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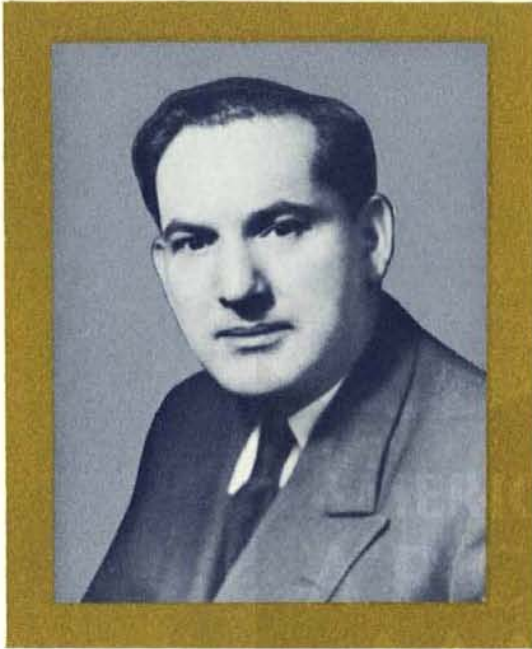
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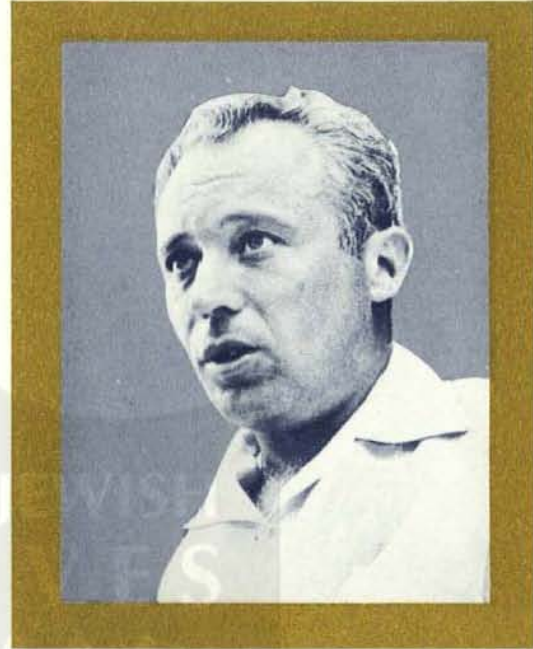
National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal [New York,
N.Y.]. 1959.

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Des. Conf.



AVRAHAM HARMAN
Israel's Ambassador to U. S.



LEON URIS
Author of "Exodus"



★ *You are Cordially Invited*



To Hear Two Who Speak for Freedom...

Abraham Harman, Israel's new Ambassador to the United States, is one of Israel's most notable leaders. He is known far and wide to Americans from his previous service here as Consul General in New York and Montreal, and as a former member of the Jewish Agency Executive.

Leon Uris, the noted author of the best-seller, "Exodus," has revolutionized American and international thinking about Israel and Jewish refugees through his much-discussed book. He has spent months studying Israel and Israel's people.

★ **HEAR THE REPORT**

★ **OF THE SIXTH UJA OVERSEAS STUDY MISSION TO EUROPE AND ISRAEL**

★ *Learn what is happening in Jewish life overseas.*

★ *What are the vital human needs? What are the opportunities for help?*

★ *To Attend and Participate in the*

★ TWENTY-SECOND

★ ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

★ *of the* UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

★ TO PLAN THE 1960 NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN

★ OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

★ to speed the absorption and resettlement of refugees

★ to help Israel's people build a haven for the homeless

★ to help Jews in need in other lands achieve a better life

★ FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11

★ SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 12

★ SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1959

★ STATLER HILTON HOTEL

★ NEW YORK CITY

Please respond on enclosed card

Dietary laws observed



Program



TWENTY-SECOND
ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE
of the **UNITED JEWISH APPEAL**

Friday morning, 9:30, December 11

Saturday evening, December 12

Sunday morning, December 13, 1959

STATLER HILTON HOTEL

NEW YORK CITY

PROGRAM

TWENTY-SECOND
ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE
AMERICAN JEWISH
OF THE
ARCHIVES
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

on behalf of

United Israel Appeal, Joint Distribution Committee
New York Association for New Americans

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1959

STATLER HILTON HOTEL

NEW YORK CITY

Dietary laws observed at all Conference meals

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11

*BUSINESS MEETING
MORNING SESSION*

9:30 A.M.

TERRACE BALLROOM

MAX M. FISHER

Chairman, UJA Special Fund

PRESIDING

ADDRESS

DR. DOV JOSEPH

Treasurer, Jewish Agency

ADDRESS

MELVIN DUBINSKY

National Cash Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

REMARKS

HERBERT H. LEHMAN

Honorary General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

ADDRESS

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

DISCUSSION

LUNCHEON

12:30 P.M.

PENN TOP

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11

MEETING OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

12:30 P.M.

PENN TOP NORTH



AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00 P.M.

TERRACE BALLROOM

AMERICAN JEWISH

DEWEY D. STONE

National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal, for UIA

PRESIDING

Report of Resolutions Committee

MAX M. FISHER

Special Fund Chairman, United Jewish Appeal



DISCUSSION



SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12

The Conference will not open formally until 6:30 P.M.

Informal meetings will be held as follows:

SABBATH SERVICES

9:00 A.M. TERRACE BALLROOM WEST

Conducted by

RABBI CHARLES E. SHULMAN
of the Riverdale Temple, New York City



ONEG SHABBAT NATIONAL WOMEN'S DIVISION

11:30 A.M. GEORGIAN ROOM

BRUNCH

MRS. JACK GOODMAN
National Chairman, Women's Division, United Jewish Appeal

ARCHIVES
PRESIDING
REMARKS

MRS. AVRAHAM HARMAN



ONEG SHABBAT

2:00 P.M. TERRACE BALLROOM

SHOWING OF 1960 UJA FILM

"THE KEY"

3:00 P.M. TERRACE BALLROOM

JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE GLOBAL REVIEW

WILLIAM ROSENWALD

National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal, for JDC

PRESIDING

LOUIS D. HORWITZ

Director General, Malben (JDC Services in Israel)

SAMUEL HABER
JDC Geneva Headquarters

CHARLES H. JORDAN
Director General, JDC Overseas Operations

MOSES A. LEAVITT
JDC Executive Vice-Chairman

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13

BREAKFAST SESSION

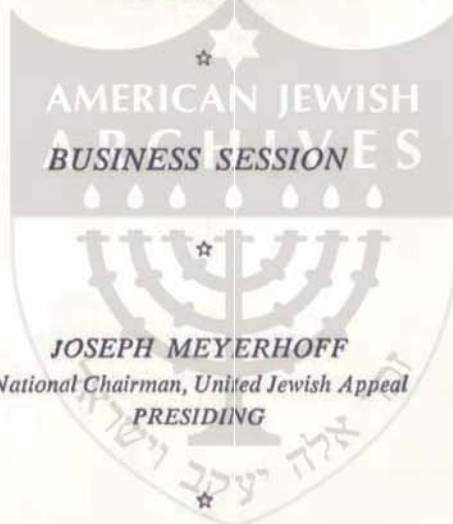
9:00 A.M.

TERRACE BALLROOM

Presentation of Checks

MELVIN DUBINSKY

National Cash Chairman, United Jewish Appeal
PRESIDING



Report on Women's Division

MRS. JACK GOODMAN

National Chairman, UJA Women's Division

☆

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13

(Continued from page 6)



Campaign Report

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Report on Nomination of Officers

ELKAN R. MYERS

Member, UJA National Campaign Cabinet



DISCUSSION



OFFICERS OF THE
1959 UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

Honorary General Chairman
HERBERT H. LEHMAN

Honorary Chairman
EDWARD M. M. WARBURG

Honorary Rescue Fund Chairman
SAMUEL RUBIN

Honorary National Chairman
JOSEPH HOLTZMAN

General Chairman
MORRIS W. BERINSTEIN

National Chairmen Representing Agencies
WILLIAM ROSENWALD, JDC DEWEY D. STONE, UIA

National Chairmen 1959 Campaign
SAMUEL H. DAROFF SOL LUCKMAN
ALBERT A. LEVIN JOSEPH MEYERHOFF
JACK D. WEILER

Special Fund Chairmen
MAX M. FISHER JOSEPH M. MAZER

National Cash Chairman
MELVIN DUBINSKY

National Co-Treasurers
JOSEPH I. LUBIN JACOB SINCOFF

Secretary
MOSES A. LEAVITT

Executive Vice-Chairman
HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

National Women's Division Honorary Chairmen
MRS. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
MRS. DAVID M. LEVY

Chairman
MRS. JACK A. GOODMAN

Special Fund Chairman and Honorary Vice Chairman
MRS. S. ALEXANDER BRAILOVE

Honorary Vice Chairmen
MRS. ALBERT PILAVIN MRS. HAL HORNE
MRS. HENRY NEWMAN

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN CABINET
1959 UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

Chairman
FRED FORMAN

Big Gifts Chairmen
ROBERT W. SCHIFF **BENJAMIN H. SWIG**

Allocations Chairman
ISADORE BRESLAU

HERBERT R. ABELES
JACOB M. ARVEY
JACOB L. BAROWSKY
LOUIS BERRY
F. GORDON BOROWSKY
LEON H. BRACHMAN
HYMAN BRAND
MAX BRESSLER
EDDIE CANTOR
NEHEMIAH COHEN

LLOYD W. DINKELSPIEL

MYER FEINSTEIN
JACOB FELDMAN
I. D. FINK
MAX FIRESTEIN
ABRAHAM GOODMAN
LAZURE L. GOODMAN
JACOB HIATT
JEROLD C. HOFFBERGER
MILTON KAHN
ABE KASLE
LABEL A. KATZ
ABE S. KAY
ADOLPH KIESLER
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
IRVING LEVICK
HARRY LEVINE
JOSEPH M. LINSEY
DAVID LOWENTHAL
PHILIP W. LOWN

BENJAMIN J. MASSELL
BARNEY MEDINTZ
IRVING MILLER
EDWARD D. MITCHELL
ELKAN R. MYERS
MARTIN NADELMAN
NORMAN C. NOBIL
IRVING S. NORRY
JAMES L. PERMUTT
SIDNEY R. RABB
BARNEY RAPAPORT
LEONARD RATNER
SAMUEL ROTHBERG
MAURICE H. SALTZMAN
BERNARD J. SAMPSON
SOL SATINSKY
HERBERT H. SCHIFF
JOSEPH J. SCHWARTZ
MORRIS SENDEROWITZ, JR.
JOSEPH SHANE
JOSEPH SHULMAN
RUDOLF G. SONNEBORN
MICHAEL A. STAVITSKY
JACK STERN
HARRY S. SYLK
JOSEPH TALAMO
HERMAN P. TAUBMAN
MILTON I. TAUBMAN
SAMUEL A. WEISS
CHARLES H. YALEM

PHILIP ZINMAN

*The United Jewish Appeal Study Mission
of 1959*

MORRIS ABRAMS
Cleveland, Ohio

BERNARD BARNETT
Louisville, Ky.

SAMUEL A. BASKIND
Pittsburgh, Pa.

MORRIS W. BERINSTEIN
New York, N. Y.

HENRY C. BERNSTEIN
New York, N. Y.

JULIUS BISNO
Los Angeles, Calif.

MORTON BLUM
Kingston, Pa.

IVOR BOIARSKY
Charleston, W. Va.

F. GORDON BOROWSKY
Philadelphia, Pa.

I. J. CAPLAN
New York, N. Y.

NEHEMIAH M. COHEN
Landover, Md.

WILLIAM COHEN
Denver, Colo.

AMOS DEINARD
Minneapolis, Minn.

MEL DUBIN
Richmond Hill, N. Y.

MELVIN DUBINSKY
St. Louis, Mo.

WALTER L. FIELD
Detroit, Mich.

MAX M. FISHER
Detroit, Mich.

FRED FORMAN
Rochester, N. Y.

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
New York, N. Y.

CHARLES H. GERSHENSON
Detroit, Mich.

EDWARD GINSBERG
Cleveland, Ohio

CHARLES GOLDBERG
Denver, Colo.

NAT C. GOLDMAN
West Palm Beach, Fla.

MAX GOLDWEBER
Jamaica, N. Y.

LEO GROSS
Minneapolis, Minn.

ROBERT HIRSCH
Bridgeport, Conn.

PAUL KAPELOW
New Orleans, La.

IRVING KRAMER
New York, N. Y.

JULIUS L. KUFFLER
Long Island City, N. Y.

LEONARD LASER
Chicago, Ill.



*The United Jewish Appeal Study Mission
of 1959*

MOSES A. LEAVITT
New York, N. Y.

SAMUEL LIEBOWITZ
York, Pa.

ALBERT A. LEVIN
Cleveland, Ohio

DAVID LOWENTHAL
Pittsburgh, Pa.

NATHAN W. MATH
Brooklyn, N. Y.

HARVEY MEYERHOFF
Baltimore, Md.

MORRIS MILLER
Denver, Colo.

IRVING MOSS
Beverly Hills, Calif.

JOSEPH OTTENSTEIN
Washington, D. C.

THOMAS OTTENSTEIN
Washington, D. C.

DR. EUGENE V. PARSONNET
Newark, N. J.

JAMES L. PERMUTT
Birmingham, Ala.

THEODORE R. RACOOSIN
New York, N. Y.

LEONARD RATNER
Cleveland, Ohio

DONALD ROBINSON
Monroeville, Pa.

HERBERT SCHEAR
Dayton, Ohio

NATHAN H. SCHINE
Bridgeport, Conn.

THEODORE H. SILBERT
New York, N. Y.

LEONARD M. SPERRY
West Los Angeles, Calif.

ALEX STANTON
Philadelphia, Pa.

JACOB STARR
New York, N. Y.

DEWEY D. STONE
Brockton, Mass.

STEPHEN STONE
Malden, Mass.

JOSEPH TALAMO
Worcester, Mass.

PAUL H. TANNENBAUM
Jamaica, N. Y.

JULIUS WALDMAN
Atlantic City, N. J.

EDWARD M. M. WARBURG
New York, N. Y.

BERNARD WEINBERG
Philadelphia, Pa.

SIDNEY ZEHMAN
Cleveland, Ohio

PHILIP ZINMAN
Camden, N. J.

SERVICE GUIDE FOR DELEGATES

For the convenience of delegates, representatives of various departments of the national office of the United Jewish Appeal are available for consultation regarding aspects of local or national campaign activity.

Headquarters Room 365

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR

Sholem Sontup

SPEAKERS DIVISION

Arthur Fishzohn, Director

ARCHIVES

TRADE AND INDUSTRY DIVISION

Harry D. Biele, Director

NATIONAL WOMEN'S DIVISION

Mrs. Marvin Stang, Director

NATIONAL ALLOCATIONS

Edward R. Vajda, Director

TRANSPORTATION SERVICE FOR DELEGATES

Maxwell Kern, Manager

PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT

Raphael Levy, Director

Registration of Delegates will take place at the
respective sessions.

Conf.

Dec. 11, 1959
NY Times THE

'60 BUDGET VOTED BY JEWISH GROUP

Joint Distribution Agency
to Spend \$29,142,000
for Assistance Abroad

By IRVING SPIEGEL

The Joint Distribution Committee yesterday adopted a budget of \$29,142,000 to carry out its programs of aid next year among 250,000 Jewish men, women and children in twenty-five countries and Israel.

The action was taken by 500 delegates, representing various sections of the country, at the annual meeting of the agency in the Statler Hilton Hotel. There were strong appeals for support of the United Jewish Appeal, of which the Joint Distribution Committee is a beneficiary.

In listing the committee's financial needs, Edward M. M. Warburg, its general chairman, said the United Jewish Appeal had "helped make possible the physical survival of the great flood of Jewish refugees escaping from dictatorship, anti-Semitism and hunger in the post-war years."

Mr. Warburg, a founder and honorary chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, was re-elected chairman for the fifteenth successive year.

Expresses Gratitude

Pointing to the aid given to Jews in reaching free lands and Israel, Mr. Warburg expressed his gratitude to the "U. J. A. and the American Jewish community which established it, because before U. J. A., when thousands raised their voices in agony, in our helplessness, we could only echo this echo; today we are not helpless."

The adoption of the budget followed a report by Charles H. Jordan, director general for the agency's overseas operations.

Mr. Jordan said that "deteriorating political and economic conditions in North Africa, particularly Morocco and Tunisia, had increased need among the Jewish population—and reduced the contributions of local governments and communities—resulting in heavier demands for J. D. C. help."

He said that Jews living in Moslem lands "had the double misfortune of being an underprivileged minority living in underdeveloped countries." He reported that about 100,000 of the 500,000 Jews in these countries are regularly receiving

Mr. Jordan Called Attention to

the agency's programs among the aged in Israel. He said that the committee had expanded its network of old-age residences in Israel "to care for all the eligible aged among newcomers."

Moses A. Leavitt, executive vice chairman of the agency, reported that last year more than 207,000 people had received assistance. In a breakdown of figures, he added that 100,000 were assisted in Moslem countries, 56,000 in Europe, 42,000 in Israel and about 4,500 in Australia and South America.

He reported that under a Soviet-Polish repatriation agreement, 4,000 Jews from the Soviet Union entered Poland in the first nine months of this year. In the same period, he said, 2,000 persons emigrated from Poland to Israel.



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THE TWENTY-SECOND
ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE
of the

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

December 11, 1959,
10:15 o'clock a.m.

Statler Hilton Hotel
New York, New York.

SILLS REPORTING SERVICE, INC.

38 Park Row New York 38, N. Y.

REctor 2 -1780

051100930

The Twenty-Second Annual National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened at the Statler Hilton Hotel, New York City, at 10:15 a.m., Friday, December 11, 1959, Max M. Fisher, Chairman, UJA Special Fund, presiding.

Seated on the dais were:

William Rosenwald, National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal, for JDC.

Joseph Meyerhoff, National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal.

Fred Forman.

Hon. Herbert H. Lehman.

Morris W. Berinstein, General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal.

Max M. Fisher, Chairman, UJA Special Fund.

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

Dr. Dov Joseph, Treasurer, Jewish Agency.

Dewey D. Stone National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal, for UIA.

Melvin Dubinsky, National Cash Chairman, United Jewish Appeal.

Sol Luckman, 1959 National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal.

CHAIRMAN FISHER: Ladies and Gentlemen:

By way of introduction, I am Max Fisher of Detroit. With your indulgence, I will act as Chairman of the meeting this morning.

I am very happy to welcome such a very distinguished and large group as is here this morning, to this first session in what is certain to be a most exciting and historic Annual Conference of the United Jewish Appeal.

I appreciate that so many of you have turned out for this occasion, particularly on a weekday morning.

It is really wonderful to have you here, and I think you will find, too, that this meeting will have a great deal of significance for you.

Only a very few weeks ago I was in Europe and Israel with the 1959 UJA Study Mission, which proved to be one of the most exciting and successful that we have ever had.

I can give you this verdict on the basis of considerable experience, for actually I am one of the few people who have been on every one of the UJA Study Missions that has taken place.

As a matter of fact, I believe Fred Forman is

the only other person who can make this statement.

On the mission I was inspired by the accomplishments and moved by the needs which will be brought to your attention in detail during the course of this conference.

I am not going to report on them now as we have with us a number of distinguished and well-informed speakers who will be telling you about the needs in Israel and what is happening there.

In addition, you will hear tomorrow from the JDC directors who run the terribly needed programs abroad with UJA funds. From these speakers, I am sure you will obtain much of the information and inspiration which was gotten by us on this study mission.

I told you that I have been on every single mission. That means six trips in six years with the UJA, plus many other trips in between. In all these trips I have seen Israel grow and progress, and this trip was no exception.

The country looks wonderful, and I was impressed with that.

But I was depressed and bothered by the tremendous backlog of unmet needs which I saw on all sides of us. This contrast is what I hope will come across to you

you today as you listen to the speakers.

I think it is especially fitting that the first speaker at this opening session of the Annual National Conference is to be the illustrious treasurer of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Dov Joseph. He can provide us with a solid framework of facts and figures upon which it is hoped and expected a solid and inspiring structure will have been built by this Conference at its close on Sunday.

Dr. Joseph has been a resident of Israel for more than 30 years. He has been a member of the Knesset --

DR. JOSEPH: Forty years.

CHAIRMAN FISHER: And a member of the cabinet. He has been coming to the United States to bring the facts to UJA groups like this for some 20 years.

Twenty years. Is that correct? (Laughter)

It must be added that the treasurer's report at our convention usually is not the cut-and-dried affair. It is concerned both with the inspiring achievements and the problems of flesh and blood.

It is with great pleasure that I present to you Dr. Dov Joseph.

(Applause)

b2-1

DR. DOV JOSEPH: My dear friends, I feel pretty much at home amongst you. As Max told you, I have been coming to the United States now on such missions since 1938, when the UJA was first set-up. Emissaries have been coming to you from Israel year after year to tell you that more money is needed, and that the amounts received have not been sufficient to enable us to perform the task in hand.

051100934

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

I know questions have been asked, numerous questions -- by people who begin to be a little impatient because of the fact that this process of coming and pleading for money and telling you year after year what has been received is not enough -- people, as I say, begin to become impatient and ask questions.

Actually, I believe it is right to say that the questions are not asked by the people who give the most and do the most. But that is beside the point.

Now, what are some of the questions that occur to people when they think of the work in Israel, and when they consider what is demanded -- or requested -- of the United Jewish Appeal? In the first place it is asked whether the funds provided in the past have been well spent, and properly spent.

b2-2

Are the Jews brought to Israel establishing themselves, making progress, developing a group life in a manner that American Jews would consider worth while -- would be pleased with?

The second question which occurs to people here, and I have heard it asked, is this:

Have the funds provided in the past really be inadequate? Is it reasonable to expect American Jews to make good the deficit in funds as compared with the amounts that were required to do the job fully?

A further question:

Is it really necessary for more funds to be provided to continue with new work in the future? Must the flow of immigrants go on? Is it going on? Must means be provided to settle still more Jewish refugees in Israel, and to help them become absorbed in the economy of the country?

A fourth question: Why have we still so many people in ma'abarot? Why have we not built the extra houses necessary to do away with this shame, and to provide them with homes?

Another question -- and I will content myself with that -- why do you ask for special fund money when there is no immigration emergency that we see?

b2-3

It behooves me as the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency, as the man who deals with the expenditure of most of the money which you provide, to try and answer these questions.

051100936

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This, evidently, is more difficult than it would seem. I say this because of the reaction which I personally have witnessed 100 times over, of those United Jewish Appeal contributors, who visit Israel.

They are usually so thrilled by what they see, they are so impressed by the achievements, they readily admit that they never realized what was being done, how much was being done, how much good was being effected with the money that they were contributing to the United Jewish Appeal, and they are almost without exception full of praise for the Israel of today, and they leave the country with a sense of satisfaction in the feeling that they really have been partners in a mighty adventure of which they feel the Jews throughout the world may very well feel proud.

We are very glad when this happens, but those of us like my humble self who, as I say, come here year after year to try to make Jews in this country realize what is being done, how important it is, and why they should go on giving money and more money, by implication when the United

b2-4

Jewish Appeal contributors come and react in this way, we begin to feel that we have been pretty poor emissaries, that we have evidently failed in all our efforts to convey to the Jews in this country what is being achieved -- the measure of our achievements, the greatness of the work being done, the importance of the part which they have played in this work; otherwise there wouldn't be such surprise when they come and see us.

This gives us an uneasy feeling, because nobody likes to admit that he had a job to do and evidently he didn't know how to do it, or he didn't know how to do it well enough.

But that seems to be the position. Maybe it is because people here like to have things presented to them in the form of fiction rather than in the form of fact.

I know a certain book was written by a gentleman whom you will have the pleasure of hearing on Saturday evening -- "Exodus" -- and it has created quite a furor and people all over America are talking about Israel as a result of that book of fiction. Maybe we should go over to fiction, I don't know.

(Laughter.)

By the way, if Ray Levy will forgive me, I will

b2-5

tell you a story which I heard from him in connection with this book. He was in the lobby, sitting in the lobby of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, and Moshe Dayan walked in with his black patch, and he sits down there, and he is talking to somebody, and after a while Ray Levy gets up to go up to his room.

An American lady, a visitor rushes up to him and she says to him, "Mr. Levy, that man over there with the black patch, isn't he out of 'Exodus'?"

(Laughter.)

Here again fiction was evidently more important than fact. Here was poor Moshe Dayan; he was out of "Exodus", he thought, but his importance was that he was portrayed in "Exodus".

Perhaps we will have to ask Mr. Uris to portray Israel as it is in another book that he may write.

I suppose, my friends, that when we see this, when we see that we evidently have failed to put across the story, we say to ourselves, perhaps the answer is that we should bring to Israel the three million or more adult Jews in the United States of America, and let them see for themselves.

Then it won't be necessary for us to come here and make these speeches which to some of you will certainly sound tiresome.

I really think that the very important asset of the work of the United Jewish Appeal in the future should be to increase very, very considerably the number of your contributors who visit Israel. I think it will make your work a great deal easier if that comes to pass.

But, until that is accomplished, we shall simply have to go on as best we can, trying to explain our problems, to describe the needs and to answer the questions.

3aml

051100939

3am2

I must tell you, if you will bear with me, another story on this subject of tourists which I heard just before I came away.

A UJA contributor came to the country full of grouses and complaints, and one of the first things he said to the chauffeur-guide who took him in tow was, "I heard that you people here, you don't know how to do things so well. I heard that half the money that you get is wasted."

By the time that he was ready to leave the country, in conversation with his tourist guid, he said, "Say, this is wonderful, you know, I just wonder, how did you manage to do so much with only half the money we gave you?"

(Laughter.)

That is what we have to put up with, because we put up, as we say in Hebrew, "biya hava" -- with love. We are glad to do it.

You sent hundreds of thousands more of Jews like that to Israel and let them go away with that feeling, and we are prepared to have these stones flung at our heads.

Now let me try to deal with the questions which have been posed, and to which I have referred.

The first question:

Has your money been well spent and properly spent?

3am3

My friends, I am going to tell you some very unpleasant things today -- at least things which are unpleasant to hear. But if ever there was a case when one must look at both sides of the coin, this is the case, Israel, because we are a contradiction in terms at every step you take going through the country. We are a contradiction in terms, and you can see it sticking out, a mile.

But I want you, when you ask yourselves, "Has your money been well spent", to look at the right side of the coin, because the fact remains, notwithstanding what I intend to tell you later about what has not been done, you must please remember first what has been done. Remember what you know very well, that we have brought, with your assistance, not far from a million refugees, Jewish refugees, fleeing from persecution and from want and from fear, to Israel.

Please remember, despite what I shall say about the ma'abarot, that we have provided homes for the great majority of the Jews who came to Israel, again, with your magnanimous help.

Please remember that most of the people whom we brought to the country, have been absorbed, are being integrated, and are at work supporting their families, making

a new life for themselves, and happy in their new surroundings in Israel.

No doubt, we have made mistakes, my friends. I don't think it would be possible to carry through such a tremendous program of work without making mistakes, and maybe many of you could do the job better than those of us who live in Israel. But I always say to my friends who make that observation, that the doors are wide open for them to come and live in Israel and take our places.

As we say in Hebrew, machzikim bekarnai hamizbeach,

-- none of us are holding on to the horns of the altar, and every one of us would be only too glad if -- maybe we wouldn't be so glad afterwards, we are so used to this work we have been doing all the time -- but we think we would be very glad if somebody else would come and take over the job and let us have a look at the sunshine once in a while and bathe in the sea and read a good book and eat an apple on an occasion.

So the gates are wide open. I say that in all earnestness. We would welcome it, and we have said so time and again, and I am happy to know that there is a plan afoot now, which will draw some of you American Jews more directly

into the responsibility for executing this work, and for seeing to the proper and useful spending of the money which you provide.

As to the question whether the money has been properly spent, my friends, you will forgive me if, as an Israeli, I take the liberty of making a slight digression from my subject, and commenting on remarks made a fortnight ago -- I imagine most of you read those remarks in the New York Times, by a gentleman who bears a very illustrious name.

In the first place, as the Treasurer of The Jewish Agency who receives all the funds of the UJA that are sent to Israel, I am in a position to deny, and I do deny the unwarranted allegation that any of the funds contributed to the UJA go into the Treasury of the Government of Israel.

We cooperate with the Government of Israel, of course. They are not a pariah in our eyes. We spend money on building houses for immigrants. The Government spends money on building houses for immigrants.

We provide social service and health service for the immigrants.

The Government also on its own and independently of us does the same sort of thing.

We settle young Jews on the land. The Government

helps us. We don't help the Government. They help us by making us long-term loans of money with which to carry out this work.

But it is not true that any of the money of the UJA goes into the coffers of the Treasury of the Government of Israel.

This gentleman evidently doesn't seem to like the way we are building the State of Israel. That is his privilege. He is free to like or not to like the way in which we are building our state. I don't know whether he ever troubled to visit Israel to see how we are building the state before he arrived at his critical view of what we are doing.

But I could say to you or to him, a great many people don't like the segregation policies propounded by a great many people in this country.

I know a lot of people who don't like the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa.

I know a lot of people who don't like the Algerian policy of the Government of France.

But one thing I can say, that the discrimination which he suggests exists in Israel simply does not exist. That is the last thing that one could truthfully say about Israel.

take 4.
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In fact, most of the visitors to Israel, non-Jews as well as Jews, so far as we can make out in their conversations with us, and what they report when they come back to this country, are full of praise of the way we are building our new state.

The Jewish Agency, some two months ago, invited ten of the leading American banks outside of New York to send senior officers of their banks to visit Israel. This bankers mission came to Israel and spent twelve days there. I wish you could read the speeches which these senior vice presidents, hard-headed bankers, are making about this wonderful little country, Israel, and about the solidity of its economy, and about the wisdom and incredible success with which we are carrying on our work.

Of these ten gentlemen, only one was a Jew. We didn't pick him, the bank sent him. But nine were non-Jews, and these are nine names that are outstanding in the banking community in the whole of the United States. I wish one of them could be here this morning to make one of the speeches that I read in those papers. It might be more effective in getting you to raise your giving than I would be.

Numerous states, my friends, from Africa, from

2ps

Asia -- numerous states -- keep sending delegations, official delegations, their foreign ministers, their ministers of finance their ministers of agriculture, and others, to Israel, to see how we are building our state, evidently because they think it is worth while emulating.

You will come to the Hebrew University today and perhaps you will be amazed -- and some of you, not all of you, because I am sure most of you know some Hebrew -- but those of you who don't, would be amazed to see a gentleman whose face is as black as coal speaking in Hebrew, taking courses at the Hebrew University.

Now when people go to the lengths of studying a language like Hebrew, which is not so easy to acquire, in order to be able to come to Israel to learn our way of life, I think it is going a little far for a Jewish gentleman in this country to be the one to throw stones at the kind of state Israel is developing.

As to the basic tenets of Israel, that our gates should remain open to Jewish refugees, and what we are asking you to do, to help such refugees -- my friends, Israel is not only a land of refugees. When the refugees are absorbed in Israel, we want them to bring up their children as normal citizens of a normal state, with the

3ps

same degree of nationalistic chauvinism as that gentleman would like to see and likes to see in the United States of America -- no more and no less.

I say further that it is a slander on Israel to suggest that its life is based on medieval theocratic bigotry.

I am quoting those words.

The policy of every government of Israel since the state was established has been to maintain complete freedom of religious worship. But this does not mean that people must worship in the way you think or he thinks they should worship. Just as you are entitled to expect that you should be free in Israel, if you come there, to worship in the decorous manner which you think people should pursue, those Jews whom you have in mind -- I may not like the way they worship, you may not like the way they worship -- but when you talk of freedom of worship, they have the same right to worship their God in their way according to their lights, as you have to worship God in your way.

I will make only one more comment on this subject. There are two Reformed Jewish communities, congregations in Israel today. They are small. But I have not yet met an outstanding Reformed rabbi from the United States who came

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to Israel and wanted to set up a congregation there that was
not able to do so. Please remember that.

(Continued on next page.)

AMERICAN JEWISH
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Likewise, the allegation that the non-Jewish minorities -- I quote -- "Are treated as second class citizens" is an unfounded and false allegation. We proclaimed in our declaration of independence that all persons would be equal in the eyes of the law, regardless of race, sex or religion. We have observed that rule, and the Arab minority in Israel knows it. They sit in our Knesset which is more than can be said for Arabs in Syria or in Egypt, where the dictator does not need them to help him govern the country. And I wouldn't trouble to try and compare the poverty, the abysmal poverty, the pitiful poverty that prevails in Egypt with the economic condition of the Arabs in Israel, because they are better off than Arabs in any other country of the world, and they know it.

I looked at television a few days ago and happened to see on television Bishop Pike, I think his name was, with an Arab from Israel, a Magistrate from Israel. I was very happy as a Jew to hear the way that Arab, from Israel, here in this free country where he was able to say what he wanted, spoke of the manner in which the government of Israel treats the Arabs in that country, and I would suggest that that gentleman just worry a little not only about the Arabs in Palestine, but about the Arabs in the

Arab countries who are far worse off.

I think I have given enough time to that article in the New York Times which I read with very much pain. I can only repeat, my friends, that you may be certain, that the funds of the UJA are spent for the purposes which you intend them to be spent. I will add that the Jewish Agency receives just as much money, perhaps more money from sources other than the UJA, and, therefore, if there is an item here and there which you are not so pleased with, please remember, we have other money which we are entitled to spend in the way which those people don't mind our spending.

Your money is spent for the purpose for which you send it to Israel.

I now come to the second question:

Have the funds provided in the past been adequate?

Let me give you some general figures as to the bare minimum requirement per year for our immigrants. Even if we did not take in a single immigrant this coming year we would still need, firstly, a minimum of ninety million Israel pounds or fifty million dollars for our colonization work to continue the process of absorbing the

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5-3 32,000 families, about 130,000 souls, whom we settled in agriculture during the last eight years, but who have still not been given the wherewithal to become independent and self-supporting.

We would need a minimum of thirty-five million Israel pounds, which is about twenty million dollars on a three-year basis for liquidating the ma'abarot by new housing for its inmates.

We would need a minimum of eighteen million pounds, which is ten million dollars, to complete the absorption of immigrants already in the country otherwise than in agricultural settlements, which I mentioned before.

We would need eleven million pounds or about six million dollars for our Youth Aliyah wards, eleven thousand of them who must stay in our institutions three years or four years or five years -- you can't take a child in at the age of eleven and send him out at twelve. You keep him there until he is fifteen or so, until he can have a chance to begin to learn a trade and become self-supporting.

We would need some twenty-five million dollars to pay off obligations for expenditures made on credit to help previous immigration and previous absorption.

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I would like to stress, my friends, when you hear some critic say, "Oh, they are spending forty million pounds, forty-five million pounds of our money to pay debts, why do they get into debt -- "

What are those debts that these wise gentlemen criticize so? These debts have accumulated because we didn't have the money with which to pay to bring more immigrants to Israel, because we didn't have the money to give them the minimum of houses.

So we went out and borrowed money, and I do it all the time, and I am not ashamed of what I do. I think I would be failing lamentably in my duty if, when I don't get enough money from you and from other countries, I didn't go to try to borrow money to keep these people off the street, to try to give them -- some of them -- a roof over their heads.

Those are the debts, but they are not debts, they are expenditures on the items which you want to see money expended on, but expenditures in the past which we have not paid for and which we must pay for this year because we signed promissory notes.

If you take these sums together, you reach a figure of one hundred and ten million dollars, which is

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without our current activities, other than the ones I have mentioned -- I have mentioned only colonization and housing and first absorption of immigrants and Youth Aliyah, and repayment of obligations for previous work -- without our current expenditures on other items which are necessary, without having brought in a single Jew, without allowing for the needs of the JDC, the figure is one hundred and ten million dollars.

How much money did you collect this year which is ending, my friends? You know as well as I.

How much money did you collect the year before and the year before? Look at the facts. The facts are that the money raised in the United States is less than half of the total required, less than half of the total required.

There are other countries in the world, but my dear friends, how many Jews are there in the world? Five and a half million of the Jews of the world live in this country. Three million live behind the Iron Curtain and cannot help us to the extent of one cent, no matter how much they wanted.

Two million live in Israel where they are very heavily taxed to help carry on this work. How many have you

5-6

left in the free world? I will tell you what we can get from them. We get from them about ten million dollars in voluntary contributions.

So the burden naturally rests on the Jews of the United States, and it is inevitable that it should because you are far and away the overwhelming majority of the total number of Jews in the free countries of the world. You provide less than half of the amount required.

Let me say at once, my friends, I do not want to be misunderstood. I think that if anyone is guilty of such an offense, I am not in failing to realize what a wonderful thing it is that Jews in a free country, who have no legal obligation to contribute one penny to this work, have year after year been providing tens and tens of millions of dollars, hundreds of millions of dollars during the years, many hundreds of millions of dollars -- I think it is a tremendous thing.

All credit to those people, to those Jews in the United States who have been carrying this burden. It was a moral obligation in my eyes, but it evidently isn't in the eyes of everybody in this country, but there was no compulsion, and you have done magnificently.

The only thing is that that magnificent doing just does not happen to be equivalent to the need-- that is all I am saying.

But the fact also is, my friends, that it would be a false approach to the problem to speak only of the needs which I mentioned and which I totaled up to \$110 million, since immigrants are continuing to come into Israel, and we must have money with which to bring them, too, and we must have money to provide them with some housing and preliminary absorption.

This brings me to the third question: Is immigration continuing? Do we need more funds for new absorption activities?

I would beg of you to be clear about one thing. Immigration into Israel is continuing all the time. Month after month after month we receive our quota of refugees who reach our shores.

We are not free, unfortunately, for obvious reasons which you know, to give figures of current immigration. But let me assure you that it continues to be substantial, very substantial.

You will remember, I am sure -- or most of you in this hall will remember -- my contention made to you when I was here with you a year ago, and when I was here with you two years ago, that it is wrong to try to base your activities only on the specific number of immigrants

2ps

coming to the country in any particular year. I said to you then that I thought the right approach was to see what was the average per year, and I reminded you that since the establishment of the state with the big influx at the beginning, our average was just under 90,000 a year.

I suggested two years ago -- and again a year ago -- that, considering the fact that the reservoir had been drawn on already to the extent of some 900,000, as it was then, that we should look forward in the future to an average annual immigration of some 50,000 a year.

If you will take the immigration figures for the past four years, 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1959, the figures will be just under 180,000 refugees. 180,000 divided by 4, means an average of 45,000 a year. Well, I wasn't far off the mark. I repeat again my conviction that the correct and proper approach to the problem is to see immigration into Israel as continuing at this average annual rate of some 50,000 a year. It doesn't matter to us whether in one year it is 35 and the next, 55, or in each of the two years 45, because the money has to be spent. What we don't spend in one year we will spend in the next year, and what we fall short of getting when a bigger number comes in, we will need for the following year to make up what we didn't spend

on them when they arrived.

This should be clear to you, because this is the crux of the question when you ask, is immigration continuing, is it not continuing? We don't hear of big figures, we don't see headlines in the press. Don't look for headlines in the press. We are going to do everything possible to keep headlines out of the press, because we want the Jews to continue to come to Israel, and evidently headlines in the press are harmful to the continuation of the flow.

But be sure in your minds that despite the fact there are no headlines, and explain this to your friends, regardless of the number who come in any one specific year, the average per year during the last four years -- if I took five years, it would be more -- during the last four years has been not far from 50,000 a year, 45,000 a year, and that magnitude of figures will continue in the coming year.

So the answer to the third question is clearly in the affirmative. Funds must be provided to continue bringing in large numbers of refugees and helping them to settle in Israel.

We have been asked why we still have 60,000

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persons in undescrivable living conditions in the ma'abarot. Why have we not built them decent homes?

My friends, the answer is simple. We could have done the job in 15 months if we had taken all our income from UJA and applied it only to building houses for those people. We could have cleared them all out in 14 or 15 months. We can do it, technically, and the income for 15 months would have been sufficient.

But can we take all the money we get in such a period and use it for one purpose, to clearout the ma-abarot -- and in the meantime, are we going to close the gates of the country and not let new immigrants come in?

We are going to let the people on the land starve for a penny, for a piastre, nothing with which to carry on their work?

We are going to close down our Youth Aliyah centers and institutions? We are going to stop our social service work and only clear out the ma-abaroth?

We cannot do it. And so, the process has been a continuing one. But I ask you to remember that some years ago we had 240,000 people living in the ma-abaroth. We have taken out 180,000. 180,000 is far more than 60,000 -- three times as many. We have taken out 180,000.

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I am more sympathetic than you, when you go to the ma'abarot, and I know that tears come to your eyes when you see the deplorable conditions in which people exist there -- they don't live. But you go there once and go back here to the United States, while it is my job to go there every week, and it is my job to be attacked by these people.

They have merits for you -- your rich Americans who came to visit, but for me they have no merits. I am the treasurer, and they don't want to know anything about how I manage my affairs -- they want a house, a roof over their heads for them and their children.

But that is as much as we could have done with the money you sent us, and we couldn't have done as much as we did until now without it.

And then the final question: Why do you ask us for a special fund when there is no immigration emergency? I think, my friends, I have pretty well given you the answer in what I have said already. We have not received the amount of money needed year after year for our work, except in the year 1948, and in some measure in 1949.

When, my friends, the income of the UJA in one year drops from \$73 million to \$55 million, as it did in

take 6

1958, those \$18 million still have to be spent. The people who came in, who didn't get a house that year because income dropped, still need a house, and we still have to provide it, and the fact that you passed a year with giving us \$18 million less, doesn't mean that anybody got away with spending less money. The money still has to be spent.

That year reminded me of a story which some of you may not have heard, of a Jewish gentleman who, for the first time, went into a restaurant in New York. The head waiter noticed a new customer. When the meal was over he went up to him and he said, "Well, sir, I hope you liked everything, that everything was all right."

The gentleman said, "Yes, it was very nice, but you don't give enough bread."

So the head waiter says, "I am very sorry, sir. If you will honor us with your custom again tomorrow, I will see you get enough bread."

The next day he came in and the head waiter called over the waiter, and he said, "That gentleman likes bread. Instead of two slices, you put four slices on his plate."

At the end of the meal, the head waiter goes up and he says, "Sir, I hope everything was all right today."

take 6

"Yes, it was very nice, but you don't give enough bread."

"I'm very sorry, sir; won't you come tomorrow and we will see it is all right."

The next day he says to the waiter, "Eight slices of bread; give him enough bread."

At the end of the meal he comes along and, lo and behold, the eight slices are gone. And he says, "Sir, I hope today everything was all right."

"Yes, it was very nice, but you don't give enough bread."

Again an apology, and the next day the head waiter says to the waiter, "You go downstairs into the kitchen, get one of these long loaves of bread, cut it in half, put the two pieces down, and we will see whether he doesn't get enough bread."

At the end of the meal, sure enough, the bread was gone. And he asked the same question. Whereupon, the gentleman says, "Yes, it was very nice. But why did you go back to two slices?"

(Laughter)

Well, my friends, when you dropped to \$55 million in 1958, and I remember that you had raised \$45 million in

take 6

1948, I asked myself, "Why did you go back to two slices?"

As I say, we need the money of a special fund to help get these people out of the ma-abarot, to help give the people on the land the tens and tens of millions we still owe them -- \$200 million, 350 to 360 million -- to give them the money we still have not given them to become independent. We still have to give a lot of the immigrants who have come into the land the wherewithal to be independent economically.

The fact that we have not been receiving year after year the amount that we required to look after all these needs, that these needs were not met, this leaves us with a deficit of moral obligation, if not higher than that - moral obligation to these Jews.

Please remember, my friends, that when we receive less than what we need, the amount which has not been paid in dollars by contributors is paid in suffering by human beings who come to Israel with a hope of building a new life for themselves, for themselves and for their children.

My friends, I don't want to venture into a general dissertation on what Israel is and what it means to the Jewish people throughout the world.

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In the free countries and in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, perhaps to them even more than to you, because they are not allowed to practice their religion, they are not allowed to print or read a Hebrew book, they are not allowed to see a Jewish theater, they have none of the opportunities which you have in this free democratic country to live as Jewishly as they care to live; and there is one glimmer of hope for them, one longing which is kept alive, one little flame burning still in their hearts, when they clandestinely listen to Zion hagola, to the radio which we transmit. And when they hear a few words of an evening from Israel, they know that there is a country which will receive them with open arms if the day comes, as we fervently hope and believe it will come, when some of them will be able to go to that land.

That is the one thing which keeps hope alive and burning in their hearts, that there is an Israel, and that hope must be kept alive in their hearts by all of us, continuing our efforts, going on building the land, going on and receiving more and more of the Jews who want to come and who have to come from countries where they are not free and where they suffer oppression, whether it be

communal oppresstion, or economic oppression, or physical oppression. We must carry on with our work, and I know the task is not an easy one.

What hurts me so much, my friends, is that I should be saying this to you. I have been coming here, as I said before, for 21 years. I am willing to continue coming here, knocking at your doors, for another twenty-one years. But I say to you: Have a heart, not for me, but for those Jews who are suffering because the money we receive is inadequate. Not you, or the people to whom I shall be speaking -- but you are the only ones who will come and listen. I say to you, my friends, if the mountain will not come to Mahomet, or Moses, or Jacob, or Rifke, then let Mahomet, or Moses, or Rifke, or Jacob go to the mountain. Let us go to our fellow Jews in this great prosperous country and explain to them how important it is to them if Israel is to be the kind of Israel they all want to see, if Israel is to continue to develop, if Israel is to continue to receive these immigrants and settle them on the land and care for them and integrate them into a free, independent, strong, self-supporting, self-sufficient nation, this great humanitarian task of the United Jewish Appeal must continue, and it must continue

on a greater scale because they have not realized that not enough money has been raised. They must join with you, and all of us together, you with your magnificent giving and with your increased giving year after year, and they who have not yet given, being drawn into the camp, together we will continue until we will live to see the Israel that we all dreamed of, and prayed for, and hoped for, a reality.

(Applause)

(Continued on next page.)

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CHAIRMAN FISHER: Dr. Joseph, I want to thank you for that very inspirational and factual and frank message of the unmet needs which are our responsibility.

I am sure that when we hear more about this later one, we will face up to the challenge, Dr. Joseph, and I hope that we will have you for many years in the future.

When we have the United Jewish Appeal elect someone as a Chairman, as a Cash Chairman, we expect that he will be on the go a great deal of the time.

Our good friend from St. Louis who served in this capacity for the past year has been particularly dynamic in this regard, and I might add, I think that a great many of you probably heard him on the phone saying, "How about some money?" and before you could say anything, he said that he would be right over to collect the check.

With all his travels, he took another trip far afield to Poland with Herb Friedman to see something of the marvelous JDC operation and the immigration situation in that country.

Mel Dubinsky returned from that trip just a few short weeks ago, and he is going to tell us about it.

It will be a real thrill to hear from our good friend Mel.

7am2

(Applause.)

MR. MELVIN DUBINSKY: Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I stand before you today, having just returned from Israel and Poland, and I would like to take a few minutes of your time to discuss the second phase of my trip behind the Iron Curtain with Herbert Friedman and Sam Hauber, in a country that at one time in its history had a Jewish population of three and a half million. When you study history, it is easy to remember that a great deal of the culture, tradition and religious convictions that we possess today stem from the fallen Jewish population of this land. It is pathetic remembrance to realize that at the present time there are approximately 35,000 Jewish souls remaining in Poland, with only the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto facing them as a grim reminder of the extermination of over a half million people in one act of brutality. 20,000 of the present population represent repatriates who have recently returned to Poland from Russia and Siberia.

Our work in Poland today carried on by the Joint Distribution Committee and O.R.T. consists of a program of social welfare which embraces nursing people back to health, training of people in skills, a health and medical program,

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a bare subsidy during the period while some are waiting for emigration, providing religious facilities, and generally taking care of the needs of the aged, the handicapped, and the chronically ill, either on a temporary or permanent basis.

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In order to avail ourselves of all of the information we desired in Poland, we met with many American and Israeli officials and various leaders of the Jewish community throughout the country.

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In an effort to transmit to you the feelings of the Jewish population of Poland, I would like to relate an experience. On Monday, November 23rd, we traveled by car on Hitler's autobahn from Breslau to Leg-Nitza. Early in the morning we met with the leadership of the Jewish community who explained to us that the remaining Jewish population were concentrating themselves in the larger cities.

They told us that the present Jewish population of Leg-Nitza amounts to 4,000 people, of which an overwhelming majority are repatriates.

After a lengthy discussion with a committee of local people, we then moved on to visit several flats occupied by people who were either social welfare cases or waiting for their departure to Israel. I was perfectly

7am⁴

satisfied that the J. D. C. program was being administered and carried on in a very efficient manner.

While we were touring the flats in the morning, we were met on the street by an elderly woman who was emotionally overwrought, and pleaded with us to walk a few doors up the street with her to discuss her personal problems.

We walked inside of the building with a rickety dark stairway to a second-floor flat, and as we entered her living quarters, consisting of one room and a kitchen we were greeted by two healthy-looking boys who were nine and eleven years old respectively.

Her husband, who was a man of very slight stature, was sitting at a kitchen table dressed in a brown mackinaw coat with a cap pulled over his ears.

The room was cold and dismal, and the furnishings were very meager. The three of us were invited to sit around the kitchen table, on stools and boxes. The children slept on one side of the room, and the parents on the other.

Both the husband and the wife started to talk at one time, in a conversation that was very incoherent. They were very busy fighting amongst themselves for the privilege of telling their story.

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The tears were streaming down their faces, and when the husband finally acquiesced and allowed his wife to start relating their experiences, she was so excited that it was impossible to make sense out of what she had to say. After several efforts on his part to help her, which again led to disputes between them we pieced together their story . . .

Each of these pathetic souls had lost their respective mates and children during the days of Hitler, and some way or somehow they succeeded in finding themselves in the part of Poland that was taken by Russia during World War II.

During the course of history, individually, they were moved to Siberia where they met and were married. During this terrible period of their life the two children were born, and it was very evident from what they had to say that they were trying to rebuild a new life for themselves as well as their new family. During their stay in Siberia the little short broken-down man worked at the most menial tasks, which consisted principally of cutting cord wood.

In recent months they had succeeded in coming back to Poland, with the ultimate hope and expectation of

7am6

of going to Israel.

They were both very busy showing us the pictures of their deceased families and former spouses. The husband finally indicated to us in the very incoherent conversation that he was 58 years old, and that his wife was in her early fifties.

When you looked at the deep wrinkles and expression of sorrow in their eyes, it was evident to me that at this stage of life they should have been grandparents rather than parents of young children.

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In my mind, it was evident that the parents were physically ill and mentally upset. The husband was in the process of attending an ORT training school while waiting to emigrate.

It was perfectly obvious to me that through the United Jewish Appeal this family would be a tremendous financial responsibility to us, not only in Poland but also in Israel.

I transmitted in my own way of thinking the cost of endeavoring to nurse the parents back to health, with the knowledge that during that same period of time the children would be non-productive until they were educated and grown with the sort of understanding that only Israel could offer them.

What we were about to do is to save a family, that could not be productive in any economy for many years, only as an act of humanity. This story represents the saga of the United Jewish Appeal, the JDC, and the future generation of the Promised Land.

Multiply this case a thousand-fold and then we all start to understand the future financial problems of the UJA.

In mid-afternoon, we were taken to the

7z-2b

Kehilla, which is a religious organization that also administers help to the people in our behalf.

While walking through the building, we were ushered into the synagogue on the first floor. Within a very few minutes people started to stream in from every direction. We were completely surrounded by a group of the most pathetic souls that I have ever witnessed in my life.

Some people were seated, others were standing, and in the rear of the room they were standing on the benches. The ages of the people varied all the way from small children, whose heads were protruding between the people, to very aged and handicapped people, some with long flowing beards, and with the look of anguish in their faces.

In looking around the room it was evident to me that each and every person could have told a tragic and pathetic story if only given the opportunity. I could sense that the act of three Americans walking into the room, in itself, gave them the sort of encouragement that they needed to carry on their temporary existence in Poland.

Herb Friedman and Sam Hauber addressed the group, relating to them that the people of America were deeply concerned about their plight and that it was our intention

7a-3b

to stand solidly at their side until such time as their prayers were answered.

As Herb Friedman and Sam Hauber spoke, I had the opportunity of looking out at the faces. It was clearly obvious to me that the tears in their eyes only represented their appreciation for our interest in their welfare and future.

The vast majority of the audience were repatriates; some men at 35 looked twice their age. It was evident that most of them had spent hard and long years deep in Russia and Siberia; and then they suddenly found themselves back in Poland where three and a half million of their co-religionists had perished.

They knew that the first part of their journey was over and that the second stage would take them, with their families, to a land where their children could grow up as healthy normal human beings, with all the privileges of freedom amongst their own people.

After the Second World War, I spent time in the Displaced Persons Camps in the American Occupation Zone of Germany. Time and again I have received a tremendous amount of satisfaction in knowing that the people I lived with in the camps a dozen years ago, for the most part, are now

7a-4b

living in Israel, where most of them are self-sustaining and have regained the human dignity that they so richly deserve.

What a tragic sight this was to me, looking at this group of people in the synagogue who, by virtue of a simple border, were moved to Russia or Siberia instead of to Israel.

I had a tremendous feeling of sympathy for those first people I saw in 1947-48. Within the limits of this dark dingy room in Poland, I kept saying to myself that these people deserve more of my sympathy than even the people I lived with in the displaced persons camps in 1948.

When you think in terms of ten or fifteen years lost from one's life, without any hope of ever being able to ultimately immigrate into a land with their people, the sort of courage that it must have taken for them to survive is beyond human understanding.

The expression of suffering that was implanted in their faces can only serve as a reminder to me of the confidence that I need as an American to carry on in their behalf.

Their spirit of appreciation was typified by a group of over 100, on their way to Israel, that I saw in

7a-5b

Vienna a few weeks before -- one man, while entering a JDC Reception Center for a hot meal after a long train trip from Poland, kissed the hand of an American woman who was a member of our delegation. The people I looked at in the synagogue could very easily kiss your hands for all of your understanding and efforts in their behalf.

Our meeting with this group concluded with a few statements that were made by some of the people in the room. I shall never forget one elderly man who stood up in a green tattered coat and said, "We did not know of your coming here today and if the Jewish population of Legnice had known about it, not only would the synagogue be filled but the streets outside as well with people who would want to see you and thank you for what you are doing."

Another young man standing on the top of a bench said to us, "All of my suffering will be worth the price that I had to pay the past several years only if my children are permitted to grow up in Israel with their own people."

Shortly before our meeting reached its conclusion, one elderly man lit two candles and started to chant the Evening Prayer, completely oblivious to our presence in the room.

7a-6b

As we walked out, some of the people started to chant the Evening Prayer with the elderly gentleman, others clapped and cheered at the top of their voices; and as they said Shalom to us, I realized their humility in trying to say thanks to the Jews of America and to you who are sitting here today.

This is the scene that I shall never forget, that is the scene that the American public will not forget in the coming campaign. The knowledge that we have helped move and rehabilitate a million and a quarter people is very gratifying to us; but I am convinced that our work must carry on. The people who have waited so long deserve the greatest amount of our sympathy.

With the knowledge that this sort of work is being carried on not only in Poland but in many other trouble spots where our co-religionists are in need and must emigrate, can only lead to one conclusion -- that you and I together and the host of people in America will again answer the cries of agony with positive action.

(Applause.)

8-b1

MR. FRIEDMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we would like to welcome Senator Lehman to the room.

(Applause and assemblage rises as the Hon. Herbert H. Lehman enters the room and takes his place at the dais.)

CHAIRMAN FISHER: Surely in our day no American Jew has labored more mightily than our next speaker to uplift the underprivileged, the oppressed and the dispossessed of all races and creeds.

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All of us here surely have taken inspiration from his vigorous championship of the people of Israel and from his dedicated efforts on behalf of distressed Jews everywhere. No one will ever forget his noble work of rescue and regeneration as Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, nor his long and distinguished record of public service as Governor of the State of New York and as United States Senator from New York. He is addressing you today in his capacity as Honorary General Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal.

I present to you someone who has well earned the deep respect and affection I know you all have for him, that great statesman, the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman.

(Applause)

8-2

HONORABLE HERBERT H. LEHMAN: Rabbi Friedman, Mr. Fisher, thank you very much for your generous introduction -- Mr. Dubinsky whose speech I heard and enjoyed very much and all the other dignitaries of the United Jewish Appeal, my friends: It is a great pleasure and satisfaction to be here with you again today. I don't think I have missed many of the conferences of the UJA.

I am particularly gratified at the size of the attendance. I think it is even larger than last year. Is that correct?

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Yes, it is. It is the largest ever.

MR. LEHMAN: It augurs well for the success of the campaign of 1960.

I visited Israel with Mrs. Lehman last April. I had not been there for ten years. I can't tell you the impression that was made on me because of the incredible change, the progress, the spirit of the people of Israel.

Mr. Minister, Dr. Dov Joseph, was very kind to me. He placed at my disposal all the facilities that made our trip very comfortable.

I am sorry, Mr. Minister, that when I got up here before I didn't recognize you as probably the most important

man in the room today.

(Applause.)

I went in the country to Beersheba, or a little south of Beersheba to the Lebanon border. You know, men like Dove, Joseph who has been one of those who has done the actual work in Israel, who has lived there and who has seen these changes come very gradually, day by day almost, you cannot appreciate the tremendous change that has come to our little sister republic, our little sister democracy in a period of ten years; to me and to Mrs. Lehman they were completely compelling and incredibly dramatic.

We visited Beersheba and Beersheba ten years ago was a little straggling frontier town, dirty, unkempt; you couldn't even get a sandwich there without have the flies come in and sharing the sandwich with you, taking the major part of it.

I don't suppose at that time it had more than 1500 to 2000 people. It was under military rule. This year when we visited, it had become a great center of 40,000 people, a well ordered, scientifically administered city, a city built up of industry, and with a social life; orderly, nice streets, nice residences.

What impressed me the most, Mr. Minister, were the

8-3

new units, the housing units that had been built to receive the new immigrants.

The mayor of Beersheba deeply impressed me, as a matter of fact, and I have had some experience with administrators and public officials -- (laughter) -- he took us all around and pointed out all these things and he was intensely proud.

Of course, I did have the opportunity and the great honor of visiting the Prime Minister down in the Negev. I enjoyed, vastly enjoyed meeting the Prime Minister and Mrs. Ben-Gurion.

I will admit that I didn't enjoy the climate, because it was about the hottest day through which I have ever lived, I think.

(Laughter)

But it was a wonderful experience.

Then, of course, we had been in Tel Aviv which has grown beyond comparison. There, too, it has taken on an international climate. It has a wonderful musical center, and a wonderful vocational center, the new ORT School there, which is as fine as any that I have seen.

We were at Rehovoth, the Weizmann Institute where we spent the Seder.

Ten years ago, Mr. Minister, when I visited Rehovoth, there was one building there, the first building. It was in the center of a desert. There was no landscaping. There was just sand.

Today, of course, it is one of the great scientific institutions of the world, I believe, but it is beyond that, it is a beautiful spot.

We had the pleasure, Mr. Minister, of occupying a house that had been renovated for Abba Eban when he was about to assume his position, and we stayed there.

Of course, we went to Jerusalem and saw the wonderful university and the Hadassah Hospital, both of which were incompleated -- the university is nearly completed.

The Hadassah Hospital is still in the course of construction. Both of these institutions when completed, I think will compare with any that we have here in this country or in other countries.

Then under the guidance of Minister Joseph we went to the Galilee and visited the various settlements there. But what I wanted to talk to you about for just a few minutes is that in all these places, while we were deeply impressed with the material progress that had been made, we were more impressed first by the spirit of the

people. They are not, as far as I can see, giving tangible evidence, at least, of their fear of possible attack, although I am sure it must be in their minds more or less constantly. They take it for granted that they will be able to defend themselves against attack.

I received the impression, as I have said at the Weizmann Institute, and the Technion, the ORT vocational school, and the university and the Hadassah Hospital. There, too, we were mostly impressed by the spirit of the people, the determination to take the lead in scientific activities and in educational programs.

I was also impressed by something that was not so gratifying, and that is that many of the immigrants that have been coming to Israel for the past ten years or more, are still completely inadequately housed.

Whether you go to Jerusalem or Beersheba or Naharia, or even Haifa, or to a lesser degree in Haifa, you still see wooden huts, tin huts that are housing people, houses that offer them no conveniences, no amenities and which are in very bad shape.

I think we can take great pride in the material and the scientific educational progress that has been made. We cannot take equal pride in having fulfilled the duty to

house people decently.

Some of these tin and wooden houses I saw were not better than the ones I saw ten years ago. Ten years ago we went to Haifa in a little ship called the Nekva, which I am sure you are very well acquainted with. We had 1200 refugees on board. I saw some of them in Israel when I visited this year. Most of them seem to be happy and contented and full of pep and enthusiasm.

I saw what they underwent for some years after their arrival, and some of the immigrants that have come in more recent years are undergoing exactly the same hardships, the same discouragements, the same disillusionment. That is one of the things I think must be corrected and will be corrected, because of the efforts of the UJA.

But whatever material progress, lack of complete consummation of the plan for housing, which oppressed us deeply -- we were yet most impressed, Mrs. Lehman and I, at the spirit of these people, that they were proud.

They have their political differences, I am sure, just as we have our political differences here in this country of ours. I am sure that many of them gripe just as we gripe from time to time, and I think a little griping is a damn useful thing. (Laughter) -- in the life of any

country.

But underlying it all there is the spirit of great pride, and of great accomplishment, and of great hope.

I am convinced that although I do not belittle, even as an outsider, the dangers to which Israel and the people of Israel will be confronted in the next years, certainly very great difficulties, economic and otherwise -- I am convinced those difficulties and those dangers will be overcome, both by wise leadership and by the spirit of the people. I have never seen such a spirit as I have seen in Israel.

We came away more enthusiastic about Israel, more enthusiastic about what they have accomplished and what they can stand for in the world.

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In raising the standard of living, if only their neighbors would give them a chance, what they can stand for in furthering the cause of democracy, after all, not only are they the only democratic country in the Middle East, but they are about as democratic as any country I have ever known.

I think that is recognized in many of the African and Asian countries, who have admired and approved what Israel is doing.

I came away less encouraged by the slow progress of housing many of these people, of taking care of them.

We are taking wonderful care of the aged and infirm. I visited some of the modern homes, and there is nothing nicer and better in the world. But there are many people, and many causes in Israel that require our help and require it with all the urgency which I can describe.

You know, I have known the UJA from the time it was a mere ideal, a dream. I needn't tell you that I am deeply gratified, as all of us must be, by what has grown from these small beginnings.

We have developed an organization whose purpose

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involves nearly the whole of American Jewry. It has come to be synonymous with our concern for freedom, for peace and for humanitarianism, not only as Jews but as Americans.

During a good part of the past 20 years of my life I have been working on the problem of refugees, first in the JDC, of which I had the honor of being a founder way back in 1914, and then in the UJA, and then as director-general of UNRRA.

I learned about refugees and came to realize how difficult it is to find a haven for people who are uprooted.

It is one of the ironies of history that today at the precise moment when we have made the first strides toward the conquest of space, it is almost more difficult for the people to move freely from one country to another at any time which I can remember.

In America itself, it is a case in point. Perhaps the most tragically clear case in point. This very day we have on our statute books the national origins quota system and other benighted provisions of a discriminatory and a cruelly restrictive immigration law, which not only limits immigration from Europe and Asia to a mere trickle; which represents a violent portrayal of the very spirit of our

country, but it remains crystal clear that this law must be completely overhauled. It must give way to a law that is truly humane and which will restore our country to its traditional status of the safe haven for people who are uprooted and who want freedom and the opportunity for a better life.

We of the UJA know intimately the importance of a haven for the oppressed and the uprooted. If it looms large in our deliberations today, and it certainly does, it is because Israel stands today as the one oasis in the vast desert in the world of indifference to the plight of refugees. The people of Israel created this oasis, and we by our contributions have helped to maintain it. To this oasis nearly a million of our fellow Jews have gone. Taking into consideration the size of the State of Israel, its state of development, its limited facilities, and the fact that the migration of these people was financed largely by us as private individuals, this migration is probably the most spectacular in the history of mankind. We may take pride that we, all of us, in this room, and thousands upon thousands of others like us, played a vital role in this great historic and human effort.

We have accomplished much, but we have far from

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completed the task. Those who have gone to Israel have been rescued from acute danger, but as you who are attending the sessions of this conference have already heard and will continue to hear during the remainder of the conference, we have yet to satisfy the other yearnings of these immigrants with the many things they require to take root in Israel.

To satisfy these yearnings is the main problem that confronts us in the UJA today.

Maimonides, one of the great Jewish sages, says there were eight rungs in the ladder of charity, the highest of which is placing a man in a position where he can stand on his own feet. We must reach this highest rung with respect to the 400,000 and more fellow Jews in Israel whom we have helped to get there, but who are not yet self-sufficient; and we just do so while we are meeting the obligations to those other Jews who continue to emigrate to Israel, as well as the many needy and oppressed Jews in 25 countries other than Israel.

To discharge these obligations properly and promptly obviously requires great sums of money. To raise the needed sums it will, as I see it, be necessary for the UJA to conduct a campaign for a special fund during 1960.

The special fund is a proven technique for raising additional funds for the UJA. Great and urgent needs dictate that this technique be used again this year. In a real sense, this forthcoming year will be a year of real trial for our generation, our generosity and our dedication. We have proven again and again that we can respond generously when any people are in peril. This year we shall see whether we can hear the cry of our fellow Jews who are not possibly in acute physical peril at this time, but who plead and who plead hard with us for the minimal things that they must have for life and for self-respect.

I believe I know the quality of the soul of American Jewry. I feel certain that their generosity and their efforts will be commensurate with the needs. I am confident that we shall succeed.

I want to tell you in conclusion that the continuation of the work that is being carried on by the UJA, and our support of that work, is one of the most important things that we Americans can do. I am not talking to you now as a Jew, although you know my close adherence and dedication to Judaism. I am talking to you now as an American. Israel is a real democracy. It is a proven

democracy. It is the one hope, in my opinion, for peace in the Middle East, and possibly for peace in the world.

You know, I have always felt as a Jew and as an American, that the greatest mission that the Jews have had in the world for many, many centuries has been to serve as a messenger of peace. We Jews have always been peaceful people. We have always been taught to fight for the rights of every man and woman and child wherever they may live. We have always sought to bring the message of peace to the people of the world. We can do it again. We as a Jewish community in this country must do it, and the cause which we serve of peace -- and we all want peace -- can be greatly furthered and strengthened by the example, the spiritual example of Israel. They can serve, and given sufficient help and encouragement they will serve, as a messenger of peace.

I didn't see a thing in Israel that made me feel there was any chauvinistic point of view, any desire to expand, any desire to use the money which comes from this country for political or nationalistic purposes. They are a peace-loving country, and as all peace-loving people must do, they are willing to defend themselves if necessary.

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Deep down in their hearts they know the best way to develop themselves is to remain as always, strong as a peace-loving country. That is what they are doing.

So I can't tell you how much inspired Mrs. Lehman and I were and how fortified we were in our devotion to our little sister democracy of Israel, where we returned for a most interesting and most happy visit to Israel last April.

Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN FISHER: I am sure all of us owe a debt of thanks to Mr. Lehman for pointing up our responsibilities.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN FISHER: Our next speaker -- a difficult one to introduce -- I know everybody in this room has heard him and been inspired by him.

I know it has always been a great thrill for me in hearing from him. Let me say this that all I can say is that it is a real pleasure to introduce a dedicated humanitarian -- and that is what I think he is, our Executive Vice Chairman of the UJA, Rabbi Herbert Friedman.

(Applause.)

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I know that

10am2

there is always that electric quality of excitement that prevails in a room when people, assembled in such numbers as we are, hear a statement as important as that which we just heard, because we weren't listening to words -- we knew it -- we were listening to the heart and the soul of a man who stands on a pinnacle without peer in Jewish life in this country.

(Applause.)

He remarked quite properly on the size of this gathering. This, I think, is the largest business meeting of the UJA which has been held, and I distinguish between business meeting and evening banquet. This is the largest business meeting which we have held I think possibly in the history of the organization certainly in the last decade.

This means something, it seems to me. It means that we realize that we are standing at a very important transition point, because, when people come in such numbers, they come to learn. There is a feeling that something is changing in the air, and more and more of us want to know what is changing and what is happening and on the brink of what are we now standing.

Since we are here in these numbers we will perhaps have the courage to make what will be a very impor-

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tant step spiritually and psychologically, not an important step in the terms of any new resolutions.

You heard what Senator Lehman endorsed. He endorsed the old resolution, the way of raising more money through an extra fund such as we have been doing for the past four years, and he urged us to do it again for 1960 and I hope we take his advice before the day is over.

It is not that that is new. What is new somehow is the feeling within us that we are on the brink of campaigning psychologically in a different way, not technically in a different way.

I should like to try to spell that out. The reason that I think we are all anticipating with our fingertips that there is some change in the air is that every one says that we find ourselves now in a period of strange calmness. There seem to be no burning headlines, there seems to be no large overwhelming issue there seems to be no extraordinarily pressing sense of urgency or immediacy in the Jewish world, and, therefore, we are saying to each other, -- what is new, what do we campaign on, what is the basis, what is the slogan, and everybody is looking for an answer to that.

I dare say that even though this is the largest

10am4

gathering, there is hardly a person here who has not seen the play "My Fair Lady". If you say that show, you remember one of the great songs "I have grown accustomed to her face".

We have grown accustomed to the face of crisis and emergency, and when that seems to be absent, we are not quite sure how to handle ourselves. This is legitimate. We have lived through an extraordinary period in the last half decade, not to go back beyond that.

In the memory all of us, most recently burned are the facts of the Fedayan raids that were taking place in Israel, when the borders were unsafe, when murders were occurring daily deep inside the heart of the country, ten, fifteen, twenty miles inside.

We all remember the movement which began after that, which was called the period of reprisal raids when Israel in an effort to reduce these annihilating incursions, decided to retaliate to keep her borders secure, and each one of these reprisals, each one of those reprisal raids, evoked, as it did here in America, large headlines and a large reaction from us and we had public relations experts trying to advise us as to how to quiet down inflamed opinion.

And after the Fedayan and after the reprisal raids

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went on and on, it culminated in that inevitable act of the Sinai Campaign which brought in its wake the whole period, months and months and months when Israel was on the front page of every newspaper in the country every day.

You remember it very well.

Finally we breathed a sigh of relief in the early spring of 1957 when the bad little Israel decided to be good and withdraw her troops, and every one congratulated her for the majesty of the statesmanship that enabled her to view the larger picture above her own needs, and she was kosher again in the community of nations, and you and I as Americans could again obtain visas to travel there; for four months we couldn't, you remember.

When that quieted down in the spring of 1957, we had a week to realize that we had lived through the period of the Hungarian revolution with all of the mass publicity attendant upon that and with all the people running out of Hungary, there were the 18 or 17 thousand Jews, and we took stock and suddenly realized that in between this whole thing there had been that expulsion of the Jews of Egypt as though we hadn't had enough to handle.

We moved on from Egyptian expulsion and Hungarian revolution to Rumanian exodus. There has hardly been a day,

let alone a week or a month in the past half decade when we have not seemed to live under this constant sense of looking at the newspaper to find out what was happening in the Jewish world.

Yes, we have grown accustomed to that face.

We geared our response to all things Jewish, not just the campaign to that face of Jewish existence.

Well, it is strangely ^{here} strangely quiet now, and, as quiet as it is, you are ~~near~~ in greater numbers, in larger numbers than you have been here in this past turbulent half decade.

Why? Why?

Because I think that you sense, I think that you sense that we must now begin to emancipate ourselves from the emergency psychology and the crisis psychology, and the pressure psychology, and emancipate ourselves from that -- into what?

Into an understanding on a longer-range and on a deeper basis that you do not rescue a people and build a land for these are our twin tasks -- never forget them.

You do not rescue a people and build a land in one year or two, or five or ten. We are with a concept of a longer range and a deeper perception, that we are confronted

with a task of a whole generation and if we do it in a generation we will be lucky.

This fact, I think, has sunk in it is the interpretation I give to myself for this incredible 1959 annual conference.

If there are no crises, I should like us to think of 1960 as the critical year between crises. I am not just making a play on words. If I compliment you and you compliment yourselves for developing the long-range look, then every one of us must have the maturity to understand that the long-range look is not substitute for short-range dereliction of duty.

To have a long-range look of a generation does not mean that in any one given year of that generation we have a right to relax.

A long-range look is not a permission for apathy or indifference.

And so the quietness of the Jewish horizon at this moment permits us to say that if we are between crises, and there is no crisis in 1960, then 1960 is a critical year between crises.

There are two pictures of Israel today. Dr. Joseph gave them to you. Senator Lehman gave them to you.

I would like to give them to you in terms of what I consider to be the spelling out of the campaign line for 1960.

I am delighted to hear the rustle of pencil and paper.

(Laughter.)

There is one picture of an Israel which is bright and charming and gay and full of life and full of progress, and full of hard factual data and indices, and accomplishment. There is the good side of Israel. Every tourist sees it. Fifty thousand Americans will have gone through Israel in this year 1959. They come home in 1960 and they will say, "Israel looks great. What does she need any money for?"

These are the fifty thousand people whom we have to overcome in our arguments if they see only this good side. They will have much evidence to substantiate their statements that there is a good side of Israel.

Exports have grown.

The orange crop this year was worth \$50 000,000 in hard dollars for that one item alone. Wonderful.

Industry is growing.

Agriculture is growing.

The country is practically self-sufficient in

all food except for one or two items such as beef or wheat.

Fruits and vegetables and eggs and chickens and cheese and milk, there is a superabundance of those. There is a tomato glut in Israel this week.

Senator Lehman hadn't seen Tel Aviv in ten years. If he had marked the northern boundary of the city of Tel Aviv ten years ago and the northern boundary when he went there a few months ago, Tel Aviv is creeping north like an octopus. She will swallow the Accadia and the Sharon, and she will creep up to Herzlia.

Israel is moving fast in the direction of creating one ^{metropolis} ~~megapolis~~ on the coast between Tel Aviv and Haifa, just like some day New York and Baltimore will be linked with nothing in between, no empty spaces, only city.

Yes, Israel is growing and the good side is good.

Freddie Forman and I walked down the street of Haifa and looked into a radio shop and saw a television set in the window. There is no transmitter in the country yet, but there is one smart Jew who has a shop, and he has a television set, and he is ready to sell it.

(Laughter.)

The day the transmitting station is opened, he will be the first one in business.

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You have to take all that the good side of Israel, the happy side the gay side, the side that shows that the years of love and labor that we poured into this have paid, and you have to come away happy that the thing is a success, and it works and it goes, and nobody will shove it into the sea, and ~~that~~ all that talk is way in the past now.

We have got a right to feel good, and having appreciated and tasted on the tongue and savored that side of Israel, then be not so blind as to say that that is the whole story.

It would be the depth of childishness and immaturity, and I go even further and say even irresponsibility for any one to come back from Israel being so overjoyed about the progress, as to fail to see that this is only half the coin.

People will say, "Why do you need more money in 1960? Why do you need another extra fund? Israel looks good. Don't deny that Israel looks good."

But then go on to say, "What looks bad?" And here is the other half of the coin. I think that what looks bad is stronger and more important for you to contrast with what is good.

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There are four things that are bad, and when I said the campaign line, this is the campaign line of what is bad, and it has to be corrected; and when this is made good, then this is no more the campaign line.

But until this is made good, this is what we are going to raise money for.

Number one is the question of these ma'abarot. Dr. Joseph earlier this morning called them "this shame." Yes, they are a shame on the otherwise fine escutcheon.

He also said that 180,000 people had graduated from them. Good. Is this any consolation to the 60,000 people who are still in them? I made a film this summer on the question of the ma'abarot, and we will show it tomorrow at 2 o'clock, right before the JDC session. I think when you see it, you will get out of it all the poignancy of what it means for a man to be living in one of these places for one year or five years or seven years and to watch his family disintegrate under his hands, to watch his children run away because they can't live in the squalor, to watch the failure that takes place of communication between father and son when son accuses father of inadequacy; and the father says, "The system has got me beat, I can't get out."

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There are 60,000 people living in those places. And you and I have no right for one genuinely easy night of sleep until that is done, and if it takes 15 months with the full budget, it may take 30 months with half money applied to it. It ought to take five months or six months or ten months if we found enough money for it.

It is a vile shame, and it has to be eliminated.

The second thing is the question of those slum areas in Israel into which many of the ma'abarot dwellers have graduated thinking that they were going to something better.

What is Salim, in Haifa, or other places, in Beersheba, or other places, in Tel Aviv, are breeding spots of crime, vice, delinquency and a degradation of all of the ideals for which we as Jews stand, and which we abhor, the elimination of the cancerous places with the rabbit hutch kind of little crooked alleyways and dirty chambers must be eliminated from the face of the land.

Vice and crime and delinquency are not our usual wont in life. We are not given to this approach or activity, and these things are the result only of foci of infection in which they fester; and if you lance the infection the pus runs out.

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That is exactly what you have to do to those slum areas.

The third thing. Farm settlements which we built with such joy, 485 of them since the establishment of the State of Israel, on which there are living 130,000 people, and which we always talk about as one of the greatest demonstrations of the Jewish capacity to get out of the urban dwelling luftmensch category of economic existence and become solid farmers -- that image with which we very often hypnotize and propagandize ourselves when we talk about the courageous Jew with the gun on one shoulder and the hand on the plow, we talk about the image of the Jewish farmer, and 130,000 people who came out of metropolitan centers and are not used to this way of life agreed to take on this way of life, and we established those things by telling the Jewish Agency by giving them money to do it.

Now I would like to tell you something. Of these 485 farm settlements that are now up to 11½ years old that require all kinds of things to make them go, like machinery and barns and tractors and roads going up to them, and fences around them, and chickens in the chicken coops, of these 485 farm settlements that require all these things to make them pay off, how many of these do you think are

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earning their way? Not one.

Why? Because the people are indolent? No.

Why? Because they do not know how to farm? No. Why?

Because there are no skillful instructors? No. All of that exists. The reason that these farm settlements are not self-sufficient, earning their way, bringing in money to support the families living on them, is that those farm settlements have not received that which they need in order to earn.

Spell it out for yourselves. You take a Jew from Casablanca and you rescue him and put him in Israel on a farm settlement in the Negev, and you give him a house and you think you are doing fine -- and you are -- but when you transport him, and when you give him a house and when you even bring water to that place, and when you even give him seed, and when you give him instructors, and when you give him tools, until he begins to bring in the first crop, he hasn't earned a dime. And if you don't give him something that he needs to bring in the first crop, you have handicapped him, you have crippled him, you have restricted him, you have held him back.

There are almost 100 of these farm settlements that are on the brink of economic self-sufficiency. The

5ps
~~6pm~~

last little bit of capital investment is missing, is lacking, is not there. 100 of them could become self-sufficient within a matter of a few more months if there were the money to invest in them to bring them up to the full capitalization.

Is that critical? I think it is as critical as any other emergency with which we have been faced.

What do you do meanwhile, while the men are not earning their living on the farms? Everybody in this room remembers the W.P.A. in the United States. There is something in Israel that is similar. You don't let the men sit on the farm and starve. You put him on a truck and you move him down the road to ten kilometers and you have him crack rock and build a culvert or build a bridge, or plant some trees on the side of the road, or whatever you find for him to do which is worthy and necessary for the economic development of the country, but which is obviously a labor subsidy system.

No, you don't let him starve. But what you do is, maybe you give him 12 or 15 days of work a month, because that is all you can afford at about 5 pounds a day, because that is all you can afford. So you give him \$30, \$40 a month worth of employment.

t.10A

6ps

Great. Critical or not critical, emergency or not emergency, I don't know any more. Critical to live in a ma'abara, crisis to live in a slum, emergency situation if you are on a farm and you are not earning -- these four things, Ladies and Gentlemen, whether you call them crises or whether you don't, these four items, ma'abarot, slum, unfinished farm settlements, and employment opportunities for those who are not yet earning their way, subsidized labor -- it is as simple as that. These four things constitute what we call in a kind of inadequate cold, sterile language, the backlog of unmet needs.

Do you know how many people this embraces? Hold your hats. Be proud that you took in -- or that you helped take in almost a million refugees in Israel, be proud of it.

Be not proud of the fact that this category which I have just enumerated have unmet needs embraces 1 out of every 3 of those people. You have taken in or helped to take in a million refugees. A third of them are in the condition I have just finished describing. One man out of three of these refugees of the last 11½ years is not absorbed in Israel because he is missing something, a house, a job, a farm tool, something he is missing; and he

7ps

is not on his feet yet.

I talked about the W.P.A. You remember the days of the depression when President Roosevelt referred to this country as one-third of a nation ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed.

One-third of the emigrant population whom we have helped bring to Israel with such joy in the work stands now to shake its finger at us in this J'Accuse, to say, "We are ill-fed, although there is plenty of food in Israel; we have no money to buy it. We are ill-clothed. There are plenty of clothes here; we have no money to buy them. We are ill-housed."

One-third of the immigrant population stands before us and says to us, "Is this critical?"

And we will make our response in America.

There was a novel written by Disraeli. I wish everybody in this room would read it. Almost a century ago Disraeli wrote a book called "Sybil, or The Two Nations."

He warned his countrymen in England of the injustice of having two nations living in England, one secure and comfortable, and the other existing in misery, poverty or degradation.

8ps

We don't want two Israels, with two-third of the immigrants absorbed, and one-third of them not, in a contrast which is all the more painful because it is all the more evident.

The danger that Disraeli warned England of was the danger of war and strife and revolution if there were two Englands. It is not this danger that I warn you of.

If there are two Israels, there will not be an Israel of the submerged third which will revolt against the masters. It is an Israel of the submerged third that will come to its brothers, not its masters, and say, "Why, why, why leave us this way? Hurry to complete our absorption."

I have said no word, and I shall not be able to, because the time is gone, and I have spoken much longer than I thought I would -- I have said no word about the vastness of the things which pull upon our hearts in all the other countries of the world.

Those of you who were at the JDC meeting last night saw a film about Iran, 80,000 Jews living there, Morocco, with 200,000 Jews living there.

10b-b1

Poland, you heard Mel Dubinsky talk about it, 30,000 Jews living there, being fed, being cared for, being helped, being given that hand of brotherly love which we want so much to extend to them, which takes money.

You read the New York Times this morning. The JDC voted a budget yesterday of 29-plus million dollars. Where do they expect to get it if not in some great portion from us.

I said that we were living in calmness. You know one thing? You know what the calmest part of the storm is? The "eye" at the center of the hurricane. The "eye" at the center of the hurricane is the calmest part of the torment that rages in the heavens. I can't tell you, nor can anybody sitting in this room, what massive explorations will occur all around us. You heard the Arabs in the United Nations the other day talk about war.

You heard Kassim say that if the other Arab nations didn't make war on Israel he would ~~do~~ it himself.

You hear the talk about vast reservoirs of Jews waiting in certain areas of the world wanting to come to Israel -- vast reservoirs going in the hundreds of thousands if not more. These are the storms that swirl all around us, any one of which can break any day, any moment.

10b-b2

Right now we are sitting in the eye of the storm, and it is calm in the eye.

If we take advantage of this calmness, if we keep our strength mobilized for the long run and for the short run, we will not be caught short short by whatever happens as the heavens explode around us, because in the quietness of the eye of the storm we will go ahead with our work for 1960, as we see it laid out for us, and we will make two promises, -and with this I am through.

We will promise that we shall not just content ourselves with the transportation of immigrants, but we will dedicate ourselves to their transformation into self sufficient citizens.

Secondly, we will promise that even though Israel is now a state, we will help make her a nation by absorbing her people in a way in which they will grow and flourish and prosper.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is the task of our generation, nothing less. I tell you that we have to create one Israel indivisible with liberty and justice for all, not to Israel -- and that we have to dedicate ourselves to one Jewish people, not each one being his brother's keeper, but each one being his brother's brother.

10b-b3

That is it.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN FISHER: Ladies and gentlemen, one important announcement. Before we adjourn for lunch there remains the job of naming the Resolutions Committee.

You will be free for lunch which is served in Penn Top South on the 18th floor, and then you will reconvene here at two o'clock.

The Resolutions Committee will meet at Penn Top North. I am happy to announce that Mr. Dewey D. Stone will act as chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

Mr. Martin Peppercorn of the U.J.A. will not make the announcement of the Resolutions Committee. We tried our best to see that we have adequate representation from all parts of the country.

MR. MARTIN PEPPERCORN: Harold H. Alpert, Phoenix
Jules J. Aron, Youngstown,
Jacob L. Barowsky, Holyoke,
Charles Bensley, New York City,
Mrs. Jacob Blaustein, Baltimore,
F. Gordon Borowsky, Philadelphia,
Hyman Brand, Kansas City,
Rabbi Isadore Brewlau, Washington,

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Irwin S. Chanin, New York City,
Max Bressler, Chicago,
Harry Cassman, Atlantic City,
Amos S. Deinard, Minneapolis,
Harry Druker, Marshalltown,
Melvin Dubinsky, St. Louis
Arthur H. Edelstein, Toledo
Sol Entin, Passaic
Myer Feinstein, Philadelphia,
I. D. Fink, Minneapolis,
Hon. Joseph Fishberg, Trenton,
Max M. Fisher, Detroit,
Fred Forman, Rochester,
Leopold V. Freudberg, Washington,
Norbert Friedman, Louisville,
Charles Frost, New York City,
Samuel F. Gingold, New Haven,
Edward Ginsberg, Cleveland,
Harry Ginsberg, New York City,
Morris Ginsberg, New York City,
Joshua B. Glasser, Chicago,
Charles Goldberg, Denver,
Harold Goldman, Philadelphia,

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N. C. Goldman, West Palm Beach,
Monroe Goldwater, New York City,
Herman Goodman, Scranton,
Mrs. Jack Goodman, Indianapolis,
Charles Gutwirth, New York City,
Samuel Hausman, New York City,
Walter D. Heller, San Francisco,
Joseph Holtzman, Detroit,
Fred Isaacson, New York City,
Albert Kahn, New York City,
Abraham Kamber, New York City,
Paul Kapelow, New Orleans,
Abe Kasle, Detroit,
Label A. Katz, New Orleans,
Henry H. Kaufmann, Tucson,
Abe S. Kay, Washington,
Adolph Kiesler, Denver,
Philip M. Klutznick, Chicago,
Julius Kuffler, New York City,
I. L. Kunian, Nashville,
Nathan I. Kuss, Wilkes Barre,
Carl Leff, New York City,
Irving Levick, Buffalo,

10-b-6

Jerome Lewine, New York City,
Joseph M. Linsey, Boston,
Nathan Lipton, Atlanta
David Lowenthal, Pittsburgh,
Joseph Lubin, New York City,
Sol Luckman, Cincinnati,
Charles Mayer, New York City,
Joseph Mazer, New York City,
Barney Medintz, Atlanta,
Joseph Meyerhoff, Baltimore
Elkan R. Myers, Baltimore,
M. Aaron Naboichek, Hartford,
Irving S. Norry, Rochester,
Dr. Eugene V. Parsonnet, Newark,
Carl Pearl, Akron,
Solomon Petchers, New York City,
Theodore Racoosin, New York City,
Leonard Ratner, Cleveland,
Louis J. Reizenstein, Pittsburgh,
Mrs. Ida Rosenthal, New York City,
Joseph Roth, Syracuse,
Sol Satinsky, Philadelphia,
Lawrence Schacht, New York City,

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Simon H. Scheur, New York City,
Herbert H. Schiff, Columbus,
Robert Schiff, New York City,
Michael Schimmel, New York City,
Judge Selig Schwartz, Meriden, Conn.,
Richard I. Schwarzschild, Richmond,
Samuel Seder, Worcester,
Morris Senderowitz, Jr., Allentown,
George Shapiro, Boston,
Ralph Silverman, Southern Illinois,
Jacob Sincoff, New York City,
Louis P. Smith, Boston,
Alex F. Stanton, Philadelphia,
Jack Stern, Paterson,
Dewey D. Stone, Brockton,
Jacob Stuchen, Los Angeles,
Herman P. Taubman, Tulsa,
Earl J. Tranin, Kansas City,
Stanford L. Weiss, Wilkes Barre,
Mack Wolf, St. Paul,
Mrs. Henry Wineman, Detroit,
Robert Wishnick, New York City,
Sol Zallea, Wilmington, Del.,

10-b-8

Philip Zinman, Camden,

Joe Zissen, Dayton.

CHAIRMAN FISHER: Thank you, Mr. Peppercorn.

The meeting will stand adjourned until 2:00 p.m.

...(Whereupon, at 12:45 o'clock the meeting
adjourned for lunch until 2:00 p.m.)...

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The afternoon session, Friday, December 11, 1959, of the Twenty-Second Annual National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened at 2:00 p.m., Dewey D. Stone, National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal, for UIA, presiding.

* * *

CHAIRMAN STONE: Fellow Delegates:

Unfortunately time is running too rapidly for some of us. It will soon be shabat, and we certainly don't want to transgress on that.

I welcome you to the second session of this Annual UJA Conference.

This morning was an extremely scintillating, brilliant and stimulating meeting. You sat patiently and quietly, and I saw and watched you, I am sure with deep interest, as others spoke to you.

This afternoon we are going to attempt to transfer at least a considerable part of the program to you, the delegates.

I have been privileged to serve as chairman of the very exciting Resolutions Committee which lunched, and then took some action which we want to bring to you for, we hope, your approval -- and not only approval, but endorsement in the same terms in which the members of the

Resolutions Committee endorsed the action which we are going to present.

To read the resolution, and to bring it before us for formal consideration will be a gentleman who needs no introduction to anyone who knows UJA. He chaired our meeting this morning. He did it with grace and distinction. I give you one of our beloved leaders, Max Fisher from Detroit.

(Applause)

MR. MAX FISHER: This is the resolution.

We, the representatives of Jewish communities throughout the United States, have assembled at the Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the United Jewish Appeal at the Statler Hilton Hotel in New York City on December 11 to 13, 1959, to consider the needs that the UJA will have to meet in 1960, and to formulate plans to meet these needs.

The needs are clear. One of the most urgent and pressing problems which has ever confronted the UJA is the great need of approximately 400,000 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.

Some 90,000 are still living in the squalor of the ma'abarot and other miserable slum dwellings. 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 building equipment and machinery.

A great number of the settlers on the incompleated farm communities 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.

In addition to the needs of those who have already come to Israel, there is a continuous immigration of the present Jews, who 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 a minimum of delay.

This, in itself, would require vast outlays of

money.

We further recognize that all these needs set forth above are in addition to our commitments to fellow Jews in need in 25 countries other than Israel, whose only hope lies in the help that we provide.

It is apparent from the foregoing that a coordinated effort on the part of the Jews of America will be required in 1960 to meet the needs which press upon us.

We, therefore, resolve that there be constituted for 1960 a United Jewish Appeal Special Fund.

And, in implementation of this resolution, be it further

Resolved, first, that the United Jewish Appeal Special Fund campaign be conducted by the Jewish communities of the United States corrolary to the regular campaign for 1960.

Two. That in addition to their contributions to the regular campaign, the Jews of America be called on to contribute to an extent even greater than in previous years.

Three. That contributions to this fund be obtained through the fund-raising facilities of the local Jewish welfare fund, and the welfare funds be called upon to

provide a clear and distinct channel for such contributions.

Four. That the responsibility of participating in the Special Fund be placed on each and every contributor.

Five. That contributions by individuals to the special fund be made without reduction of their respective contributions to the regular campaign to be conducted in 1960.

Six. That the leaders of the communities' federation and welfare funds confer with the leaders of the United Jewish Appeal to the end that the United Jewish Appeal shall receive a fair and equitable share of the proceeds of the communities' 1960 regular campaign.

Seven. That each Jewish community in the country agrees that the Special Fund be over and above the United Jewish Appeal's fair share from the regular annual campaign in 1960.

This is the resolution which was adopted by the Resolutions Committee. I would like to make a motion to put this on the floor, but I think a good way to do this is to talk about implementation.

You know, every year I know, myself, I wonder where this thing is going to end at, and every year when I take one of these trips on a mission, I always sell myself

on the needs that are necessary, and I find myself becoming inspired.

This year I thought maybe the thing was at an end, but when I was over in Israel and I saw this tremendous backlog of unmet needs -- and, of course, you have heard the speakers today -- I feel that in implementing this, I would like to make a motion to put this on the floor by announcement of a contribution. I think that is the best way to implement this thing.

Last year I personally gave \$100,000. And my associate, William Satcher, \$50,000, for a total of \$150,000.

Just before I came down here to the meeting, I worked on him to sell him on the idea that he should give the same thing. But I found myself in the position, after listening to the resolution, that I felt I had to make an increase, so I am increasing my personal gift from 100 to 150 thousand dollars. I have a commitment from my associate, but I am afraid when I get back home, it will probably cost him some money.

So I think this is the best way to implement this resolution. So I would like to go on record with my gift, as the motion to the floor.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much, Max, for not only presenting the resolution, but by endorsing it in fact as well as in spirit. I have some observations that I would like to make, but I think that at this point the question is before you for discussion.

Before making personal observations, I just want to say to you factually that the spirit of this resolution was unanimously adopted by the officers and the cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal, at an all-day session and discussion -- an all-afternoon session and discussion yesterday.

Prior to that, the Study Mission, as I am sure you know from the Anglo-Jewish press which you read, made a similar recommendation for the consideration of the United Jewish Appeal.

We don't have hours in which to think about this and to discuss it, but I want you to know that not hours, but days, weeks and months have been spent on this problem. It comes to you with the complete endorsement of your leadership, and of the rank and file of those who understand this problem. It is with this background that I welcome further discussion from the floor at this time.

I see Eddie Ginsberg, the Chairman of the Cleveland Campaign.

MR. EDWARD GINSBERG: I was thinking of getting up and saying that I would second the motion and let it go at that, and maybe, when I get through saying what I have to say, everybody here will say, "Why didn't he follow his first impulse?" But I want to say one thing.

I was on the Resolutions Committee, and I was proud, and I am proud to second it for this reason. I think it shows that the people of America have matured, they have come to the realization that you don't have to talk emergency, you don't have to talk crisis, that we are engaged in the greatest humanitarian effort that this world has ever seen.

What we have done, what we have created, is something of which we can all be proud.

(Continued on next page.)

p.m.
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I was in Vienna and I was reminded that there were 200,000 Jews before the war there, and now there are ten thousand.

I went to Athens where there were 70,000 Jews and now there are only three thousand left. All over Europe you see the same thing, but you remember one thing, that any Jew by virtue of the reason that he is a Jew can come in to Israel, he is welcome. They don't check into his physical status, they don't ask any questions -- the mere fact that he is a Jew is sufficient.

There is one thing that always bothered me, and I don't know if you people realize that we are almost in the position of being God, and this frightens me, because in terms of dollars, we determine what we can do for human beings, what we can do in terms of giving them a chance to have a new life, to create a home for their families, to live in a democracy with self-respect and with dignity.

When you equate dollars and human lives, you have trouble, and I, for one, can't do this.

I know Golda Meir said why is it we just respond to tragedy. Will we be mature enough to rise up to the occasion of something great, something dynamic going on in Israel?

b2-2

Remember this, too, nobody takes care of the Jewish people like the Jewish people themselves; nobody is going to do the job for us. We are going to do it ourselves.

So to be a part of this great effort, I think they have done something wonderful for us, just to let us participate in this partnership, to create what we have created, to maintain it, to give it life, to give it sustenance, to give people the opportunity to breathe free air, to give kids a chance to grow up in a decent society with self-respect to make something of themselves, and for us to be a part of this is the greatest privilege that I can think of, that any man could ask.

I don't want to belabor the point, I just want to say it is best to second my action. Our gift last year was \$16,000, it will be \$25,000 now.

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much. Several of you have asked for the floor and you are all going to have a chance at it, especially if you talk in these kind of terms.

MR. LOWENTHAL: David Lowenthal of Pittsburgh.

CHAIRMAN STONE: Just one minute, Dave. To save time, will somebody on the floor get a microphone to Mr.

Schiff who is going to follow Dave and then Mr. Alpert down here and the gentleman in back.

MR. LOWENTHAL: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second the resolution. I, too, was a member of the Resolutions Committee, and I, too, with Eddie, attended the recent Study Mission.

As I had been convinced prior to going to Israel, there exists an emergency, whether you call it such or whether you are tired of it for another year, the facts are that when we sit back and get the rewards as we did, starting in Vienna on the way to Israel, the report that was given to us by the JDC which was, to say the very least, most disturbing, it brought to mind, certainly it did to me, and I believe I expressed it so in Vienna, that we, the Jews some eleven years after the establishment of the State of Israel, the Jews of the world are not out of the woods by any means -- it brought to mind 1939, brought to mind thousands of Jews that were beleaguered at the time and who were looking then to the American Jewish community and the American Jewish community could not answer, it was sitting back and wringing its hands in despair, to be sure, but there was nothing that they could do to save them from impending disaster.

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Ladies and gentlemen, when we arrived in Israel, we saw what was being done daily. I said then, and I will repeat to this audience now, what you see on the Israeli flag, the Shield of David, it is not merely a sign, but truly a shield for our brethren throughout the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Israelis will do their job in saving our people. I want you to know that we who were there and who have heard the facts first-hand, as you still may during the life of this conference, we were convinced that our people continued to be threatened, that our people continued to look to Israel as their only source for a haven.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Israelis want them. Don't bring them in to additional ma'abarot. There is time to build up reserves and build up strength.

Mr. Fisher, I see that this resolution refers to this. It says here, 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 rising of barriers being lowered.

b2-5

Ladies and gentlemen, I am a man of faith. I have faith in the future of our people. I have faith in the people of Israel. They will do the job. The doors will be open and our people will have the opportunity to start life anew, and they will come, as they must come, and we must build their home for them.

Mr. Chairman, I, too, want to endorse the resolution with some substance. I will increase my pledge from \$24,000 to \$26,000.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Dave, I am glad you did one thing, and I want to make it very clear to all of you. We are, of course, pleased with the fact that almost unanimously members of the Resolutions Committee spoke in favor of the substance of the resolution and indicated in a practical manner that to have it successful, it meant that we must all give at least as much as last year, and if we wanted to end up with an answer to the greater needs, and that many of us who could should actually increase.

But what I want to come back to is that we are dealing with the substance of an important resolution. I want it to be clear to you that this is your action, not our action. This is our action collectively.

b2-6

I am glad, Dave, that you referred to the resolution, you just didn't stand up to give a pledge which would make this nothing but a fund-raising meeting, which it is and it is not. It is an action of faith, a plotting of a chart for our 1960 campaign. I want you to remember this as you think about it and discuss it, and stand up and speak.

I am going to call on one of the Schiffs, Herbert Schiff of Columbus.

MR. HERBERT H. SCHIFF, Columbus: Thank you very much, Dewey.

My father upstairs when he spoke, spoke about the Schiff clan. We are a large clan and we are a large people, and we are truly the wandering Jew as our family itself wanders over the face of the earth, and we have family all over the face of the earth.

Whatever we have done and whatever we will ever do, we always want to keep in back of our mind, that it is our lot to be our brother's keeper and to take care of the wandering Jew wherever he may be.

The resolution refers to the fact that there are over 350,000 Jews still unsettled, not working, in the ma'abarot, in the slums. They are not able to produce a

liveliness for themselves yet.

We in the Schiff clan want to endorse this resolution and second the resolution by taking our pledge last year of \$200,000 and saying that will remain the same, and for the extra special home building fund or whatever you want to call it, a 10 per cent increase of \$20,000, making a total of \$220,000.

(Applause.)

MR. HAROLD H. ALPERT, Phoenix: Dewey, thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, by way of showing our feeling about this resolution, I would like everybody in this room to know that this past year we had the privilege of sending some very dear friends of ours to Moscow who have some six personal members of their family, three sisters and three brothers who are highly influential in the Russian government in the field of science, and one of the ladies that came back said to me, "Harold, I want you to know one thing, that my sister said something to me that will live with me forever. She said 'Thank God we have a State of Israel, because if there wasn't a State of Israel, I doubt very, very much whether we would have the conditions that we have, which are so little today'."

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Dewey, in carrying this thought a little further through, I want to pledge Phoenix, Arizona, who has already started their campaign, and have \$100,000 with a considerable amount for the special fund, and I personally, Dewey, am increasing mine 25 per cent over last year.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

I am sorry I have to run off, Dewey, I will be here early tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you, Harold. We look forward to seeing you tomorrow and thank you for being with us. I am sure with the 25 per cent increase on your part, Phoenix will go to town. Thank you. This is terrific leadership.

MR. MORRIS WALTER, North Hudson, New Jersey: It is unfortunate that I am not in the position to talk in the same terms as my predecessors. I haven't got the money to match it. But I have the time. I have been at it as long as the UJA is in existence. I have contributed as much as I could.

It came to my mind, to my thoughts, not as a gimmick, but as a fact, and the fact is, which was brought out this morning, the sore in our eyes is the ma'abarot and

we would like to get rid of it.

b2-9

My thought is that the special fund should be the fund earmarked for that purpose to get rid of the ma'abarot, and I feel that if the Jews in the United States will realize that if this special fund was more for that purpose, I hope and I feel that we will get greater response and maybe we will be able to get rid of it.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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3am1

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you.

I want you all to be assured that these special funds will be spent, with what I hope you will agree at the end of the year, has been good judgment. I would hate to limit it just to the ma'abarot, because, if you listened to Dov Joseph this morning, you know that there are many complex problems, and I think at this time it would be best, the best judgment to agree, and I hope unanimously, that these extra funds needed, that if the Special Fund is the means to get it, you have trusted your leadership for twenty-odd years, don't tie their hands at this time and say that we can only spend it for this or that we can only spend it for that. You should just give us the money, and believe me, I hope we will spend it intelligently and wisely.

Who wants to second the motion?

MR. MORRIS ABRAMS: It was my privilege to be on the last Study Mission, and I would like to second the motion, Dewey by some action.

My brother and I are happy to take our last year's pledge of \$15,000 to \$25,000.

(Applause.)

In Cleveland, we have already started to work on

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next year's campaign, and the first prospect I listed I was able to get him to increase from \$1,000 to \$2,000.

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much.

MR. GITELSTEIN, New York: My name is Gitelstein, you know. I also am a member of a mission, not this one, but a few years ago, and I know a good many of those things.

I also have been a chairman of the shirt industry for five years. Fortunately, my son has taken it over, and my shoes fit him very well -- a good many of our friends know him, and he is doing a lot of good work there.

Our friend Jack Goldfarb had to leave town today, and since he knew that I would be here, he asked me to be kind enough to announce a gift of \$100,000, and maybe more.

Now, that is for my friend.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Mr. Gitelstein, it is fine to find such good friends.

MR. GITELSTEIN: He is a friend of our people.

My gift was \$12,000 last year, and I will increase it another \$1,000.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is wonderful. Thank you very much.

We are thrilled with the father-and-son teams,

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and we are thrilled with this Schiff clan. I would like the boss of the clan, Mr. Robert Schiff to stand up and take a bow.

(Applause as Mr. Schiff rises.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: The floor is open.

I see a hand.

Mr. Borowsky from Philadelphia.

MR. BOROWSKY, Philadelphia: Thank you, Dewey.

I also had the pleasure to be on this year's Mission.

THE CHAIRMAN: And many others.

MR. BOROWSKY: Thank you.

It certainly warms my heart to see the outpouring of our Mission members.

I am not going to talk about the need. I think that we have heard an awful lot about it. I think there is no question in my mind that this special gift is necessary this year, and, of course, I second the motion.

Last year I came here with an idea that I was going to cut it. I had given \$40,000. I increased it to \$45,000.

This year I wish to increase it to \$50,000, and hope to do better.

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(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you.

May I take just a moment to say a word to those members of the Study Mission who are here. I don't think they go because they expect to be thanked, and, in some way, I think we should envy them, not thank them.

But, if anyone has any idea that this is really just a pleasure trip and this isn't one of the hardest jobs that a person can be asked to do, they have got a complete misconception of the Study Mission.

That they have left their business and taken the trip is commendable, but that, in addition to that, they have just recently returned and that they are again leaving their business and participating in this conference is, I think, performing duties far beyond that normally called for, and I think that deserves a warm bit of applause and that is on our part to them.

(Applause.)

Just so that you don't think that I am asking you to do something which I am not prepared to do for myself and my family, we also have been carrying what we think is our full share of this burden, and as heavy as we think it is and has been, we know that we dare not permit our-

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selves the thought that we can use our available funds for any purpose outside of this, which in our humble opinion is the most urgent and pressing need of the Jewish world today.

If we take this privilege and we begin to indulge our other interests by giving it preference, then we open the door to every one else indulging themselves with that same prerogative.

Therefore, in spite of the fact that we had hoped when it started that it wouldn't be this long, and we don't know how much longer it is going to be, and in these terms I want to make one observation -- I talked with a person only yesterday in connection with making the gift now, because in my humble opinion a gift made early in the campaign not only is a good gift, but it helps much more than if it comes later in the campaign, and he said, "All right; I went along with you last year, I went along with you the year before -- what will I lose if I go along with you this year? And next year you will come and want me to go along with you again."

I said very briefly to him, "What I want to say to you now is, if you will give me a guaranty that I will be alive next year and have the problem of trying to decide

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how much money I am going to give to the United Jewish Appeal, I won't ask you for a gift, but I will pay yours."

(Laughter.)

Let us not worry about next year. This is a job only the good Lord should worry about. Let us worry about this year. Let us not be afraid to do this year what we could, and should do, because of what it may do next year in terms of setting a challenge to us.

Our family will give no less, and undoubtedly before I get through with meetings from one end of the country to the other, we will give more money this year than last year, and I hope that all the rest of you will do the same.

Who else wants the floor?

(Applause.)

MISS : This is not a personal announcement. I wish that it could have been.

However, I have great pleasure in announcing for Mrs. Ida Rosenthal the fact that last year they increased their contribution to \$55,000, but they are delighted to increase it this year to \$57,000.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Who else wants the floor?

CHARLES FROST: Before I speak for myself, I want to report what one of the members of the Sepcial Mission --

CHAIRMAN STONE: Just a moment.

We are now hearing Mr. Charles Frost. We are going to hear from Mr. Charles Gutwirth in a minute.

MR. CHARLES FROST: Robert Wishnick asked me to say to this group of people here that he and his son Bill will increase their gift from \$60,000 to \$75,000, and that a different contribution will come from his son-in-law in California and his son Jack in Westchester.

Speaking for myself, Billie, you know that I am out of a job at the end of this month.

(Laughter.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Publicly you have heard me offer you another job. I can think of ten organizations that would put you to work.

MR. CHARLES FROST: I had hoped that the time would come now when I would be out of a job so I could go back to my original \$15,000 without the additional \$50,000, but I realize that I cannot discontinue that.

So I will not only give you 15 plus the 50, but I will ad \$3,000 more.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much.

MR. CHARLES GUTWIRTH: Here is another Charlie. I naturally endorse the resolution.

This side of the table should not make speeches but speak up, as I do.

You know that the last five years, this is the fifth year that Lipschutz and I gave \$50,000 and \$50,000, which makes \$100,000.

Now, when we were at the Resolutions Committee, I had the honor to speak a little before all of them who spoke, and I said that I think it is my duty, to show after all what I heard this morning, and I did see part of it in Israel -- I said, "You know that if I pledge that, I have to give more" -- so I pledged \$100,000, fifty and fifty for the Special Fund and the Regular Fund, and I will do this year better.

Now, when the turn came to me, Dewey said, "Well, you spoke already", and I said, "But I got up, and if I get up, I have to do again better, so I do, and now it is the third time, and no more today", so it is the third time, and I will do better.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Now you can understand why those of us who have had the privilege of knowing and working with both Charlie's, Charlie Frost and Charlie Gutwirth, sincerely wish that there were many more of them.

I don't want those of you who are here to be frightened by these large sums. I must tell you candidly that I am just as pleased with a \$100 gift that everybody in the community knows and feels is a good gift, as I am with a 100, or 150, or 250 thousand dollar gift, that people feel doesn't mean anything to people.

I am not belittling these big gifts and I must tell you that your leadership is tremendously pleased, thrilled, excited and stimulated by the overwhelming response of our large contributors.

It is no great problem to wonder what is the 500 or the 1,000, or 5, or 10-dollar giver going to do. It is not difficult to get him to continue to do it.

But when, year after year, and it runs into much money, people are asked to give 100, 150, 250 thousand dollars, each time you come with fear and trepidation, that maybe this cannot continue, and to find that our people understand and are willing and have the resources, not only financially but in the heart to continue this kind of

giving should make us go back home, each and every one of us, and really go to work as we never have before.

Somebody stand up who is going to make a 1,000-dollar or a 5,000-dollar gift but generously and let us get off this big-figure stuff, but just for the moment.

MR. LARRY SCHACHT: I didn't want to get down with my gift that low, but I wanted you to know that I am also not afraid of all the increases that have to be made.

Our people have been on strike for 13 weeks and I never lost so much money in my life. I lost so much, I don't see any reason why I can't continue the same \$25,000 gift we made last year, if we could only make up some of our last year's losses, we will increase it.

I have a friend in New York, Abe Kantor who this year has increased his gift to \$30,500, and he says that for 1960 he will do even more.

(Continued on next page.)

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CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you, Larry, I hope your strike problems will be settled. I didn't have the courage to fight with my union that lone. They were out one day and I decided I was going to give in eventually anyway, so I might as well do it quick, so I gave them what they wanted the next morning they were back to work.

I saw Harry Frankel raise his hand.

MR. HARRY FRANKEL: When the special fund was created, I was called to the community and I used the term creative survival in terms of the special fund.

In listening to this resolution, and in seconding this resolution, it is one of the blessings of being a youthful veteran, because as a youthful veteran you are privileged to see your dreams and your hopes develop as you go along. This now I believe is a transitional period in which imagine is necessary. We are imaginative people.

If we go through this year using our imagination and understanding, the years to come will be that much simpler, and instead of creative survival, we will have survival per se.

I want to announce that last year we increased our contribution over the previous year by 70 per cent. This year in endorsing the resolution we are increasing it by another 30 per cent.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Wonderful, Harry.

MR. SCHECHNER: I want to announce a gift from Jerome Rubin. This year he is going to give more. For myself, last year I gave \$7,500, I was one of the Mission members and this year I am going to give \$10,000. I am also going to work real hard and promise you that I will get \$50,000 more at my organization drive.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: A few years back here in New York one person came forward with a quarter of a million dollars gift that did as much as any other single thing to spark the success of the New York campaign. I saw him walking into the room a few minutes ago, I know that we already have his commitment for at least a repeat, and probably even a generous token increase to indicate his approval of what we are doing. He is not only very modest, but I would like Mr. Charles Meyer to stand up so you can all say thank you to him.

(Applause as Mr. Meyer rises.)

I am talking about a very simple little \$250,000 gift.

MR. CHARLES MEYER: I want to be sure you under-

stand that we are going to make every effort to increase it as much as possible, but at this point I can't commit myself to a higher figure than the figure you mentioned.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Who else?

MR. PHILIP ZINMAN: (Camden, Philadelphia) -- I am reminded as I get up to speak -- I took, was a member of the mission. Before I went over I wish I had been in the position of Larry Schacht, and if somebody had been on strike in my business I would not have lost quite as much money as I have done in the last few months.

My mind was made up when I went to Israel, that having aroused my community on the special fund -- and I would like to take a moment to talk about that, because I think one of the messages that we have to carry back to our community is not just lip service on this resolution.

I can tell you from my experience in Camden, where this past year we went from \$196,000 to better than \$260,000 --- and don't misunderstand me, and I say this in openness and candor, I still don't think that is enough and I still don't think it is too good.

But the great proportion of that increase came from paying actual attention to a special fund rather than

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lip service. I think it is very important that we carry that message back to to our communities, and that we make it a special fund or an extra fund.

I have been sort of carrying the plea here for an extra, in order to get off this kick of special and emergency, because this is the extra giving that we are going to have to give each year to Israel.

You heard the speakers, can you speak to the people who come from your own community who have been to Israel, and I think, without a doubt, they can demonstrate to you the necessity for this extra giving.

In spite of the losses that we have taken and because of what I have seen in Israel, I can tell you that I am going back to my community and give them whatever inspiration it will offer. I am going to say, \$10,000 general and \$10,000 for the special, and add at least 10 per cent to it.

I want to close -- when I say 10 per cent to the special -- and I want to close by saying to all, let us go back and do a real job on this special. We went up to -- what is it, \$26 million this year on the special? Let us really go over \$50 million on the special, and then once and for all maybe we will be able to answer the people. How

4-5
long do you have for giving special? Let us give special one year and see what it can accomplish.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much.

So far two people have stood up, and they have given extra money in appreciation of the fact that their losses have been only as little as they have been.

Is there somebody here who is going to give and give out of the fact that business is really good?

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I would hate to think business is business.

Joe from Florida is going to compromise, and he says his gift will be better than last year because his gift isn't too bad.

I think somebody is taking my challenge.

MR. HARRY HAFT: We are of the firm of Morrie W. Haft and Brothers; and when we were in business a good many years ago, we made very fine contributions to UJA.

I am now retired -- not tired -- and this is my card. No address, no money and no business. My business is UJA. I work. My boss is Mr. Jack Weiler.

I have got a lot of papers in my pocket that I am still schnurring for 1959. I will get it, I will get it all.

I am very happy. My contribution last year was \$4,000. I increased that -- where I am going to get it, I don't know, but I am increasing that to \$5,000. I wish I had more. It will be my pleasure to be able to say a great deal more for UJA because I know, being over there, visiting that country, I know how worthy and how urgent it is to support UJA.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much.

I am going to ask the Chairman of the Women's

Division, Mrs. Goodman, to say something.

MRS. JACK A. GOODMAN: I don't want the men to think that this is their job and their business. We have a Women's Division that is your partner, and we have done very, very well. We have just come back from a mission and we understand as well as you men do what is going on there.

I agree with Harry Frankel, there is something in getting old, although he is a youngster compared to me. I am threescore ten, and plus, and I have seen a lot of Jewish problems in my life.

(Applause)

I come from a family that came from Vienna and had a brother who was secretary to Theodore Herzl. So you know for how many years I have had in mind a Jewish state. Because it came to me from the fountainhead.

Now that the state is created, I want to do everything in my power to keep that state alive, and the way the Israelis want that state to be.

I am in no business at all -- just the UJA business. My moneys come from what is left to me and that is being spent very rapidly. So this year again I want to pledge, and it is going to the Women's Division, \$10,000.

And if I can possibly find anything else lying around, you will get it.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Mrs. Roy.

MRS. ROY: \$50,000 is the gift I would like to announce.

MISS GLADYS E. NEIHING; St. Albans, Vermont:
Now that you have had all these luscious cakes, men's and women's, I will give you a little bit of frosting. Because up in our neck of the woods we don't have money in those figures. In St. Albans, around St. Albans, my cousin helps with the drive, and if one doesn't, the other one does. And I promise you I will try to increase the donation from that area at least 50 per cent this year.

MR. SCHENKER: Mr. Schenker, representing the firm of Philip Brothers in New York. In 1959 the firm contributed \$100,000. In 1960 they will again contribute \$100,000. In addition, because of the special need, Mr. Seigfried Oman, chairman of the board, will personally add an additional extra give of \$10,000.

(Applause)

MRS. WEINMAN, (Detroit): My pledge will be \$18,500.

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you, Mrs. Weinman. It is a pleasure to see you at another one of our conferences. I am sorry I didn't have a chance to say hello to you before.

MR. DUBINSKY: In the spirit of endorsing your resolution, I have two gifts to announce. One gift, a minimum gift from Charles Jalem of St. Louis, and I just had the opportunity of talking to him a day before I left town. He and I are going to work out a formula for increasing this substantially.

But I have a minimum gift announcement of \$75,000.

Our own gift last year we contributed \$21,000. I am increasing it to \$23,500.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you, Mel. And if you can put it into money, the work that Mel Dubinsky put into the UJA and all other good causes for more years than either of us like to count off, his contributions really have been fabulous.

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I would like to recognize now a real youngster, the wonderful chairman of the Boston campaign, George Shapiro.

MR. GEORGE SHAPIRO: Dewey, last year we increased our gift from 40 to 43. We are going to hold the line and I am sure before the campaign starts we will make another increase.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you, George, I am sure you will, and you know you have my promise of my support in what I am sure is going to be a successful Boston campaign.

Who else?

Is there anyone else who wants to speak?

MR. JOE MEYEROFF, Baltimore: I am sure I am very much in the position of a lot of people here who came hoping that there wouldn't have to be another special fund this year. Believe me, when we started on the special fund we solicited on the basis of this year, and this year's needs, and we made no specific promises, but everybody more or less understood this was a temporary thing.

Certainly last year I had hoped that we wouldn't

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have to have a special fund and we had one. The more I thought about the situation the more I realized that it was just a lot of wishful thinking. As long as the needs are as urgent as they are, we just simply have to meet them, and there are a lot of unmet needs.

If we had raised the kind of money in 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1959 that we went out to get, we wouldn't need a special fund today, but unfortunately we did, and so we do need that extra money and we need the regular gifts on as generous a basis as we have had in previous years.

Last year I announced my gift here from this platform and I said that I would give \$75,000 for my regular, plus the special, and by the time I got home I increased it to \$80,000. So this time I won't wait, I will say \$80,000 now so I won't have to increase it by the time I get home.

I wish I could compete with some of you other boys -- I think it is terrific to hear these announcements, but my business, as I said before, Dewey, is not good, but it isn't bad.

(Laughter)

So as long as it is not that bad, I will go along with \$80,000.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: One of our wonderful friends is unable to be here. Knowing what was going to happen he conveyed by telephone a message to us, and since Herb Friedman took this message on the phone, I am going to let him translate it to you.

DR. FRIEDMAN: I will take just a second. You all know Ben Massell down in Atlanta, Georgia, who is one of the great warm Jews of this country. I talked to him, Ben couldn't come here today. He wanted to try to understand the needs, he understood them, his figure was up so high he thought there could be some relief from it. Once he understood there couldn't be, and he gladly goes along with a reannouncement of \$161,000 for this year's gift.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: I am going to ask one gentleman to announce his intention at this time, because not only is the gift itself sizable and generous, but this man has the respect of not only the entire American Jewish community but the entire world Jewish community. I think his announcement of support in the measure which it has been indicated will be extremely meaningful to us.

Phil Klutznick, will you get hold of a mike some-

where and say a few words to us?

A VOICE: He was called out. I am not Phil Klutznick.

CHAIRMAN STONE: I know you are not, is he coming back?

A VOICE: I don't think he will be back this afternoon.

CHAIRMAN STONE: Mr. Glasser of Chicago will speak for Phil.

MR. JOSHUA B. GLASSER, Chicago: It was said in front of witnesses, and I am sure Phil's word is good. Phil is going to increase his contribution for his partner who knows nothing about it and himself ten per cent, as a first offer, so they will go from fifty to fifty-five thousand dollars.

While I am on the floor, may I say a word please for myself.

CHAIRMAN STONE: Certainly, Josh, you have earned the right to speak any time.

MR. GLASSER: Thank you.

Talking about the resolution, you are asking for seconds and you are asking for more than just conversation. I hope that you will see fit in whatever announcement is made

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of this wonderful meeting, to use some of the vernacular used in this wonderful brochure, urgent unmet needs, clearing the ma'abarot.

If the people knew that because of the wonderful facilities, low labor costs and so on in Israel, that you can build an adequate house for around \$3,000, you would find many people would like to build a house in addition to the regular contributions, and I would like to start off that idea with providing the money for two houses in addition to my regular contribution.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much.

A very splendid suggestion.

MRS. LEE HORNE (Former National Women's Chairman):

I am sure you recognize her: For Mr. Jacob Starr, who is my very good friend and whom I persuaded to go on the last mission, much to his great delight and enjoyment, last year his regular gift was \$5,000 and his special gift was \$2,500.

This year, in addition to this \$7,5000 he will give \$3,000 for a housing unit.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you.

Harry Frankel had something.

MR. HARRY FRANKEL: I just heard from a very good friend of ours, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hoffmeier, who last year contributed \$10,650. They pledge that amount or more this year.

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much for them.

I see many of you are getting ready to leave. Before I present this resolution formally, I would like to tell you briefly of three resolutions that the Resolutions Committee passed and recommended on your behalf. I am not going to read them. They are not perfunctory, but they are not controversial.

One is a resolution on Israel.

Greetings to Israel, and it is something we have done in the past. I think you will approve the language and I would like you to trust your Resolutions Committee and the drafters of it by accepting it in principal.

The other is a resolution in reference to the cash situation, and something important for us to say as a group, not controversial. Again I ask your confidence in the Resolutions Committee by acting on it without the necessity of my reading the details. I hope you will be reading the text of it in the New York Times -- you certainly

will in the Anglo-Jewish text.

The third is a resolution recommending an early and vigorous campaign.

I am going to make and second the motion and would you indicate by a show of hands your approval of the recommendation on these three resolutions by your Resolutions Committee.

...(There was a show of hands.)...

CHAIRMAN STONE: Any opposed?

...(No response.)...

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much for your confidence.

No session of the United Jewish Appeal is ever complete for me, at least, without a word from one of our wonderful friends, Leonard Ratner of Cleveland.

Where are you, Leonard? You must be here somewhere. Somebody get a mike to Leonard.

While Mr. Ratner is on his way to the platform, let me just tell you quickly about tomorrow. There will be services in the morning and those will be held here in the hotel and we hope that many of you will see fit and be able to attend.

You know that there is the Women's luncheon

tomorrow, and I would urge all of you to attend the afternoon session at 2:00 o'clock following the Women's luncheon.

This movie that Herb spoke about this morning is something very much worth seeing. I think you ought to experience it so that you can judge how best to use it in your campaign.

Then you are going to hear some more detailed story of the work of the JDC. Lest we sometimes forget that there is a side of our effort over and beyond Israel, as important as that is, I think you should go home with the full knowledge of the wonderful job which the JDC is doing, and it will be meaningful to you and worth your while to spend tomorrow afternoon here.

Then, of course, we expect all of you, we expect to see you tomorrow night at our dinner. At that time you will get some information on the Sunday morning program.

Leonard Ratner.

MR. LEONARD RATNER: I really thought that my speech was not necessary. I was on the mission and before I went to the mission to Israel it was my first mission. I was a number of times before, but I felt for once to go along and see what really the mission is accomplishing and what they are doing. I really prepared myself a speech. You know I never prepare any speeches.

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So finally I figured, here I am going to give you a real speech, what I have seen and I want you to know that I was determined against any Special Fund, and, after being there, I will give you my reasons for it and then I will come to where I am now.

I have my speech exactly prepared. There are two cards, and I want you to know that all my speech was already taken up, it was delivered.

First thing, it was delivered by the minister, and also by our chairman.

See, it was printed, two phases to the campaign, two ideas, two reasons why we need a special campaign. I had it all arranged, all figured out and all that speech was already delivered, so I don't think that I have to speak anything about that.

But it seems to me somewhere or other, after the mission left -- I wasn't with the mission all the way through, because I had a little business to attend to in Israel besides -- so after the mission left, I took a little time to see actually, to try to reason out why we do need a Special Fund, and why you gentlemen say, "what is this mission," and after we adopt that special fund, and I thought I would speak on that, because I had already spoken

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-- it seems to me that everything is adopted and it is all clear -- what is the reason, why do we need a Special Fund?

In the first few days when I went around with my wife -- and you know, around this time all around Tel Aviv and in certain places there, cities, towns, the university, the Technion, the Weizmann Institute, there is terrific prosperity going around Tel Aviv, I thought that they would declare me a dividend.

(Laughter.)

I say, "What do they want? What kind of Special Fund do they need?"

And my wife, I felt finally that she is right. After I visited some plants in which we are interested, and I know my friend Charlie Frost, and many of us, and we said that every plant they are starting up there, and I want you to know that, that that is the reason we do need a Special Fund -- I came to the conclusion. I visited one plant and the tire plant and another plant and another plant with mechanics -- and I was there in 1952 and I saw five boys struggling trying to do something for themselves, trying to make a living, American boys, and I am just wondering what they were trying to do, they could get jobs,

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I know in Cleveland they could work any time; they didn't have to go to Israel, but somehow or other they felt there was a mission even for some Americans to go down there and do some work, and finally I see those boys and I look over there, and I walk into that plant and, instead of five fellows themselves working, I want you to know ingenuity, instead of five boys, there is 120-some-odd men working in that plant and what are they doing? Taking plain scrap which most of the people from cars, machines are scrapping, and making parts of it and not selling it to Israel, but exporting every piece of it. I want you to know this is ingenuity, this is what I could understand, and that to me, after seeing that, I figured there is the reason why we need a Special Fund.

So finally I said to my wife, let us go to Beer-sheba, a city one time there with a couple of people, when I was there, and I am going there quite often, a city of a thousand people, and when I walked around with that major, he shows to me what happened, that in a short time 10,000 people, and from the 10,000 people -- Friedman just mentioned there is about two thirds, about a third unemployed, but somehow they managed, at least 9,000 of them are working and only about a thousand are unemployed, and still who is supporting the thousands? It is supported still by the UJA.

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Then from there I went to another little town where a few years ago -- I wasn't in Israel for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years -- I can tell you that I had the biggest surprise in my life, because I was there in 1952, 1956. I had never seen that much accomplished, I don't think -- and I am interested in some building -- I went there, and I saw in a short time the mayor -- he was 62 years old -- he didn't even intend to be a mayor, but they talked him into it; and he said, "What can a fellow of 62 years do? And here you come into a city and you see 10,000 people, a town of 10,000 people. And I know what building is, and I can tell you there is no way nowhere anywhere where it is even built up that fast, even in Cleveland."

From there we went with the mission to go to look at a plant in which we are interested, a place which you call Kiriathga. I don't know if you are familiar with it. Neither was I three or four years ago. When I got down there, and one of the ministers took us out there, we were interested -- not interested; we needed it like a hole in the head. But something we are all interested in, we have got to do a job. So we figured we have got to build this plant and we build the plant, in Jerusalem. So by the time I got through talking with him and he said, "Where?

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Jerusalem? I will show you a place." And he takes me out in the wilderness, no man has ever walked there, I think, for two thousand years. And he shows me all around; not a tree, nothing. Sand. And he said, "We will build a plant there." And I said, "What do you think, I am crazy?" And he said, "No; sometimes this town will have something you will be surprised, 10,000 people." And I laughed. And He says, "We want you to build that plant." And finally we get down there back to the office. And he tries to sell me the idea. He probably give me a 25 per cent additional. And I thought I would save on that plant. And I want you to know that by the time we got through, that plant probably cost us 30 per cent more. And because in order to build on sand we had to go twice as deep for the foundation -- finally we decided to make a basement -- so many things.

Well, who was right or wrong, is not the question.

I want you to know I didn't see that plant. The plant has been started $3\frac{1}{2}$ years ago. I walked into that plant with a number of the mission members, some of you fellows here. I walked into that plant approximately 150,000 square feet. It is not a small plant. It is a spinning mill. Some of the business we were interested

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in years back and in Bialstock yet. We walked into that plant and I tell you, you seen 342 people working, and you started to figure, where did the people come from? From someplace like 25 countries. And when you got talking to some of these people, I know what spinning is, and I know what effort you have to do in spinning. And I can tell you when I got in, I start crying -- why, I don't know. I felt it the most fortunate thing to do, helping people to do work, at least, I was not the one sitting at the mills. It could be any one of us sitting here who could be doing the work. And to me it was the greatest feeling, the greatest thing alive to give a man that kind of feeling.

After we got through with that plant -- and I am getting figures, you know, and I start to talk to this man in the office, and he showed to me, he wants to know why we need the money, why we needed the Special Fund. And I started to look, and there is a plant where originally 342 people were working, and within a year and a half there is 1,022 people who are there. And it is a factory where people come in, they bring them in, they stay two or three weeks, and the first thing they find something else and then they go.

You want to know why we need such an important

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thing, to finance this thing -- to take people, instead of taking a man, you can put to work, it costs you \$1,000, \$1,500 to break him into that work -- and who is taking some of this work here? Thank God, to some extent, we, but the government to some extent pitches in; they support these people.

There is your reason why I said we need a Special Fund.

So I felt after I left, starting to go, and I know you will have to go and sell this thing to your people, Special Fund. Of course, I know the important thing of that Special Fund, and I know they start asking about these questions, and I told them, I will tell you -- I guess I will repeat it, I didn't mention that at our meeting in Haifa. If I am not mistaken, I told them a story that I am one of the poor collectors for the UJA and occasionally I do a little work, and last year I walked into one of our men in the office, a fellow by the name of Joe, and he looked at me, and I already knew what I was coming for, because ten times a year I come for something else. And that I was coming special for the UJA. And he says -- he was already waiting for me, and when I walked in, he says, "Leonard, what are you here for?" And I says,

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"That story is not going to work. It is the Special Fund again." And I said, "Of course, it is the Special Fund."

He pulls out a big list like this, and he has it all marked up on the list; 1956 there was took in \$64,000, \$36,000 Jewish ORT -- I didn't know what he was talking about -- 1957, took in 36, 64 thousand. So he has already 36, 64, 100; 1958 again 30, 100. Figured out I owed him \$230,000. We promised him we were going to take in and we didn't take them in.

(Laughter)

So I thought maybe he has got me; maybe he has got something there. So I look at the calendar, I said, "You remember we went out to raise at that particular time \$150,000,000, and would you give it in 1948? And we wouldn't have all this backlog. And what did you get, instead of giving 150, 50, so you owe 35." And I started figuring it up.

(Laughter)

I said, "Just do what you would do every year. And those ma'abarot would not be there today. "

(Laughter)

I said, as far as these are all concerned -- all

(7)

6ps

the Jews who are living -- when we are talking about subsidizing all the farms, which we should have done years ago, that wouldn't have to be done.

There is what you have to carry back. We don't have to be ashamed to go and ask for a Special Fund. I know there was quite a fuss about it, and we figured how are we going to go on with it? I think we are waiting for that, for the time when we are ready to build, to have at least -- I remember when we used to go back in 1952 in Haifa, there were 30,000 people right across from the English barricades. And I walked through there, and I didn't see one of them. And you go into them. And why do we need the additional funds? And I walked into that camp, the last one before coming to Tel Aviv, Yehuda. And there is a gentleman sitting there, Ginsberg, from Cleveland and another one, Abrams. They pretty near mobbed him, and the fellow asked the question, "Look here, I am seven years in this camp, seven years, and this camp at one time was 30,000. And today there was only about 6 or 7 thousand. Why should I have to sit there," he says, "and all the rest of the people are already in homes?"

Now you give him an answer -- who can give a man an answer for that?

This is the reason why when we go back, the main important thing, first you cannot ask anybody for something because before you put yourself on record, that is the most important thing.

I say to you --- I think Dewey mentioned it, first we have got to make commitments. I will be frank with you. If I would ever go to my banker and I told him exactly what type of pledge we made, he would think I was crazy. Because if I try to get an extra two hundred thousand dollars, he says, "are you crazy? How can you get another 200 thousand dollars on your credit?" And here we make a pledge, and somehow at the end of the year we fill it.

I want you to know the way things are filled, only by commitments. I look at the hospital, 12 million 5, it was built on commitments.

The synagogues were on commitments. And we never had a dime when we started. With \$1,000 we built a synagogue. And before I got out as president, they paid up that whole synagogue -- and all on a commitment.

So I say to you one thing: Let us think what Dewey said, let us worry next year. But for the time being, make the commitment, and once you have the commitment, you will do it.

I could go on and on, but I hope that everyone of you sitting here, I think it is still time, I think we are going to take anywhere from 30 to 50 per cent -- so I hope that everyone of you will go and take that message that it is still now the time, the time where it is a place not quiet, but a time when we can figure what we want to do and get prepared.

Take these people out to the ma'abarot, take these four points which Rabbi Friedman has proposed, and fill it, and only on this basis we will complete the job.

As far as our pledge is concerned, I thought I am going to save myself fifty, but it looks like I am in for more and I am sure it is going to be more than last year.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you, Leonard.

Now, you understand, everybody, why I couldn't bring this meeting to a close without asking a few words of Leonard Ratner. He is bashful. I tell you his gift is up over \$150,000. We lose track of it because it changes so often and always up.

I can't possibly announce all of the wonderful gifts that we have had indicated to us, and I hope those that I make no mention of will not be offended.

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There are a couple of key gifts that mean a great deal and I do want to announce.

Sol Zallea is here from Wilmington, a family gift of \$40,000 announced as a minimum. This means more than just their money. This guarantees us a wonderful campaign in Wilmington.

Last year Abe Fineberg and Associates increased their gift from 25 to 50 thousand dollars. We were concerned with an increase like that would and could be maintained. I spoke to Abe on the phone and he has told me there isn't any question about it, this will be a minimum and this is a tremendous stimulation to that whole industry here in New York, the hosiery industry.

We have had the same thing in the textile field from Cy Scheur.

It is almost 4:00 o'clock. Cy Scheur is here, I am not sure of the amount. It is somewhere in the twenties. The amount is unimportant. The fact is itself a key gift, a generous gift and an indication has been given to us and it is going to be at least as much as last year and probably more.

I think enough has been indicated so that I can ask you before we bring this meeting to a close and get

8-3

ready for shabbat, to announce the adoption of the resolution by your rising.

...(All arose.)...

CHAIRMAN STONE: I am grateful to you for this. I am sure we are taking a wise action, good luck and God bless all of you.

...(Whereupon, at 4:00 o'clock p.m., the meeting was adjourned.)...

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

SEYMOUR D. KATZ'S
JEWISH STUDY CENTER

SPEECH BY RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Ladies and Gentlemen, I know that there is always that electric quality of excitement that prevails in a room when people, assembled in such numbers as we are, hear a statement as important as that which we just heard, because we weren't listening to words -- we knew it -- we were listening to the heart and the soul of a man who stands on a pinnacle without peer in Jewish life in this country.

He remarked quite properly on the size of this gathering. This, I think, is the largest business meeting of the UJA which has been held, and I distinguish between business meeting and evening banquet. This is the largest business meeting which we have held I think possibly in the history of the organization certainly in the last decade.

This means something, it seems to me. It means that we realize that we are standing at a very important transition point, because, when people come in such numbers, they come to learn. There is a feeling that something is changing in the air, and more and more of us want to know what is changing and what is happening and on the brink of what are we now standing.

Since we are here in these numbers we will perhaps have the courage to make what will be a very important step spiritually and psychologically, not an important step in the terms of any new resolutions.

You heard what Senator Lehman endorsed. He endorsed the old resolution, the way of raising more money through an extra fund such as we have been doing for the past four years, and he urged us to do it again for 1960 and I hope we take his advice before the day is over.

It is not that that is new. What is new somehow is the feeling within us that we are on the brink of campaigning psychologically in a different way, not technically in a different way.

I should like to try to spell that out. The reason that I think we are all anticipating with our fingertips that there is some change in the air is that every one says that we find ourselves now in a period of strange calmness. There seem to be no burning headlines, there seems to be no large overwhelming issue there seems to be no extraordinarily pressing sense of urgency or immediacy in the Jewish world, and, therefore, we are saying to each other, -- what is new, what do we campaign on? what is the basis? what is the slogan? everybody is looking for an answer to that.

I dare say that even though this is the largest gathering, there is hardly a person here who has not seen the play "My Fair Lady". If you saw that show, you remember one of the great songs "I have grown accustomed to your face".

We have grown accustomed to the face of crisis and emergency, and when that seems to be absent, we are not quite sure how to handle ourselves. This is legitimate. We have lived through an extraordinary period in the last half decade, not to go back beyond that.

Most recently burned in the memory of all of us are the facts of the Fedayan raids that were taking place in Israel, when the borders were unsafe, when murders were occurring daily deep inside the heart of the country, ten, fifteen, twenty miles inside.

We all remember the movement which began after that, which was called the period of reprisal raids when Israel in an effort to reduce these annihilating incursions, decided to retaliate to keep her borders secure, and each one of these reprisals, each one of those reprisal raids, evoked, as it did here in America, large headlines and a large reaction from us, and we had public relations experts trying to advise us to how to quiet down inflamed opinion.

And after the Fedayan raids and after the reprisal raids went on and on, it culminated in that inevitable act of the Sinai Campaign which brought in its wake the whole period, months and months and months, when Israel was on the front page of every newspaper in the country every day.

You remember it very well.

Finally we breathed a sigh of relief in the early Spring of 1957 when the "bad little Israel" decided to be good and withdraw her troops, and every one congratulated her for the majesty of the statesmanship that enabled her to view the larger picture above her own needs, and she was kosher again in the community of nations, and you and I as Americans could again obtain visas to travel there -- (for four months we couldn't, you remember).

When that quieted down in the spring of 1957, we had a week to realize that we had lived through the period of the Hungarian revolution with all of the mass publicity attendant upon that and with all the people running out of Hungary, there were the 18,000 or 17,000 Jews, and we took stock and suddenly realized that in between this whole thing there had been that expulsion of the Jews of Egypt -- as though we hadn't had enough to handle.

We moved on from Egyptian expulsion and Hungarian revolution to Rumanian exodus. There has hardly been a day, let alone a week or a month in the past half-decade when we have not seemed to live under this constant sense of looking at the newspaper to find out what was happening in the Jewish world.

Yes, we have grown accustomed to that face.

We geared our response to all things Jewish, not just the campaign to that face of Jewish existence.

Well, it is strangely strangely quiet now, and, as quiet as it is, you are here in greater numbers, in larger numbers than you have been here in this past turbulent half-decade.

Why? Why?

Because I think that you sense that we must now begin to emancipate ourselves from the emergency psychology and the crisis psychology and the pressure psychology, -- and emancipate ourselves from that -- into what?

Into an understanding on a longer-range and on a deeper basis.

You do not rescue a people and build a land in one year or two, or five or ten. We are faced with a concept of a longer range and a deeper perception; we are confronted with a task of a whole generation; and if we do it in a generation we will be lucky.

This fact, I think, has sunk in. It is the interpretation I give to myself for this incredible 1959 annual conference.

If there are no crises, I should like us to think of 1960 as the critical year between crises. I am not just making a play on words. If I compliment you and you compliment yourselves for developing the long-range look, then every one of us must have the maturity to understand that the long-range look is not a substitute for short-range dereliction of duty.

To have a long-range look of a generation does not mean that in any one given year of that generation we have a right to relax.

A long-range look is not permission for apathy or indifference.

And so the quietness of the Jewish horizon at this moment permits us to say that if we are between crises, and there is no crisis in 1960, then 1960 is a critical year between crises.

There are two pictures of Israel today. Dr. Joseph gave them to you. Senator Lehman gave them to you. I would like to give them to you in terms of what I consider to be the spelling out of the campaign line for 1960.

There is one picture of an Israel which is bright and charming and gay and full of life and full of progress, and full of hard factual data and indices and accomplishment. There is the good side of Israel. Every tourist sees it. Fifty thousand Americans will have gone through Israel in this year 1959. They come home in 1960 and they will say, "Israel looks great. What does she need any money for?"

These are the fifty thousand people whom we have to overcome in our arguments if they see only this good side. They will have much evidence to substantiate their statements that there is a good side of Israel.

Exports have grown.

The orange crop this year was worth \$50,000,000 in hard dollars for that one item alone. Wonderful.

Industry is growing.

Agriculture is growing.

The country is practically self sufficient in all food except for one or two items such as beef or wheat.

Fruits and vegetables and eggs and chickens and cheese and milk, there is a superabundance of these. There is a tomato glut in Israel this week.

Senator Lehman hadn't seen Tel Aviv in ten years. If he had marked the northern boundary of the city of Tel Aviv ten years ago and the northern boundary when he went there a few months ago, he would have noted that Tel Aviv is creeping north like an octopus. It will swallow the Accadia and the Sharon and will creep up to Herzlia.

Israel is moving fast in the direction of creating one megalopolis on the coast between Tel Aviv and Haifa, just like some day New York and Baltimore will be linked with nothing in between, no empty spaces, only city.

Yes, Israel is growing and the good side is good.

Freddie Forman and I walked down the street of Haifa and looked into a radio shop and saw a television set in the window. There is no transmitter in the country yet, but there is one smart Jew who has a shop, and he has a television set, and he is ready to sell it.

The day the transmitting station is opened, he will be the first one in business.

You have to take all that -- the good side of Israel, the happy side, the gay side, the side that shows that the years of love and labor that we poured into this, have paid, -- and you come away, happy that the thing is a success, and it works and it goes, and nobody will shove it into the sea, and that all that talk is way in the past now.

We have got a right to feel good, and having appreciated and tasted on the tongue and savored that side of Israel, then be not as blind as to say that that is the whole story.

It would be the depth of childishness and immaturity, and I go even further and say even irresponsibility, for any one to come back from Israel being so overjoyed about the progress and not fail to see that this is only half the coin.

People will say, "Why do you need more money in 1960? Why do you need another extra fund? Israel looks good. Don't deny that Israel looks good."

But then go on to say, "What looks bad?" And here is the other half of the coin. I think that what looks bad is stronger and more important for you to contrast with than what is good.

There are found things that are bad, and when I said the campaign line, this is the campaign line of what is bad, and it has to be corrected; and when this is made good, then this is no more the campaign line.

But until this is made good, this is what we are going to raise money for.

Number one is the question of these ma'abarot. Dr. Joseph earlier this morning called them "this shame." Yes, they are a shame on the otherwise fine escutcheon.

He also said that 180,000 people had graduated from them. Good. Is this any consolation to the 60,000 people who are still in them? I made a film this summer on the question of the ma'abarot, and we will show it tomorrow at 2 o'clock, right before the JDC session. I think when you see it, you will get out of it all the poignancy of what it means for a man to be living in one of these places for one year or five years or seven years and to watch his family disintegrate under his hands, to watch his children run away because they can't live in the squalor, to watch the failure that takes place in communication between father and son when the son accuses father of inadequacy; and the father says, "The system has got me beat, I can't get out."

There are 60,000 people living in those places. And you and I have no right for one genuinely easy night of sleep until that is done, and if it takes 15 months with the full budget, it may take 30 months with half money applied to it. It could take five months or six months or ten months if we found enough money for it.

It is a vile shame, and it has to be eliminated.

The second thing is the question of those slum areas in Israel into which many of the ma'abarot dwellers have graduated thinking that they were going to something better.

What is Salim, in Haifa, or other places, in Beersheba, or other places, in Tel Aviv? What are they but breeding spots of crime, vice, delinquency and a degradation of all of the ideals for which we as Jews stand, and which we abhor, the elimination of the cancerous places with the rabbit hutch kind of little crooked alleyways and dirty chambers which must be eliminated from the face of the land.

Vice and crime and delinquency are not our usual wont in life. We are not given to this approach or activity, and these things are the result only of foci of infection in which they fester; and if you lance the infection the pus runs out.

That is exactly what you have to do to those slum areas.

The third thing, is the farm settlements which we built with such joy, 485 of them since the establishment of the State of Israel. There are 130,000 people living on these farm settlements, which we always talk about as one of the greatest demonstrations of the Jewish capacity to get out of the urban dwelling luftmensch category of economic existence and become solid farmers. It is an image with which we very often hypnotize and propagandize ourselves when we talk about the courageous Jew with the gun on one shoulder and the hand on the plow; we talk about the image of the Jewish farmer, and 130,000 people who came out of metropolitan centers and are not used to this way of life and how they agreed to take on this way of life. We established those things by telling the Jewish Agency to do it and by giving them money to do it.

Now I would like to tell you something. These 485 farm settlements that are now up to 11-1/2 years old, they require all kinds of things to make them go, like machinery and barns and tractors and roads going up to them, and fences around them, and chickens in the chicken coops. Of these 485 farm settlements that require all these things to make them pay off, how many of these do you think are earning their way? Not one.

Why? Because the people are indolent? No. Why? Because they do not know how to farm? No. Why? Because there are no skillful instructors? No. All of these exist. The reason that these farm settlements are not self-sufficient, bringing in money to support the families living on them, is that those farm settlements have not received what they need in order to earn.

Spell it out for yourselves. You take a Jew from Casablanca and you rescue him and put him in Israel on a farm settlement in the Negev. You give him a house and you think you are doing fine -- and you are. But when you transport him, and when you give him a house and when you even bring water to that place, and when you even give him seed, and when you give him instructors, and when you give him tools, until he begins to bring in the first crop, he hasn't earned a dime. And if you don't give him something that he needs to bring in the first crop, you have handicapped him, you have crippled him, you have restricted him, you have held him back.

There are almost 100 of these farm settlements that are on the brink of economic self-sufficiency. The last little bit of capital investment is missing, is lacking, is not there. Probably 100 of them could become self-sufficient within a matter of a few more months if there were the money to invest in them to bring them up to the full capitalization.

Is that critical? I think it is as critical as any other emergency with which we have been faced.

What do you do meanwhile, while the men are unable to earn a living on the farms? Everybody in this room remembers the W.P.A. in the United States. There is something in Israel that is similar. You don't let the men sit on the farm and starve. You put him on a truck and you move him down the road ten kilometers and you have him crack rock and build a culvert or build a bridge, or plant some trees on the side of the road, or anything you can give him to do which is worthy and necessary for the economic development of the country, but still obviously a labor subsidy system.

No, you don't let him starve. You give him 12 or 15 days of work a month, because that is all you can afford, at about \$2.50 a day, because that is all you can afford.

Critical or not critical, emergency or no emergency, I don't know any more. Critical to live in a ma'abara, crisis to live in a slum, emergency situation if you are on a farm and you are not earning -- these four things, Ladies and Gentlemen, whether you call them crises or whether you don't, these four items -- ma'abarot, slum, unfinished farm settlements, and employment opportunities for those who are not yet earning their way -- constitute what we call in a kind of inadequate, cold, sterile language, the "backlog of unmet needs."

Do you know how many people this covers? Hold your hats! Be proud that you took in -- or that you helped take in almost a million refugees in Israel, be proud of it.

But do not be proud of the fact that this category which I have just enumerated covers one out of every three of those people. You have taken in,--or helped to take in, a million refugees. A third of them are not yet absorbed. One man out of three of these refugees of the last 11 1/2 years is not absorbed in Israel because he is missing something: a house, a job, a farm tool, and he is not on his feet yet.

I talked about the W.P.A. You remember the days of the depression when President Roosevelt referred to this country as one-third of a nation ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed.

One-third of the immigrant population whom we have helped bring to Israel with such joy stands now to say "J'Accuse!" to say, "We are ill-fed. Although there is plenty of food in Israel, we have no money to buy it. We are ill-clothed. There are plenty of clothes here; we have no money to buy them. We are ill-housed."

One-third of the immigrant population stands before us and says to us, "Is this critical?"

And we will answer them here in America.

There was a novel written by Disraeli. I wish everybody in this room would read it. Almost a century ago, Disraeli wrote a book called "Sybil, or The Two Nations."

He warned his countrymen in England of the injustice of having two nations living in England, one secure and comfortable and the other existing in misery, poverty or degradation.

We don't want two Israels, with two-thirds of the immigrants absorbed, and one-third of them not, in a contrast which is all the more painful because it is all the more evident.

The danger that Disraeli warned England of was the danger of war and strife and revolution if there were two Englands. It is not this danger that I warn you of.

If there are two Israels, there will not be an Israel of the submerged third which will revolt against the masters. It is an Israel of the submerged third that will come to its brothers, not its masters, and say, "Why, why, why leave us this way? Hurry to complete our absorption."

I have said no word about the vastness of the things which pull upon our hearts in all the other countries of the world.

Those of you who were at the JDC meeting last night saw a film about Iran, 80,000 Jews living there; Morocco, with 200,000 Jews living there.

Poland, with 30,000 Jews living there, being fed, being cared for, being helped, being given that hand of brotherly love which we want so much to extend to them, which takes money.

You read the New York Times this morning. The JDC voted a budget yesterday of 29-plus million dollars. Where do they expect to get it if not in some great portion from us?

I said that we were living in calmness. You know one thing: You know what the calmest part of the storm is -- the "eye" at the center of the hurricane, the calmest part of the torment that rages in the heavens. I can't tell you, nor can anybody sitting in this room, what massive explosions may occur all around us. You heard the Arabs in the United Nations the other day talk about war.

You heard Kassim say that if the other Arab nations didn't make war on Israel, he would do it himself.

You hear the talk about vast reservoirs of Jews waiting in certain areas of the world wanting to come to Israel, hundreds of thousands if not more. These are the storms that swirl all around us, any one of which can break any day, any moment.

Right now we are sitting in the eye of the storm, and it is calm there.

If we take advantage of this calmness, if we keep our strength mobilized for the long run and for the short run, we will not be caught unprepared for whatever happens as the heavens explode around us, because in the quietness of the eye of the storm we will go ahead with our work for 1960, as we see it laid out for us, and we will make two promises --

First, we will promise that we shall not just content ourselves with the transportation of immigrants, but we will dedicate ourselves to their transformation into self-sufficient citizens.

Second, we will promise that even though Israel is now a State, we will help her become a nation by helping to absorb her people so that they will grow and flourish and prosper.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is the task of our generation, nothing less. I tell you that we have to create one Israel indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, not two Israels -- and that we have to dedicate ourselves to one Jewish people, not simply each being his brother's keeper, but each one being his brother's brother.

22nd Annual National Conference
THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

Statler Hilton Hotel, Friday, Dec. 11, 1959

ADDRESS OF RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE
December 11, 1959
Statler Hilton Hotel, N. Y. C.

RABBI FRIEDMAN:

Ladies and Gentlemen, I know that there is always that electric quality of excitement that prevails in a room when people, assembled in such numbers as we are, hear a statement as important as that which we just heard, because we weren't listening to words -- we knew it -- we were listening to the heart and the soul of a man who stands on a pinnacle without peer in Jewish life in this country.

He remarked quite properly on the size of this gathering. This, I think, is the largest business meeting of the UJA which has been held, and I distinguish between business meeting and evening banquet. This is the largest business meeting which we have held and I think possibly in the history of the organization certainly in the last decade.

This means something, it seems to me. It means that we realize that we are standing at a very important transition point, because, when people come in such numbers, they come to learn. There is a feeling that something is changing in the air, and more and more of us want to know what is changing and what is happening and on the brink of what are we now standing.

Since we are here in these numbers we will perhaps have the courage to make what will be a very important step spiriually and psychologically, not an important step in the terms of any new resolutions.

You heard what Senator Lehman endorsed. He endorsed the old resolution, the way of raising more money through an extra fund such as we have been doing for the past four years, and he urged us to do it again for 1960 and I hope we take his advice before the day is over.

It is not that that is new. What is new somehow is the feeling within us that we are on the brink of campaigning psychologically in a different way, not technically in a different way.

I should like to try to spell that out. The reason that I think we are all anticipating with out finger-tips that there is some change in the air is that every one says that we find ourselves now in a period of strange calmness. There seems to be no

December 11, 1959

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burning headlines, there seems to be no large overwhelming issue; there seems to be no extraordinarily pressing sense of urgency or immediacy in the Jewish world, and, therefore, we are saying to each other -- what is new, what do we campaign on, what is the basis, what is the slogan, and everybody is looking for an answer to that.

I dare say that even though this is the largest gathering, there is hardly a person here who has not seen the play "My Fair Lady". If you say that show, you remember one of the great songs "I've Grown Accustomed to Her Face."

We have grown accustomed to the face of crisis and emergency, and when that seems to be absent, we are not quite sure how to handle ourselves. This is legitimate. We have lived through an extraordinary period in the last half decade, not to go back beyond that.

In the memory all of us, most recently burned are the facts of the Fedayan raids that were taking place in Israel, when the borders were unsafe, when murders were occurring daily deep inside the heart of the country, ten, fifteen, twenty miles inside.

We all remember the movement which began after that, which was called the period of reprisal raids when Israel in an effort to reduce these annihilating incursions, decided to retaliate to keep her borders secure, and each one of these reprisals, each one of those reprisal raids, evoked, as it did here in America, large headlines and a large reaction from us and we had public relations experts trying to advise us as how to quiet down inflamed opinion.

After the Fedayan and after the reprisal raids went on and on, it culminated in that inevitable act of the Sinai Campaign, which brought in its wake the whole period, months and months and months when Israel was on the front page of every newspaper in the country every day.

You remember it very well.

Finally we breathed a sigh of relief in the early spring of 1957 when the bad little Israel decided to be good and withdraw her troops, and everyone congratulated her for the majesty of the statesmanship that enabled her to view the larger picture above her own needs, and she was kosher again in the community of nations, and you and

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I as Americans could again obtain visas to travel there; for four months we couldn't, you remember.

When that quieted down in the spring of 1957, we had a week to realize that we had lived through the period of the Hungarian revolution with all of the mass publicity attendant upon that and with all the people running out of Hungary, there were the 18 or 17 thousand Jews, and we stood stock and suddenly realized that in between this whole thing there had been that expulsion of the Jews of Egypt as though we hadn't had enough to handle.

We moved on from Egyptian expulsion and Hungarian revolution to Rumanian exodus. There has hardly been a day, let alone a week or a month in the past half decade when we have not seemed to live under this constant sense of looking at the newspaper to find out what was happening in the Jewish world.

Yes, we have grown accustomed to that face.

We geared our response to all things Jewish, not just the campaign to that face of Jewish existence.

Well, it is strangely, strangely quiet now, and, as quiet as it is, you are here in greater numbers, in larger numbers than you have been here in this past turbulent half decade.

Why? Why?

Because I think that you sense, I think that you sense that we must now begin to emancipate ourselves from the emergency psychology and the crisis psychology, and the pressure psychology, and emancipate ourselves from that -- into what?

Into an understanding on a longer-range and on a deeper basis that you do not rescue people and build a land for these are our twin tasks -- never forget them.

You do not rescue a people and build a land in one year or two, or five, or ten. We are with a concept of a longer range and a deeper perception, that we are confronted with a task of a whole generation and if we do it in a generation we will be lucky.

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This fact, I think, has sunk in it, is the interpretation I give to myself for this incredible 1959 annual conference.

If there are no crises, I should like us to think of 1960 as the critical year between crises. I am not just making a play on words. If I compliment you and you compliment yourselves for developing the long-range look, then every one of us must have the maturity to understand that the long-range look is not substitute for short-range dereliction of duty.

To have a long-range look of a generation does not mean that in any one given year of that generation we have a right to relax.

A long-range look is not a permission for apathy of indifference.

And so the quietness of the Jewish horizon at this moment permits us to say that if we are between crises, and there is no crisis in 1960, then 1960 is a critical year between crises.

There are two pictures of Israel today. Dr. Joseph gave them to you. Senator Lehman gave them to you. I would like to give them to you in terms of what I consider to be the spelling out of the campaign line for 1960.

I am delighted to hear the rustle of pencil and paper.

There is one picture of an Israel which is bright and charming and gay and full of life and full of progress, and full of hard factual data and indices, and accomplishment. There is the good side of Israel. Every tourist sees it. Fifty thousand Americans will have gone through Israel in this year 1959. They come home in 1960 and they will say, "Israel looks great. What does she need ^{any} money for?"

There are the fifty thousand people whom we have to overcome in our arguments if they see only this good side. They will have much evidence to substantiate their statements that there is a good side of Israel.

Exports have grown.

The orange crop this year was worth \$50,000,000 in hard dollars for that one item alone. Wonderful.

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Industry is growing.

Agriculture is growing.

The country is practically self-sufficient in all food except for one or two items such as beef or wheat.

Fruits and vegetables and eggs and chickens and cheese and milk, there is a superabundance of those. There is a tomato glut in Israel this week.

Senator Lehman hadn't seen Tel Aviv in Ten Years. If he had marked the northern boundary of the city of Tel Aviv ten years ago and the northern boundary when he went there a few months ago, Tel Aviv is creeping north like an octopus. She will swallow the Accadia and the Sharon, and she will creep up to Herzlia.

Israel is moving fast in the direction of creating one metropolis on the coast between Tel Aviv and Haifa, just like some day New York and Baltimore will be linked with nothing in between, no empty spaces, only city.

Yes, Israel is growing and the good side is good.

Freddie Forman and I walked down the street of Haifa and looked into a radio shop and saw a television set in the window. There is no transmitter in the country yet, but there is one smart Jew who has a shop, and he has a television set, and he is ready to sell it.

The day the transmitting station is opened, he will be the first one in business.

You have to take all that, the good side of Israel, the happy side, the gay side, the side that shows the years of love and labor that we have poured into this have paid, and you have come away happy that the thing is a success, and it works and it goes, and nobody will shove it into the sea, and all that talk is way in the past now.

We have got a right to feel good, and having appreciated and tasted on the tongue and savored that side of Israel, then be not so blind as to say that that is the whole story.

It would be the depth of childishness and immaturity, and I go even further and say even irresponsibility for anyone to come back from Israel being so overjoyed about the progress, as to fail to see that this is only half the coin.

People will say, "Why do you need more money in 1960? Why do you need another extra fund? Israel looks good. Don't deny that Israel looks good."

But then go on to say, "What looks bad?" And here is the other half of the coin. I think that what looks bad is stronger and more important for you to contrast with what is good.

There are four things that are bad, and when I said the campaign line, this in the campaign line of what is bad, and it has to be corrected; and when this is made good, then this is no more the campaign line.

But until this is made good, this is what we are going to raise money for.

Number one is the question of these ma'abarot. Dr. Joseph earlier this morning called them "this shame." Yes, they are a shame on the otherwise fine escutcheon.

He also said that 180,000 people had graduated from them. Good. Is this any consolation to the 60,000 people who are still in them? I made a film this summer on the question of the ma'abarot, and we will show it tomorrow at 2 o'clock, right before the JDC session. I think when you see it, you will get out of it all the poignancy of what it means for a man to be living in one of these places for one year or five years or seven years and to watch his family disintegrate under his hands, to watch his children run away because they can't live in the squalor, to watch the failure that takes place of communication between father and son when son accuses father of inadequacy; and the father says, "The system has got me beat, I can't get out."

There are 60,000 people living in those places. And you and I have no right for one genuinely easy night of sleep until that is done, and if it takes 15 months with the full budget, it may take 30 months with half money applied to it. It ought to take five months or six months or ten months if we found enough money for it.

It is a vile shame, and it has to be eliminated.

The second thing is the question of those slum areas in Israel into which many of the ma'abarot dwellers have graduated thinking that they were going to something better.

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What is Salim, in Haifa, or other places, in Beersheba, or other places, in Tel Aviv, are breeding spots of crime, vice, delinquency and a degradation of all the ideals for which we as Jews stand, and which we abhor, the elimination of the cancerous places with the rabbit hutch kind of little crooked alleyways and dirty chambers must be eliminated from the face of the land.

Vice and crime and delinquency are not our usual wont in life. We are not given to this approach or activity, and these things are the result only of foci of infection in which they fester; and if you lance the infection the pus runs out.

That is exactly what you have to do to those slum areas.

The third thing. Farm settlements which we built with such joy, 485 of them since the establishment of the State of Israel, on which there are living 130,000 people, and which we always talk about as one of the greatest demonstrations of the Jewish capacity to get out of the urban dwelling luftmensch category of economic existence and become solid farmers -- that image with which we very often hypnotize and propagandize ourselves when we talk about the courageous Jew with the gun on one shoulder and the hand on the plow, we talk about the image of the Jewish farmer, and 130,000 people who came out of metropolitan centers and are not used to this way of life agreed to take on this way of life, and we established those things by telling the Jewish Agency by giving them money to do it.

Now I would like to tell you something. Of these 485 farm settlements that are now up to 11½ years old that require all kinds of things to make them go, like machinery and barns and tractors and roads going up to them, and fences around them, and chickens in the chicken coops, of these 485 farm settlements that require all these things to make them pay off, how many of these do you think are earning their way? Not one.

Why? Because the people are indolent? No. Why? Because they do not know how to farm? No. Why? Because there are no skillful instructors? No. All of that exists. The reason that these farm settlements are not self-sufficient, earning their way, bringing in money to support the families living on them, is that those farm settlements have not received that which they need in order to earn.

Spell it out for yourselves. You take a Jew from Casablanca and you rescue him and put him in Israel on a farm settlement in the Negev, and you give him a house and you think you are doing fine -- and you are -- but when you even bring water to that place, and when you even give him seed, and when you give him instructors, and when you give him tools, until he begins to bring in the first crop, he hasn't earned a dime. And if you don't give him something that he needs to bring in the first crop, you have handicapped him, you have crippled him, you have restricted him, you have held him back.

There are almost 100 of these farm settlements that are on the brink of economic self-sufficiency. The last little bit of capital investment is missing, is lacking, is not there. 100 of them could become self-sufficient within a matter of a few more months if there were the money to invest in them to bring them up to the full capitalization.

Is that critical? I think it is as critical as any other emergency with which we have been faced.

What do you do meanwhile, while the men are not earning their living on the farms? Everybody in this room remembers the W. P. A. in the United States. There is something in Israel that is similar. You don't let the men sit on the farm and starve. You put him on a truck and you move him down the road to ten kilometers and you have him crack rock and build a culvert or build a bridge, or plant some trees on the side of the road, or whatever you find for him to do which is worthy and necessary for the economic development of the country, but which is obviously a labor subsidy system.

No, you don't let him starve. But what you do is, maybe you give him 12 or 15 days of work a month, because that is all you can afford at about 5 pounds a day, because that is all you can afford. So you give him \$30, \$40 a month worth of employment.

Great. Critical or not critical, emergency or not emergency, I don't know any more. Critical to live in a ma'abara, crisis to live in a slum, emergency situation if you are on a farm and you are not earning -- these four things, Ladies and Gentlemen, whether you call them crises or whether you don't, these four items, ma'abarot, slum, unfurnished farm settlements, and employment opportunities for those who are not yet

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earning their way, subsidized labor -- it is as simple as that. These four things constitute what we call in a kind of inadequate cold, sterile language, the backlog of unmet needs.

Do you know how many people this embraces? Hold your hats. Be proud that you took in -- or that you helped to take in almost a million refugees in Israel, be proud of it.

Be not proud of the fact that this category which I have just enumerated have unmet needs embraces 1 out of every 3 of those people. You have taken in or helped to take in a million refugees. A third of them are in the condition I have just finished describing. One man out of three of these refugees of the last 11½ years is not absorbed in Israel because he is missing something, a house, a job, a farm tool, something he is missing; and he is not on his feet yet.

I talked about the W. P. A. You remember the days of the depression when President Roosevelt referred to this country as one-third of a nation ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed.

One third of the emigrant population whom we have helped bring to Israel with such joy in the work stands now to shake its finger at us in this J'Accuse, to say, "We are ill-fed, although there is plenty of food in Israel; we have no money to buy it. We are ill-clothed. There are plenty of clothes here; we have no money to buy them. We are ill-housed."

One-third of the immigrant population stands before us and says to us, "Is this critical?"

And we make our response in America.

There was a novel written by Disraeli. I wish everybody in this room would read it. Almost a century ago Disraeli wrote a book called "Sybil, or The Two Nations."

He warned his countrymen in England of the injustice of having two nations living in England, one secure and comfortable and the other existing in misery, poverty or degradation.

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We don't want two Israels, with two-third of the immigrants absorbed, and one-third of them not, in a contrast which is all the more painful because it is all the more evident.

The danger that Disraeli warned England of was the danger of war and strife and revolution if there were two Englands. It is not this danger that I warn you of.

If there are two Israels, there will not be an Israel of the submerged third which will revolt against the masters. It is an Israel of the submerged third that will come to its brothers, not its masters, and say, "Why, why, why leave us this way? Hurry to complete out absorption."

I have said no word, and I shall not be able to, because the time is gone, and I have spoken much longer than I thought I would -- I have said no word about the vastness of the things which pull upon our hearts in all the other countries of the world.

Those of you who were at the JDC meeting last night saw a film about Iran, 80,000 Jews living there, Morocco, with 200,000 Jews living there.

Poland, you heard Mel Dubinsky talk about it, 30,000 Jews living there, being fed, being cared for, being helped, being given that hand of brotherly love which we want so much to extend to them, which takes money.

You read the New York Times this morning. The JDC voted a budget yesterday of 29-plus million dollars. Where do they expect to get it if not in some great portion from us.

I said that we were living in calmness. You know one thing? You know what the calmest part of the storm is? The "eye" at the center of the hurricane. The "eye" at the center of the hurricane is the calmest part of the torment that rages in the heavens. I can't tell you, not can anybody sitting in this room, what massive explorations will occur all around us. You heard the Arabs in the United Nations the other day talk about war.

You heard Kassim say that if the other Arab nations didn't make war on Israel he would do it himself.

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You hear the talk about vast reservoirs of Jews waiting in certain areas of the world wanting to come to Israel -- vast reservoirs going in the hundreds of thousands if not more. These are the storms that swirl all around us, any one of which can break any day, any moment.

Right now we are sitting in the eye of the storm, and it is calm in the eye.

If we take advantage of this calmness, if we keep our strength mobilized for the long run and for the short run, we will not be caught short short by whatever happens as the heavens explode around us, because in the quietness of the eye of the storm we will go ahead with out work for 1960, as we see it laid out for us, and we will make two promises, - and with this I am through.

We will promise that we shall not just content ourselves with the transportation of immigrants, but we will dedicate ourselves to their transformation into self-sufficient citizens.

Secondly, we will promise that even though Israel is now a state, we will help make her a nation by absorbing her people in a way which they will grow and flourish and prosper.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is the task of our generation, nothing less. I tell you that we have to create one Israel indivisible with liberty and justice for all, not to Israel -- and that we have to dedicate ourselves to one Jewish people, not each one being his brother's keeper, but each one being his brother's brother.

That is it.

Thank you very much.

ADDRESS OF HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1959 - MORNING SESSION

Ladies and gentlemen, there is a time in which oratory and eloquence express themselves not in words but in figures.

I would like just very quickly and very briefly to give you the figures so that you may see on a comparative basis what has been achieved as between 1959 and 1958, and so that you may also see on a comparative basis what can be achieved in 1960.

The figures that I would like to give you are pledge figures, not cash figures. You heard the cash figures from Mel Dubinsky. I will interpret those cash figures in a moment, but take these down as pledge figures.

In 1958, so that you may see the comparison, the communities of the country, the welfare funds, the federations, those communities that don't have federations but raise their money in small local committees, and New York City, which raises its money in its own separate UJA campaign, as you know, the total of that was \$105 million. The only thing I am excluding from this is the Federation of Philanthropies of New York, which is a separate figure altogether and has nothing to do with this calculation.

So that all of the cities of the country, all the welfare funds and the New York City UJA raised together \$105 million.

The United Jewish Appeal share of that in allocations that were made to us by the communities was as follows:

On the account of the regular campaign - \$50 million, exactly.

On the account of the special fund campaign - \$13 million.

For a total of \$63 million in pledges or allotments or allocations which were made to the United Jewish Appeal.

For 1959 all the communities of the country and the New York City UJA raised a total of \$115 million as compared, you will recall, with \$105 million of the year before. In other words, the campaign of 1959 pledges in all the cities was \$10 million

more for all causes, UJA, local, national, the whole thing.

That figure was \$115 million.

The UJA share of that for 1959 was as follows:

On the account of the regular campaign, 51-1/2 million dollars.

On the account of the special fund, 16-1/2 million dollars, making a total of \$69 million in pledges or allotments that were made to the UJA.

Therefore, you see that the increase on the regular fund of allotments to the UJA was 51-1/2 million dollars against 50 million dollars, the regular campaign went up by a million and a half, or three percent.

The special fund went 16-1/2 million dollars over 13 million dollars, or 27 percent, and the overall increase to the United Jewish Appeal was from 63 million dollars to 68 million dollars, five million dollars, and that represents almost exactly eight percent.

Now, let us sit back and think about that for a minute.

1958 was a year which we called a recession year.

1959 was a year in which at the beginning, while the country was coming out of its recession psychology, that situation occurred in a certain country in Eastern Europe which, while it lasted only for a few weeks or a few months at the beginning of 1959, nevertheless was thought to have an impact on the campaign.

Now that the year is finished and we see what happened, we see that 1959 showed an increase in pledges to the UJA of only five million dollars. When I say "only" I am certainly not deprecating the effort that went in, but I am saying that all of the excitement and non-recession of 1959, don't forget that, resulted in what everybody thought would be a very large increase and which was a five million dollar increase. That is large, and yet that is where it stands.

While I don't have all the figures for all the communities of America, I would like to make the comment that while the UJA gained a million and a half dollars on the regular campaign, 51-1/2 million dollars over 50 million dollars, the communities also

benefited from an increase in the regular campaign which, inured to their advantage, and it is fine that it should.

There was, therefore, an increase of three percent on the regular, 27 percent on the special to the UJA, and an increase of also perhaps three percent on the regular to the communities, as I said they benefited also.

And yet it is obvious that it could have been a much larger amount in view of the two facts I mentioned, no recession and the East European exodus crisis at least at the beginning of the year.

If the advantage that was obtained was five million dollars worth, I would like to relate that to the cash figures you just heard, because I said that I would then try to interpret Mel Dubinsky's cash figures.

You heard him say that we will have taken in, in cash by the end of this year, hopefully, 70 million dollars. How can you take in 70 million dollars in cash in a year, 1959, when your pledges for 1959 were only 68 million dollars, and your pledges for 1958 were only 63 million dollars? How with pledges of 63 million dollars in one year and 68 million dollars in the succeeding year can you take in 70 million dollars in cash? The reason is that there is not necessarily any relationship between the amount that is pledged and the flow of cash -- not necessarily any relationship.

What happened here was that with the most intensified kind of push that Mel Dubinsky and his committee made, they cleaned up large, large amounts of accounts receivable from many previous years. Money came in from the campaigns of 1955 and 1956 and 1957 -- yes, and 1954 and 1953 and 1952.

Large backlogs of accounts receivable that were owing in the communities were collected under the stimulation and the impetus of an intensive cash campaign.

But -- how long can you continue to bring in ⁱⁿ cash more than you are raising in pledges? Not very long. Once you have begun to dry up the backlog of the accounts receivable, and there is nothing more to draw upon, then what you are going to begin to collect in cash will be less than the pledges of the current year, and it is to that question that I would like to address myself. The cash flow in 1960 cannot

be maintained unless the pledge flow of 1960 now goes far beyond the figures that I have given to you.

In other words, the campaign of 1960 must be of such greater magnitude, the pledges that have to go on the books for the 1960 campaign must not total 63 million dollars to the UJA, or 68 million dollars to the UJA. The pledges that go on the books that the communities must raise and the share of it that must come to the UJA, must go up and up into the eighties and nineties of millions, and more, in order for us to enjoy in the year 1960, a cash flow that will permit the work to go on, and that will not throttle it by a whole calendar year of 1960 without money.

Let me be very blunt. If there is a pledge year in 1960 of 70 million dollars, 75 million dollars -- take any figure of that sort -- I don't see how there can be 70 million dollars worth of cash coming in in the year 1960, and the cash flow of the future will be jeopardized in 1961. You cannot get cash if you have no pledges. If we do not have a cash flow in 1960/^{of}the dimensions which we had in 1959, then all of the programs and all of the work that was described here since last Thursday evening will necessarily be stultified and crippled and held back, and very, very serious crises -- then different kind of crises will develop, they will be financial crises and banking crises and cash crises.

The cash flow of 1959 was wonderful. What it did was clean up the backlog. Now we have not got those large amounts of accounts receivable. So we are poor again in terms of what to draw upon, and the new pledges must be replenished on the books in those dimensions.

So I am trying to make an argument for a greater, greater campaign in 1960, not even based on the argumentation of what we are raising the money for. We know that perfectly well. I am trying to make this argument with you on the basis of sound financial reasoning of what the flow must be in an uninterrupted fashion. We can't have cash if we don't have pledges.

I would like simply to say that I think the mood of this conference has been perfectly spectacular. The mood, the feeling, the feel, the enthusiasm, the devotion, the sense of understanding.

If that mood, that enthusiasm, that which we feel, if that is translated into a great, great campaign in 1960, which we all feel in our bones that we can have, and if the communities of America go on and raise not 115 million dollars, but 130 and 140 and 150 million dollars, and the UJA share of that goes up to from 68 to 70, 80, 90, then, on the basis of that kind of pledge campaign, you could again have the cash flow that we enjoyed this year.

The mood is here, the desire is here, the intelligence, the heart, the sustaining power, the patience, the conviction, they are all here.

I would urge us to go on to the kind of great campaign in 1960 that will make us feel good when we meet a year from now to listen to its results.

Thank you very much.