how do you take this kind of dynamic commitment that I think was felt at most of the sessions and translate it back home? You know, you remember the book that was written about the child. The title of the book was "Where Did You Go?" "Out."

"What did you do?" "Nothing."

Has everybody read that book? It's a terrific book about the psychology of children. They go, and they have enormous adventures. They catch worms, and they pick up rocks, and they fill their pockets full of things. When they come home and the father says, "What did you do?" "Nothing." [Laughter]

Now we can go home from this meeting to Columbus and Milwaukee and Indianapolis and Southern Illinois and

people back home can say, "What did you do up there this week end?" "Nothing. We went to a conference." [Laughter] And it will die right there -- die right there. Everything that you feel inside of yourself, if you hold it inside of yourself, doesn't get communicated out. What you can do is go back home and in little circles and then in bigger circles you can transmit the mood that you felt here of big service, big dedication, big, big cause being served. It doesn't take a magician with words. It doesn't take Patrick Henry to make big orations. You've got to get this across, and it means sitting down and telling people who Charles Jordan is, and that there is a JDC and that Geneva does this or that, and what Mr. Harman said, and what Mr. Klutznick said, and what you saw in the playlet.

You don't have to have typewritten scripts of what each person said, you take out of it with your own words and your own reaction the points that struck you, but don't keep it locked up inside of yourself. Get it out, and if you get it out to enough people in the community, they will capture the same sense of elation and dynamism that you have had and that you felt here.

I would like to make a suggestion. I think it's

entirely possible for what we did here to be duplicated in any community from which you come, not for two days. You don't have to. I don't think there is a city represented here whose leadership cannot arrange a one-day program on a week end if it's easier to get people on a Sunday beginning at ten in the morning and ending at four in the afternoon where you cannot take and condense into that kind of a program everything that was done here, and I will tell you exactly what I mean. In order to communicate this to the 200 or the 100 or 300 of the workers in the campaign who have to carry the message, you don't need to get a mass meeting of 1000 people. You arrange your program in which you can put on a tape recording of this speech that I have put down for twenty or twenty-two minutes on tape. That you can do. You can take one of the films that runs about thirty minutes. You can take, and you can put on the script of "Eva" or we made a tape recording of it last night. Either way. You can have the tape recording. It's better if you put the thing on.

Obviously, you can't have the living Eva Ida in every city, and also we have written the script so that you don't need six or eight or ten actors to put it on. It can

be put on with two or three people.

We have a variation of the script that will only take a couple of people to put on. Do that for half an hour. Get one speaker from the outside. You don't need five or six as we had here, and then the one or two or three of you who are here, speak and report on what happened here. That's a program.

You begin at ten in the morning and carry through a lunch and do it until mid-afternoon, and you take the 100 or 200 key workers in town and bring them to a thing like that, and you have got the whole stimulation transmitted. Mostly with mechanical aids -- a tape recording, a film, a script of a play, one speaker, yourself reporting, calling for discussion from the floor, and then at the end of it, come to any conclusions you want to.

Hand out cards, work out the campaign calendar get the workers to gear themselves toward the next big major event in the campaign whether it's the campaign opening or parlor meeting or an advance gifts dinner or whatever it is.

There is not point in having this wonderful exciting, lovely thing that happened this week end stay within these four walls. It's like John the Appleseed. Take the

seeds out and plant them in thirty towns. That's really the meaning of having a leadership conference, so that we try to funnel into you everything we can. Then you funnel it back out.

I would like to say that the campaigns around the country are going well because I think it's important for people to know whether they are connected with a success or failure.

Now we were very frightened about this 1960 campaign, believe me. Frightened for a very simple reason. We changed the campaign approach in 1960, whether everybody realizes it or not. For five years now we have been going on the basis of conducting the campaign on the latest headline, and grabbing for the latest sensational event upon which to try to stir up the emotions of our people. If it was Suez, if it was Egyptian expulsion, if it was Austrian-Hungarian border flight, if it was Roumania, if it was Polish, if it was Russian to Polish. Whatever was in the headlines we seized as the theme of the campaign and tried to capitalize on the emotion of the moment.

I have no objection to that at all, but in 1960 we decided to shift gears and make instead an approach which we

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thought would be more significant because it would be an approach that we could be sure to depend upon for many years in the future regardless of what the headline events were. In other words, we tried to shift from accelerating fast in first to go into third and coast down the highway because we have got to go now for years. It's clear.

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So we don't want the campaign this year pitched to the latest headline, and I will tell you this very frankly. When this whole anti-Semitic business began to break around the country, we were bombarded with advice and suggestions and comments from everybody. "Why don't you pitch the campaign on that basis?" And I said, "No, no, no, no, no." We are not going to take an exploit temporary emotions of the moment. We are on a long-range track here, and the long-range track is in the two words -- rescue a people and build a land."

You don't do that in one year. You don't do that in two. However, having decided to make that transitional approach in the campaign, we were a little bit scared because we were afraid that all of our people were conditioned like the Pavlov experiment, conditioned to react only to the stimulation of the moment, and that if we came to them with

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this longer, more solid, more long-range, more historic approach they might say, "Well, that's not exciting. There is no crisis in this. There is no emergency in this."

How are we going to get our contributors to respond to this?

Ladies and gentlemen, that was the risk we took this year in asking you to conceive of the campaign along these lines, and now on the middle of February it turns out to have been no risk at all.

The Jews of America with sagacity, with wisdom and with maturity and with a comprehension that is a delight to witness have accepted this calmer, more long-range approach and have accepted it not just because there was no alternative, but have accepted it gladly and are raising more money.

That's what I want to get across to you now.

The big national conference was in December, in the middle of December, exactly eight weeks ago. In the East eight weeks between then and now I suppose I don't know. I may have traveled 100,000 miles. You don't keep track of it. We have opened the campaigns in New Orleans, in Dallas, in Houston, in Cleveland, in Detroit, in Boston, and in Hartford, in Philadelphia, in Washington. I mean opened

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the campaigns in the sense of actually having meetings, not just the organization where they get a chairman or sounding out the first few big gifts. I mean meetings, fund-raising meetings, and the campaign in the United States today looks as though it's somewhere around ten or eleven or twelve per cent ahead of last year, and you know that the 1959 campaign was a good one. It was considerably ahead of the 1958 campaign where we took the slump in that neurotic fear of a recession that we had which never really developed. So with the 1959 campaign having been as good as it was and with the 1960 campaign having the fears built into it that maybe, maybe the people wouldn't take to this approach, I am delighted to tell you, and we have to have this feeling of success communicated around the country also that we are going ahead and this should be a source of good encouragement here in the Midwest. Everybody ought to know that he is not an idiot if he gives more money because all Jews around the country are giving more money, and it's a very encouraging sign. It's a sign of the depth of loyalty to Israel. It's a sign of the depth of commitment to being Jewish, and our people have got it good and deep, thank goodness.

So that there is no reason at all why the campaign

that now will open in the Middle West in the Indianapolis area and in Milwaukee and in Canton and in Akron and in every other place you can think of, Columbus, there is no reason why you can't rack up a ten or fifteen per cent gain in the campaign this year as these other cities I mentioned have already done.

Nothing breeds success like success, and it's clear that we are going to have a good 1960 campaign if you people will operate with that diligence that you have.

Now I would like to give a bad report. I don't think anybody in this room has ever heard me talk this early in the campaign in the middle of February about cash. We never do. It's against the rules. You don't talk about cash at the same time that you are starting the campaign to get pledges.

The reason I am doing it is that I want you to know that in the first six weeks, namely, up to February 15, in only six weeks of this calendar year we are already two million dollars behind last year in the first six weeks in terms of cash that has come into the office.

Now I don't know whether that is anything to be alarmed about or not. I have a very, very sinking feeling

in the pit of my stomach that we may have a funny situation here in 1960 where the campaign will be wonderful in terms of the pledges, that people will make, and the cash payments that will come in will be low. There is really nothing in the long run to worry about because if a lot of money is owned as accounts receivable, we will have a very big cash reserve flow in 1961 because it will come in then. It isn't a question of worrying about these pledges being paid. No, not at all. They are all paid. The percentage of nonpayment is so low, one per cent. I mean, it just doesn't count. These are all good pledges, but when there is an irregularity in the flow, then with us it's famine for a whole year which means that already I have been in London a few weeks ago talking to the treasurers of the Jewish agency who sit in Geneva and told them that they had better start borrowing some money in Europe because number one, we can't borrow any money here in the United States at this time, and number two, the cash income does not look good for the first quarter or maybe even the first two quarters of this year.

So they are out scouting around in Germany to borrow money and in Switzerland to borrow money, in Belgium to borrow money, in London to borrow money.

Now I say I am violating a rule which I have never violated in five years. I am talking about cash this early in the campaign.

I want every important community leader to keep it in his mind. You have got to do what you can without interfering with the campaign. That's primary. The campaign means new pledges for 1960. Without interfering with that, you have got to see what you can do about cleaning up the backlog of accounts receivable that you have got on your books and getting cash in to us.

We are two million dollars behind in six weeks. I don't want to see that thing accelerate and mushroom and mushroom and find us slidding five million dollars behind and seven million dollar behind. That's two damn hard to catch up.

Just one or two more things, and then I am through. There was a discussion as "Cokey" said in the resolutions committee yesterday about one thing, interestingly enough, about the question of this special fund in 1960. The last substantive paragraph of the resolution says:

"WE THEREFORE RESOLVE to endorse in full the resolution of the conference in December constituting

a special fund for 1960 corollary to the regular campaign."

And the discussion that took place in the resolutions committee was whether a special fund was a good thing for the campaign or bad thing for the campaign in any particular community, and person after person after person reported that it was a good thing in his community because it helped fund-raising.

We are all very concerned with welfare funds, and we are all very concerned with the total amount of money that a community will raise, but primarily we are concerned with how much money that community will give to the UJA. You don't blame us for that. The UJA, the causes we have been talking to you about, the people to be rescued and the land to be built, the UJA gets more money when there is a special fund in a community than when there is no special fund. The UJA gets more money. I say the community also raises and gets more money. That's an additional benefit, and a special fund which is conducted at a special fund with two lines or with two cards or with two approaches to the solicitor or with a reminder to him that you want extra money from him all to go 100 per cent to the UJA is the way in which our

income rises.

Now there are many communities where there are no two cards and not two lines, and the gifts are blended into one because the argument is: Let's not remind a fellow that he is giving \$5000 plus \$1000. We want to keep his level up, so we only want to keep reminding him he gave us six and then we can go to him next year and say, "eight" because if you remind him five plus one, then you have to go to him and say five plus two. We want to consolidate the giving, and only have one gift.

There are many communities that have that approach. I think it loses money. On the other hand, there is an autonomy here in which each community certainly can do as it chooses. All that we ask is that when a community chooses to campaign on a consolidated basis not making the distinction we beg for then the least that that community can do with us is budget the money with us and bookkeep the money with us so that we get that extra money as though you were soliciting it in two separate cards.

That's the least we have got a right to expect, and so I would like to remind you, the leadership, when you go out in that campaign to try to get the extra giving into

the special fund and to try to see to it that the UJA gets that because it represents to us, to Israel, having millions of dollars extra each year, ranging in the last four years that we have the special fund from a low of about 12 million extra money to a high of about 25 million extra money. That's what it has meant to us, and that's not hay, and so the resolution that was passed in New York in December called for the campaigning of a special fund again, and the resolution that we passed yesterday reiterated that. I would like to urge you to campaign on that basis. It's good for you in the communities. You will make more money out of it. It's good for us. We will make more money out of it.

I would like to remind you in summing up here about the comments that were made of traveling overseas. Look, that is increasing more and more and more. Everybody, you know everybody -- well, almost everybody travels abroad now. People plan trips. I know a million fly the Atlantic in the summer tourist season by plane, and I don't know how many more hundreds of thousands by boat. They just turn up in the funniest places on the face of this earth. Leave out all the queer, exotic places like Palma and the Antilles and the Azores and Salonika, and you know really, we discover the

places to go to. It's fantastic. Take the beaten track, the nice uncomplicated human being who wants to go to Paris and see the night clubs and see the Louvre and wants to go to Rome and see the Roman forum and the beaten track. If every single one of you will make a promise to yourself and will talk to your friends and neighbors that when you make your next trip abroad (a) you will let us know. I mean, let your own welfare fund know, and then they communicate with us or write to us directly. It doesn't matter. Let us know that you are going. Tell us where you are going. Permit us to write ahead to the offices of the JDC in Europe with your itinerary. Permit us to give you the names and addresses of the JDC offices abroad so that you can carry them in your portfolio with your ticket and your passport and take off a half day or take off a day when you go through these different places to see what the Jewish situation is, what the Jewish situations in the places to which you are going are. If you are going to Madrid, there is nothing we can show you.

[Laughter] There is nothing there. If you go to Lisbon, there is nothing we can show you. There is a nice little Jewish community there in Portugal, but you can see Dr. Amzilok and see a few people. So I am not talking about if you want to

go grouse hunting up in Scotland. [Laughter]

If you want to go to Paris, we can show you something. If you want to go to Amsterdam, we can show you something. If you want to go to Rome, we can show you something. If you want to go to Marseilles, we can certainly show you something. There is a camp there where the North and Africans, the Moroccan Jews are kept. If you want to go to Morocco, that is some place to go. Very tense, very touchy and they are very nervous and xenophobic about foreigners, and I certainly wouldn't say ten people ought to get off the airplane in Casablanca and say, "Where are the Jews?"

[Laughter] Because sure as shooting, in a half hour this is going to be up in Mr. Laksow's office, the head of the police, but I think if anybody wants to go to Casablanca, sure. Let us know you want to go, and we will let the office there know, and you will see something that will shock you and open your eyes to what exists in the Jewish world.

If you want to go to Athens, let us know. There is a lot to see there. More than I will tell you here. Vienna, certainly. We get, you see, the names of all of you who want to go Israel. That part of it is fine. I am saying that those of you who go to Europe, and everybody who goes to

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Israel goes to Europe on the way over or on the way back he stops in Europe. That, we don't get.

Now if you want to see something interesting in addition to having your vacation travel, you have got to take the initiative. The invitation is extended to you in the warmest and most heart-felt and sincere way. What the heck, you can come back after two days and be an expert like all the rest of us. [Laughter]

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The last thing, and this is really the last thing in making a review of this conference is to come to the question of whether we should do it again next year. It isn't so much a question of taking a vote as it is getting the expression of feeling. I am not saying where we will have it.

[Laughter] "Vahomen". That is easy for people to suggest that there might be a better place. It doesn't take very much. Our trick is going to be to look for the best possible place if we feel the thing is worth while. We, we, that is the administration of the UJA. We feel the thing is worth while. Of course, do you think it was worth while?

[Laughter]

We got the answer good and clear. If, then, we can find the very best possible place in the area, we have a

right to make an assumption that if it's nearer to Cleveland than it is to Chicago or if it's nearer to Cincinnati than it is to Columbus doesn't really make too much difference. The thing will be to find the right place, and we will look for the right place.

The time. The time is not flexible. That's a problem. We have to live with it. We lived with it this year handsomely. You came through like the postman through ice and snow and sleet. The time is not flexible for a very simple reason, so that you may understand. I told you that I had been running this thing on the West Coast now this is the fifth year. It's next week end out in Palm Springs and the territory people come from Seattle all the way down to El Paso, and as far inland as Denver. Of course, we could always have the Midwest conference in Palm Springs.

[Applause] If you want to take it for the second week in February 1961, we will do it. The West Coast conference is always held the third week in February. The third week end in February. That has become fixed by tradition now. That's when their campaigns open up out there, and so we have got to have in February the meeting down in Miami, and we have got to have in February the meeting out on the West Coast,

and that makes it pretty inflexible that the Midwest meeting has got to be the second week in February, second week end.

Now we will have it next year by your mandate and approval, and we will have it in the best possible place we can find to have it, and we will have it hopefully not much bigger than this. We are not interested in a thousand-man conference or even a 500-man conference. It's no good. The intimacy that we had here, the fooling around together the way you nailed me in the corridors and said, "You have got to do this," and "You have got to do that," and "See this and solicit this one," and so on. This you can do in a maneuverable size.

Look, when we have had 1500 people at the big thing in New York it's a huge machine thing that engenders warmth and is for the press and is the great international conference that everybody watches, but there is very little personal contact. The personal contact here at this two, three hundred size thing is what we want to try to achieve. So we will find the right hotel for it.

You will all be back, and between now and then, between now and then, I would like to see the campaigns

Midwest have a greater proportionate share of gain than the campaign anywhere in the country, and I say that because you are going to be locked in a race now with the West Coast. The West Coast cities have been increasing their campaigns proportionately, much better than the rest of the country. Under the impact of that conference out there. I would like to see the Middle West with its great rich potential take over the lead of the country in terms of proportionate gain. I think it can be done.

Sammy Davis is a Jew. [Laughter] I can hear. I have nothing else to say. I would like to thank you for your wonderful cooperation. I would like to thank you for your attention. I would like to compliment you and challenge you, and I would like to see the kind of campaign that I know you can run, and I would like to come back next year, and I think what we ought to do is open the conference next year with a report on the gains made in these communities in the 1960 campaign. I think that would be a hell of a good way to open next year's conference, so with that, Mr. Fink, I would like to turn the meeting back to you with my thanks to you and your other officers and Mr. Dubinsky who chaired this thing so valiantly, Mr. Citron who worked so hard and

all the committee that made this such a wonderful success in addition to my own staff who labored valiantly and who deserve a good vote of thanks, I think, from all of you.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN FINK: Thank you, Herb.

MEMBER: Will you excuse me, please. I am sure that everyone in this room would like to stand up and thank Mel Dubinsky for the magnificent job he has done for this conference.

[Applause]

CHAIRMAN FINK: With this our Institute is adjourned.

[The meeting adjourned at 11:10 o'clock.]