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8

Speakers Bureau. Meeting. 17 January 1957.

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SPEAKERS BUREAU MEETING

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



220 West 58th Street  
New York City

January 17, 1957

ABALON STENO TYPE REPORTERS  
238 WEST 14TH STREET  
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK  
WATKINS 9-5826

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The meeting of the Speakers Bureau convened at 8:25 p.m. in the Telephone Room of the New York United Jewish Appeal, 220 West 58th Street, New York, New York on Thursday, January 17, 1957; Mr. Henry Bernstein presiding.

MR. BERNSTEIN: I want to thank all of you for coming, and to prove to you how grateful we are that you are here, I am going to do everything I can to expedite this meeting because we would like this to be a working session. All of you are, in a sense, pros, experts, and therefore I think that it would be superfluous to do that which we have done on occasion, and therefore what we want to do this evening is dispense with agency presentations.

We have here executives of all the agencies in the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York. We also have here the executive of the National UJA. Perhaps with all of us here, if there are any questions that are purely UJA questions, we can try to answer them, and insofar as you may have questions that relate to Israel directly, we have the Consul of Israel, Reuven Dafni here to handle that end of the problem.

I would like you to look, if you would, at the



papers that were given to you. You will find on Page Two of the campaign story that there is a typographical error. The typographical error might give you the impression that we have included this year an organization which is not in the campaign. That should not read JDA; it should read JDC.

On the other hand, I think all of you will be pleased to know that we do have another agency in UJA of Greater New York and that agency is United HIAS, and its executive, Mr. Milton Kozen, is here with us and will be prepared to answer any questions in that connection.

I hope you won't mind if I take a moment to welcome back Arthur Fishzohn. I think most of you know him. He is here under orders not to be here. (Applause)

Now let me present to you for, I think, the important background information which all of us must have in any consideration of the UJA campaign, Mr. Reuven Dafni, the Director of Information for Israel. (Applause)

MR. DAFNI: This is one of the toughest assignments I have ever had because I look around the room and I see there are good old pros here who can teach me a lesson about what I am going to say and I don't know how I am



going to get out of it.

I made a suggestion which was discarded. I thought maybe we could sit down and raise some funds for the UJA tonight. I make good fundraising speeches, but I was told it is not necessary.

I think what I would like to do tonight is actually two things. I would like to give a brief analysis of what is called the political situation, and it will have to be brief not only because I am such an expert in brevity but because the changes are so fluctuating, from hour to hour, I would say, so that one really has difficulty even if one were foolish enough to try to predict, so that it is very difficult to say something which makes sense.

In addition to that I would like to discuss with you some matters on what is called campaign technique in the light of the recent experience I had. I have just come back, as you can see, from Miami, Florida, although I assure you that underneath my tan I am still quite pale. I think this is the first city to have a 1957 campaign and I think I have learned certain things there which I would like to give you and perhaps discuss later on.



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Let me briefly describe the so-called political situation. I think that we are at present undergoing what possibly, without any exaggeration, can be called our gravest crisis, and that for Israel means a lot because we are used to crises one way or another, since almost the day of our coming into existence.

The gravity of it is emphasized by the fact that we are today confronted with a world which I would say because of lack of experience -- because no other nation has ever been in a similar situation to Israel's -- is basically unable to understand and grasp Israel's situation. I think that this is our basic difficulty. There is no other nation in the world that has been subjected to such conditions as we have in the past eight years, not even remotely so. There has been no other nation which has been deprived of the minimal security rights and conditions that any nation in the world enjoys, and therefore when they are gathered all together it is very hard for other nations to really understand what we are talking about.

In addition to that we are confronted in the United Nations with the situation of certain blocs which



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vote not according to the case in point but which vote according to preconceived notions. I am specifically referring to the Afro-Asian bloc to whom the situation, as far as we are concerned when it comes down to brass tacks, is very simple. They were told by the <sup>A</sup>rabs that here was a country which once belonged to the brown man and the white man came in and pushed him out, and that is all that is needed today in Asia to get people united against whoever it may be.

These newly created Asian nations know nothing about Israel and nothing about the Jews. We all have been living in a fool's paradise from that point of view. We have all always thought that the world knows about the Jews, the world knows about the people of the Bible, that the world knows what the Bible is. But it is only the western world which knows that. The entire Asian and African continent in its vast, vast majority have never heard of the Bible and never heard of the Jews, so that when they are suddenly confronted with a very simple explanation, that this is a fight against imperialism and colonialism and a fight of the white man pushing out the colored man, you find a very difficult situation and an



obstacle which is very, very hard to overcome.

From that point of view, to explain this, the unfortunate situation in which I am placed in the same boat as the British and the French -- as a matter of fact, the representatives of the colonial powers in Asia have not helped. Later I shall speak about the matter of collusion -- just a few words.

Today we have reached a point -- and I don't know how many of you listened to the United Nations deliberations today or how many of you read the papers today -- at which there are two major issues at stake which concern the very existence of the State of Israel and on which we cannot give in and shall not give in. One is the matter of the Gulf of Akaba and a point called (Shak el Shik ??), and the other of course is the matter of Gaza. I will just give you our position on it.

For eight solid years the Gulf of Akaba was closed not only to Israel but also to any other American nation. I am not economic expert but I can assure you from what I have learned from my colleagues, that millions of dollars worth of damage has been done by the fact that we are unable to use the Gulf. Our entire export and possibly



import picture might have looked totally different if we had had access through the Gulf of Akaba. Our political, cultural, economic and social relations with the Asian nations would have been on a different scale if we could have used the Gulf of Akaba.

We believe, and I think that the world is slowly beginning to realize it too, that the freedom to use the Gulf of Akaba is not only a matter for Israel, a matter of life or death for us, but a matter of importance to all maritime nations. We believe it is important to the entire world that there should be an alternative to the Suez, and the only other alternative, the only place in which the Mediterranean and the Red Sea can be bridged is via Israel, and we firmly believe that as the days pass the world will realize it more and more fully.

We say to the world and to the United Nations very simply that we would be willing to give up (Shak el Shik) provided full guarantees are given us that the freedom of passage through the Gulf of Akaba will be preserved, and since we have some experience with the resolutions of the United Nations and even of the Security Council, we do not consider a full guarantee a resolution of the United Nations.



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We demand more than that. To say the least, the physical existence of United Nations troops or some similar situation, or shall I say it more bluntly -- we demand the assurance that the Egyptians will not be there, in whatever way this may be arranged.

As far as Gaza is concerned, no one familiar with the developments in the history of Israel for the last eight years needs any explanation as to what Gaza in Egyptian hands means, and once the government of Israel, which until this very moment has not yet made its position clear with regard to Gaza and the Gaza Strip itself -- however, it has made one thing abundantly clear: that it will not stand for an Egyptian return to the Gaza Strip.

I will be frank. I would say we are not very much enamored of the idea that the United Nations should take over the Strip because we know from experience that there is no other force but Israel which can prevent the repetition of the last eight years in Gaza. We are not so sure that the United Nations troops even stationed in Gaza would be able to combat fedayeen activities and whatever else has happened during this time.

I said to you, and I want this to be fully under-



stood, that we shall not give in on these two questions, fully realizing what this means. I can envisage in the next few days and weeks -- I say I can envisage; I don't say that it necessarily will be so -- I can envisage a situation in which the United Nations will pass a resolution whereby 79 vote against one, calling upon Israel to withdraw from (Shak el Shik), from Gaza, deciding upon sanctions, and I am quite sure that in the case of Israel this will be handled much more quickly and easily than in the case of Hungary.

I can even envisage a freezing of funds. I can envisage economic sanctions of major proportions. I don't think it will come to that but when we speak about the situation today I say we cannot bypass such a possibility.

I want to say that in spite of it we in Israel are willing to take it. We know that this might happen and we shall take it. I don't know how long we will be able to take it. I think we can for a long time. I think that the people who feel -- and this is no phrase -- a people who feels that its very existence and very life is at stake can in general take a lot, and I think in past history Jews have proven that usually they are able to take



more than any other nation, and I think we in Israel have done that on and off.

At the same time I would say that in the last few days there have been changes for the better. The world at large has begun to awaken to this situation and there are more and more voices in the United Nations who consider it a ludicrous and impossible situation for the United Nations, of all organizations and of all forces, to be the one to reimpose a blockade and a reign of terror in Gaza, and there are more and more nations who begin to see that the status quo ante cannot be brought back in full.

I want to say we hope that we will be able to present very, very specific resolutions in the next few days which would enable us in the next days and weeks to give momentum to this growing awakening of the nations of the world to the peril and the danger which would result in compelling Israel to leave these two points.

I was personally very glad to see the United States representative today in the United Nations, for the first time in many a day, did not make just categorical statements on Israel's withdrawal. He has already added certain "buts" and "however's" and "moreovers", which are



very welcome. The United States representative today said that while, of course, the United States voted for the resolution for withdrawal behind the armistice lines and while it still sticks to this resolution, it of course cannot envisage the blockade of Akaba and the situation in Gaza as it was previously, and it is obvious that the United Nations will have to do something to prevent this.

And there were other voices, some of them much stronger than that, who spoke in much clearer terms, but sometimes the representatives of various countries in the United Nations, including Israel, have the habit of speaking in unclear terms on purpose, and I imagine that in this particular case it was a deliberate unclarity.

As to the dangers ahead of us, in spite of this gradual awakening, I would say let us not kid ourselves. There still is a very strong Afri-Asian steamroller which has the support, of course, of the progressive countries of Soviet Russia, and there are still grave dangers and grave problems and I don't know yet how we will come out of it, but if my judgment is correct -- and I don't advise you to bank on it -- today there have been certain signs.

To anyone who carefully read the New York Times



this morning, especially Reston's and Hamilton's articles which do not come out of the air -- they get their inspiration from somewhere -- one can see that they have been showing a certain awakening, a certain beginning to see the light.

I would like now to say a few words about this campaign and I will probably not tell you anything new because, as I say, when I look around this room I see you are really all people who know this business much better than I, but I have now had ten days of experience in a community which is the first community to go into the \$100,000,000 Rescue Fund, and I have discovered certain things which are not new but which are always welcome to be rediscovered.

First of all, I have discovered an interesting thing which all of you probably know -- that Jews cannot be fooled. You cannot talk about emergencies to Jews when there is no emergency. You cannot do it. So they listen, and they listen. On the other hand, when there is an emergency you don't have to talk about emergency, because they know it and they feel it, and my problem in the particular city where I was, was how to bridge the feeling on



the street with the leadership or the lack of leadership. Actually, the masses are waiting to be called upon and are willing to do much more than we thought they would, but they are not being called upon or asked to do things, because the leadership is not yet clear as to what can or cannot be done. This is the first thing.

The second thing is that when you speak today about the \$100,000,000 campaign -- and I have done it in Miami and I must say it was done not as a trick; I did it because I really believed that way and I am quite sure that Herb, coming back from his trip, will confirm this even more than I can possibly do -- I tell the people the truth, that the \$100,000,000 is an unrealistic figure, not unrealistic as to its reachability, if there is such an English word. That is not unrealistic at all -- the money is around, it can be gotten. But it is unrealistic as to its needs, because if we speak today of 100,000 Jews who will have to come to Israel in 1957, we are being unrealistic.

I believe the number will be 130,000, 140,000, because there are things happening today over which we have no control, none whatsoever, and I don't know what



the morrow is going to bring. We are at present in a situation in which we no longer mention Morocco and Tunis and Algeria because it's fine, it's quiet and we are doing things there, but I have no guarantee that in a week or two or in a month there may not erupt there something again which will suddenly place us in a position which we did not expect and did not take into consideration.

All right, Herb will talk about the Hungarian refugees and about the Egyptian refugees and about Poland and so on, and I have my thoughts about it, and there may be news of other things. I don't know what is going to happen in Roumania tomorrow. We may be confronted with a similar situation -- at least I hope so -- to the one today in Poland and Hungary, where there is a semi-official aliyah.

Under these circumstances, almost overnight, the \$100,000,000 campaign becomes unrealistic, obsolete as Herb says, and I must say that I find that the Jews understand it. When you talk to them and explain the facts and the truth -- and this is the truth -- they understand and they respond. They don't respond as well as we would like them to respond, but this has not yet happened that we have



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today a repetition of 1948. I do not remember any campaign in which they responded the way we thought they should, aside from 1948. But I am convinced that we have two weaknesses to overcome, and maybe I shouldn't draw my conclusions only from Miami, but I think I am on the right track.

I think that our major weakness is in the leadership. Without a vigorous community leadership which knows its facts and has a direct and forceful approach, we won't reach that goal in spite of the fact that the masses are willing and waiting to be called upon. They are really waiting to be called upon.

The second thing, and with this I will conclude -- and I may put my foot into my mouth now so far as the UJA is concerned, and Herb, I fully realize all the implications -- I think that we have in the past few years done something to the Jewish community in America which has spoiled it to a certain extent. Less than Ben Gurion they won't hear any more! You offer them a speaker. It's not Ben Gurion? No good. And I think we did that, and I believe that the only remedy for it is to get back to parlor meetings.



Believe, I know what it means to arrange for tens and hundreds of parlor meetings where you speak to ten and fifteen people and no more, but I tell you that I am firmly convinced that this is the only way of overcoming this demand for big names, "Otherwise they don't come," and parlor meetings still has a strange sound to people and they like it, and especially with due apologies to all the ladies in this room, if you have a parlor meeting and you say to the men, "Sh-h, don't bring your wife with you." For that they are willing to pay. It's something secret. That's wonderful.

I must say, Herb, that I am convinced that if you go down now into activities in which you send people into a community where they do not come in for just one night and leave the next morning after delivering a brilliant speech at which five hundred people got up and applauded until their hands were red, and then went home -- instead of that he speaker should be in the community a week or ten days, where he has a breakfast meeting and a pre-breakfast meeting and an after-breakfast meeting, and a pre-luncheon meeting and a luncheon meeting and a parlor meeting.



Unless you do that -- and I don't care if I meet only five people. Sometimes talking to five people is more important than to five hundred, from every point of view, but from fundraising especially. I believe that if this can and will be handled this way -- I don't want to give you any guarantees as to how much money can be raised but I think we can do much more than we have done so far. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. BERNSTEIN: I suppose you will all agree that we can even make a fundraiser, a campaigner out of an Israeli.

As soon as they relieve you of the job of being Director of Information, Reuven, come and work with us.

MR. DAFNI: What do you mean by "even"? (Laughter)

MR. BERNSTEIN: It is unusual for speakers to be in a position to know how to raise money and what the techniques are and, perhaps even more important, what the techniques shouldn't be. We have a few people here -- perhaps we will hear something from them during the course of the evening. There is a young girl from Egypt. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to present to you to take a bow -- you will see why in a moment -- Lilly Buxbaum. (Applause)



There is a young man who also arrived here very recently from Hungary, Mr. Theodor Hirsch. (Applause)

I know there are people in this room who know what it is like to live under tyranny, who know what it is like to be thrown out of a country, who understand at first hand some of the problems we are trying to solve, and I would like to present to you at this time a gentleman who only a few short days ago was in Egypt. Would Mr. David Menachem please come up?

While Mr. Menachem is coming up here so that you may hear from him briefly, I would like you to know that David Menachem isn't his name. For obvious reasons, reasons which will be more obvious after he has spoken, that is an alias, but I think what he has to say, to those of us who heard him the other night on the closed circuit television, should move all of us to do much more, if we are physically capable of doing it. Mr. Menachem. (Applause)

MR. MENACHEM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

I would like to tell you briefly what happened to me, what is happening actually to all the Jews in Egypt, and I suppose -- I feel very confident about it -- that



everybody here and all American Jewry are writing the sixth chapter of the Book of Moses. It is the Second Exodus and all of you here represent the leaders of all the Jewish communities in America who will help the Jews to get out of Egypt and to reach Israel.

In Egypt we have been undergoing in recent days a life of terror and cold pogrom. Excuse me for shaking. I have been so badly treated that whenever I speak to Jews -- and this is the first time -- I feel very proud of saying that I am a Jew. This is the first time I feel proud and I speak in the open. Nobody who overhears me and listens will call me names, as has happened to me.

The people in Egypt have been thrown into jail. I have seen them because I lived nearby one of them. They are treated like cattle. Some of them have been falsely accused and have been flogged and whipped, when they were not even where they were accused of being. Then the expulsion orders came, some verbally, some in written form. Usually they give the expulsion order to one member of the family, the wife or the husband, and he just has to go. It is a matter of life or death.

All of the Jewish people in Egypt are now in no



position to remain. They must leave, and thank God there is one home always open, which is Israel. I am not very much in agreement with what Mr. Dafni said about the Jewish ladies because yesterday I was in two communities, and believe me, what the ladies over there have done is at least ten times what the men were doing. (Applause)

One main problem remains to be achieved -- to get the Jews out of Egypt alive, where they will be in a position of feeling that American Jewry and Jews all over the world are compassionate about their problems. I know that everybody will do his job the right way. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. BERNSTEIN: Thank you, Mr. Menachem.

I don't think it is necessary for me to introduce our next speaker other than to say that he has just come from the scene of action -- Mr. Herbert Friedman. (Applause)

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Henry, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to take my cue from what Reuven said; namely, that when there is an authentic emergency which faces people, there is no need to underscore it. It is immediately and quickly obvious in all of its total implications, and one need not even draw from it any large or important historic



conclusions. The rhetoric therefore can be extra this evening and I should like simply to try to give you the information very coldly and very factually, which is the basic ammunition in this campaign.

The fact that there are huge trans migrations of populations, the fact that ancient communities are being wiped out, the fact that the remnants of scores left from Hitler's time are now being liquidated -- all of these are the embellishments upon the fact which each of us can draw in his own vocabulary and with his own imagery. The facts themselves, however, are crucially important to be understood, to be told in unison, and to be spread as widely as they can be so that an impact is made which is the same impact everywhere. That will have its own dynamics and its own momentum, because it is quite, quite shocking and shattering.

As far as the Egyptian situation is concerned, here is the statistical outline of the problem. There are two estimates as to the numbers of Jews in Egypt. On the low side it runs about 45,000 and on the high side, about 60,000. The breakdown of this group is in three categories. There are approximately 20,000 Jews who are passport-holders;



French, British, Italian, Greek, a few Spanish, some others. Secondly, there is the category of Egyptian citizens which seems to be about 10,000 persons; and thirdly there is the category of stateless which seems to be somewhere between 20,000 and 30,000, and it is in this category of stateless where there is the broad variation which gives you either the low figure totally or the high figure.

The fact that an Egyptian Jew is stateless doesn't mean necessarily that he came from somewhere else. He might very well have been born in Egypt as might his father and grandfather before him, but they are still stateless, because they did not opt for any one of the European nationalities nor did they choose to become Egyptians. In other words, citizenship is not an automatic right in Egypt. One elects it and a very large number of Jews, between 20,000 and 30,000, did not elect it. This gave them a certain flexibility in the years gone by. This put them in the very unenviable position today of being the most vulnerable.

However, that vulnerability has been compensated for in terms of the generosity of many European governments. Italy, Belgium, Holland have all officially announced that



they will accept even stateless Jews who carry no passports and who do not even have in many cases a laissez passer. Italy, for instance, takes all stateless Jews, gives them an Italian transit visa for eight days, even though they have neither a passport nor an end visa of a country to which they are going. The eight days itself is an arbitrary thing. There is no Italian official who intends to enforce it. The eight can become eighteen or eighty.

These three categories of Jews in Egypt have all in varying degrees been attacked by various proclamations of the government to which Mr. Menachem referred. The figure of those actually interned seems to vary depending upon the source from which you get the story. It goes from a low of five hundred people to a possible high of 3,000 people. My own judgment indicates that that high is much too high. I think it is probably hitting close to the facts to say that a thousand people were interned, which is a polite word for imprisoned, in any one of the civil prisons which the Egyptian government has utilized for the terrorization of the Jewish public. These thousand individuals obviously embrace a much larger number of people when you calculate the wives and children of the men so



affected.

Of these thousand people who have been imprisoned they are not yet all out. There are many still in. The International Red Cross is attempting to get them all out and the procedure which is used is to guarantee to the Egyptian government the fact that these people, obviously undesirable because they have been imprisoned, will be taken from the country, and by giving that promise the Red Cross manages to get them out of the jails.

In my judgment we are confronted with a total evacuation of the Jewish population of Egypt within a very short time. I would hazard a guess that this will occur within three or four months. Already out of this population of 45,000 or 60,000, more than 8,000 human beings have been expelled and are either on the Continent of Europe or already in Israel. The figure mounts daily because every ship and every plane which leaves Egypt carries Jews on it. Many of them book their own passage on commercial vessels, the Ionia, the Arculaes, the Yugoslavia, the Nephretiti -- there are eight or ten ships which are plying the waters of the Mediterranean, and on every vessel there are a hundred or two hundred or four



hundred Jews who have booked their own passage and made their way out.

On every aircraft which leaves Cairo -- and there are approximately ten a day -- on all of the international carriers there are anywhere from ten to twelve to fifteen to twenty Jews. They land in every capital in Europe. You can find them in Athens, in Istambul, in Stockholm, in Vienna, in Brussels, in Amsterdam. Wherever the plane lands the Jews disembark. Wherever the ship lands, in Brindisi, in Venice, in Genoa, in Marseilles, in Naples, the Jews land. There is, therefore, no one central collecting point. There is no one place in which all the names are written into a book. All that we have is a record of the vessels, the ports at which they landed, the number of Jews upon them, and an estimate of the planes.

All of this, very carefully and conservatively tabulated, has gotten us to this 8,000 and more figure currently expelled from Egypt. Another ship is coming, leaving Alexandria on the 20th of this month, due in Naples possibly on the 24th or 25th which again will carry a large complement of a thousand Jews. We hope that this passenger list will finally embrace all of the Jews who are still



imprisoned. We hope that finally all of them will come out on this vessel.

The reason that I said that the total evacuation will occur by the next three or four months is that the 31st of March is the date on which the permis de sejour, the residence permission, must be renewed. This is a formality which must be endured with the police once a year except for those Jews, of whom Menachem is luckily one, who have a ten year permis and who must not therefore renew it every year necessarily, but the number who have the ten year permit is very small. Most have to reapply each year. The 31st of March is the deadline. Everyone predicts a very large flood of evacuation the end of March and spilling over into April and May.

There is no point in my trying to describe to you in human terms what these people look like and what they have been through. In a general way I can simply say that most of them are in a state of shock based upon the psychological inability to realize that this could have happened to them, and you see all sorts of small signs and symptoms of the fact that people are not outraged at the large thing, but people are outraged at the small thing



which has happened to them, -- the man who had his car taken away or the doctor who couldn't take out his stethoscope or the man who was insulted because the police officer who served the expulsion notice on him offered him five pounds for the refrigerator. If you add up the stories that they all tell you, the things that gush out in the first torrent are the small things.

These are the little indignities which have been visited upon people and it is the thing that they tell first, and this is the symptom of the fact that no one understands really the whole tremendous political racial fact which has occurred. Each one sees his own personal family tragedy, which I suppose is perfectly normal and as it should be, but when you take together the composite of scores of such small stories, you begin to see the whole brutal picture.

The economic regulations have been reported in a very confused way. After much interviewing and much patient questioning of all the officials, Red Cross officials and Jewish Agency people and all others who interviewed these people, together with all the interviews we made, this is my conception of what the economic attack



looked like, and I think you must know these details, although frankly in my judgment I find that they are cumbersome to try to relate to a lay audience. As professionals you must be aware of them. I am not sure that it would pay to try to give this kind of a recital to an audience in a fundraising situation but at least you should know them.

There are apparently two kinds of businesses in Egypt and they are easily catalogued as big and small. Big businesses apparently are really big -- large banks, large insurance companies, large export-import firms, large syndicates dealing with raw materials, employing many people. All big businesses have been confiscated, and all Jewish employees of big businesses which were confiscated, all employees were dismissed.

Small businessmen often having what amounts simply to what we call a hole in the wall shop with a very minute inventory on the shelves, small businessmen are paradoxically still managing to hold on. Small businesses have not been sequestered. I am not sure that that will remain a static situation. I think the confiscation will ultimately embrace everyone.



Employees in the government have not been fired. It is a very devilish process. They have been put, as the French say, en vacance. They have been put on holiday. They have been suspended -- without pay -- but no one can say they have been fired. This is a very diabolical thing because it takes away the ammunition from a broadside attack on Nasser. He doesn't fire anybody. He has a certain surplus labor group, they are redundant, they have to be suspended for a while. He hasn't done anything wrong to hurt them. You don't expect him to pay anybody while they are not working.

In a very few cases, in government bureaus where these Jewish technicians were vital and indispensable and their suspension would have resulted in paralysis of the operation, they have permitted them to remain on the job with pay, but alongside each one of them is an Egyptian by whom he is being replaced and whom they must train as their own replacement, knowing that when they have done the job well in one or two or three months, that they also then will go on holiday, so that if you sum it up, all big businesses have been taken, all employees are without work with minor exceptions, no Jew can obtain an export or



an import license, so that all Jews who are in that business are automatically without income now, and all bank accounts have been frozen.

There are two exceptions to this. There are three kinds of Jews according to these economic attacks. There are the Jews who have been interned. Let's say it is a thousand. There is a second group of Jews which has been placed on a blacklist, the number of which consisted at the time that I finally got the story of eight hundred, but it is constantly added to because you get on the blacklist simply by the act of denunciation, someone denounces you, or someone reports that they remembered that you once received a letter from Israel, or sent a letter, or someone remembers that you once played soccer in the Jewish Maccabee Athletic Club or something happens which is considered an act treasonable to Egypt and you are placed on the blacklist.

So that there are the group who have been interned, there is the group on the blacklist, and these people are not allowed to have any of the money which is theirs made available to them from the banks, with the exception, as I said, that it seems to be by trial and



error, that if you cash up to 75 pounds a month of a check in your own checking account, no one will do anything to you. It seems to be a sort of a whimsical and arbitrary dividing line. The bank will cash your check for 75 pounds but if you try to cash it for 100, you get nothing.

Those Jews who are still in the so-called category of free Jews, their businesses haven't been confiscated, they haven't been put in jail, they are not on the blacklist-- therefore theoretically they are clean and kosher and there is nothing wrong with them -- those Jews find that by trial and error also they are able to cash checks up to 200 pounds a month. 175 seems to be safe. 200 brings a query from the bank clerk and the next day the man finds that he is on the blacklist, so he has endangered himself.

These are rules of thumb. For instance, people are selling furniture and personal possessions in order to get money for food. We have talked very glibly about the going to the bank for 200 pounds a month. There are in Egypt very many Jews who have no bank accounts at all to whom the blocking of the bank accounts doesn't mean anything. What do the poor Jews do who are out of a job? Well, they are quite simply selling clothing, selling



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furniture, selling pieces of jewelry, but it all must be on a small scale. If you try to sell a housefull of furniture you go on the blacklist. If you try to sell one table down on the street you get a couple of pounds for it and you eat for that day. It is a very interesting way in which there is an impoverization on the border of starvation which is permissible. Large transactions are forbidden.

This is a rough breakdown of the economic reign of terror designed to break the back of the population in terms of physical strength and resistance to hunger and disease. At the same time the expulsions go on, accumulating momentum, and they will reach the conclusion which I am convinced is an accurate one, so that perhaps by the summer we will be faced with 40,000 or 50,000 Jews either wandering on the Continent or pushing into Israel under the most ill-prepared housing situation which I have seen in many a year, and I will come to that at the end.

Let me just say that the Italian government has been wonderful. They have put up a big emigrant center in Naples at our disposal. They charge us five hundred lire a day for room and board. That is 75 cents and they feed



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the people three meals a day, and the Minister of Labor whose emigrant center this is, because it is used to process Italians who are leaving Italy on labor contracts to Venezuela and other countries, the Minister of Labor himself said, "We are sorry that in charging you these five hundred lire a day for three meals and the bed, we cannot give your people wine for lunch." We excused him from the duty of providing wine for lunch and said that they would not miss it.

The Hungarian situation you all know very well and I shan't take three minutes to fill you in on the details. There are approximately 110,000 to 115,000 Jews who were living in Hungary. Of these, 17,000 have come out already. This means that the Hungarian population is already fifteen percent evacuated.

To show you what this means in total terms: there are nine million people in Hungary of whom 165,000 have left, which is approximately two per cent of the Hungarian population in general. Fifteen percent of the Jewish population has left, and this is a very, very important sign. The Jews feel themselves much less secure even than the rest of the population, which apparently feels



some insecurity for many, many of its choice youngsters are running, but if the Hungarian population in general feels insecure, the Jewish population feels X times more insecure as is reflected by these figures.

Of the 17,000 who have come over into Austria by now, approximately 4,500 have gone out in resettlement to other countries. The figures are roughly as follows: 2,100 to the United States, 1,100 to Israel, approximately 850 Jews to Canada, about 350 to Australia, and I think there should get you to close to 4,500. There are, therefore, something over 12,000 Jews clogged up in Austria, mostly Vienna, a couple of thousand are out of Vienna, Kreutzenholm, Nansenholm, Salzburg, Linz, Steyrer and Bagastein, and one or two other places, but the great bulk are in Vienna. 9,500 of them in Vienna are quartered in 150 tiny little hotels around the city.

You ask, why hotels? There is no camp in Vienna, outside of Traiskirchen, which is a big reception camp, and Eisenstadt and one or two others. There are no large DP camps as we used to know them, and the only way to house these people is in fifth and sixth and seventh-rate hotels, paying as few pennies a day as you can pay, but the average



is running about sixty schillings per day per person, which is approximately \$2.40, and we are maintaining more than 12,000 people at that rate. The cost is running close to \$30,000 a day -- a day. This is a million dollars a month, just for that group of Hungarians.

There will be, we hope, some rebate from the Austrian government. No one knows exactly how much that will be. They say they want to participate in this financially. I can assure you it won't be very much. One estimate is that at the very highest it might be twenty schillings a day which would be eighty cents. Therefore it will only cost us \$1.60 per day per person and it will only be therefore \$20,000 a day instead of \$30,000 a day. It would be a big relief.

I think one fact is perfectly clear about this Jewish population in Austria. It does not want resettlement in any other Western European country and that is the answer to the question: why have 17,000 come in and only 4,500 gone out. Again, that isn't the ratio of the total number. Of the total number of 160,000 who have come in, 90,000 have gone out. There are only 70,000 refugees in Austria at the moment. Now, if 160,000 in and 90,000 out



is the general picture, but 17,000 in and only 4,500 out is the Jewish picture, you get the second fact here.

Not only are more Jews coming in than others in ratio to the Jewish population, but fewer Jews are going out than others in ratio to the general population, and the reason that fewer of them are going out is because they don't want resettlement in Western Europe which other Hungarian refugees are willing to accept. They don't want Western Germany, they don't want Switzerland, they don't want France, they don't want England, they don't want any place. They want overseas, and overseas to them means Canada, Australia, Israel, the United States -- four countries. That's all they talk about.

The reasons again I think are complicated and psychological. They say that they want to get far away from war. This, by the way, is a footnote, the reason that they are not hot about Israel. Israel to them means getting back into the frying pan again -- more war. They have just had the sound of tanks cracking into their buildings in Budapest where, by the way, 30,000 dwelling units, not talking about public buildings, 30,000 dwelling units in Budapest have been destroyed, and so they say, "We don't



want any more war, we don't want to go to Israel."

When I say, "They say," of the 4,500 out, 1,100 have gone to Israel. It is 25 percent but they are not going in a rush the way the Egyptians are, eagerly and gladly, and they are not going in a rush, eagerly and gladly the way the Poles are, and I will come to the Polish story right now. The last sentence I want to say about the Hungarians is this, quite solemnly: before very many more weeks have gone by we will see once again the reestablishment in Austria of Jewish DP camps. They are not going out. They can't stay in this fifth-rate hotel situation indefinitely in the capital of Vienna.

There are many reasons why they can't stay, and in my judgment camps are going to be re-opened, and specifically Jewish camps because again I don't want to get into the business, but the number of incidents which have already occurred in the mixed camps provides quite clearly sufficient evidence to indicate that it is just not wise or safe or healthy to try to keep Jews together with other Hungarians. It may be that there will be separate Jewish camps or it may be that there will be large blocs of Jews, more than an isolated few -- enough to give them a sense of



solidarity. There will be large blocs of Jews in mixed camps. It will go one way or the other.

The Polish situation is one in which it is quite clear that you have to know all the facts that are to be told. It is equally quite clear that you have to use your discretion in the manner in which you disseminate these facts. Reuven says quite correctly that that goes for everything that is said here, both what he said and what I say in total. The Polish thing is particularly delicate and I entered the injunction at this point simply because of the overriding political possibility that the movement from Poland is actually in possible danger of being cut off if there are committed political indiscretions, and the worst political indiscretion is the publicizing in the general press -- and I want you all to think very carefully of Handler's article a few days ago.

If you read it carefully you will notice that Handler described from Warsaw, under a Warsaw dateline, the anti-Semitism that he witnessed in Poland, and then he stated one sentence in which he said simply: many Jews are emigrating." That is all he said. He didn't say how many or how or to where. He went pretty far in saying that



one sentence, but he certainly didn't tip the whole hand, and therefore don't let anybody have the feeling that because they saw an article by Handler in the paper, well, hell, the story is now out and so we can be wide open with it. We can't be wide open with it.

Let's know the facts as they are and here is what they are very simply: any Jew who wants to get an exit visa from Poland gets it -- just as simple as that. It is a pleasure to listen to the stories these people tell. The Israel Legation then gives an Israeli visa and passport. It takes him about four or five weeks to get each of the two documents. Let's say that at the end of three months he has both sets of papers. He goes home and waits for a telegram which tells him to report at the railroad station in Warsaw for a shipment out, and from that moment on he is our responsibility.

Two trains a day go out of the central station in Warsaw -- two cars, I should say, on the end of a train that goes every day from Warsaw to Vienna, two carloads of Jews, roughly 75 people in each car, 150 people a day, a thousand people a week. That is a tremendous outflow, and he is transshipped after a few hours in the railroad station



in Vienna down to Genoa, and in Genoa he is at a point at which he could be dispersed to various seaports where ships pick him up.

Now, there aren't any more of the details of the story than that that you have to know and those details shouldn't be spelled out except under the most cautious circumstances. The fact of the matter is that this is a normal demographic distribution of a population -- men, children, wives, healthy, with baggage, several hundred pounds of it for each family, clothing, bedding, eating utensils -- they are not empty-handed, and the reason for it also is very simple. It is all sort of in an epigram that one man said. "I would rather have a broken bed in Israel than a broken head in Warsaw." And this is too good for anybody to have made up. Moe Leavitt and I sat with this fellow in a little, dinky, flea-bitten hotel in Naples and heard him say it just that way.

Anti-Semitism is rife, wide open; top Communists are asking for exit. A Jewish general in the Polish army, in a general's uniform, came and asked to go out. A lady, a judge, one of the eight members of the Supreme Court in Poland, a Jew, a member of the Communist Party, asked to



come out. The movement is hitting the entire population from the top to the bottom.

<sup>A</sup>gain, figures -- 45,000 on the low side, 70,000 on the high side. Total evacuation. I am not talking at all nor shall I about the repatriatees who are coming back to Poland from amongst the Russian Jews. Let's not get into that. That is a new source of candidates.

The North African side of the story is a very tragic one, in a sense. There is a terrible shortage of shipping in the Mediterranean. You are carrying so many Egyptian Jews and so many Polish Jews. You can't get vessels. There are in the camp in Marseilles about 3,400 North African Jews who are waiting there, and they come along and they take a few hundred away, and then immediately a few hundred more plunge in because the rate of exodus from North Africa is about seven hundred a month from Morocco and four hundred from Tunis and two hundred from Algeria, and it is 1,200 to 1,300 Jews a month coming off of North Africa, coming into Marseilles and wanting to be transshipped, and the vessels don't stop at Marseilles to pick a thousand any more at a time. You take two hundred or four hundred or three hundred or five hundred off, and



you've still got three thousand people in the camp.

And you get the stories that come back from the men in the Agency who say that the Moroccans are grumbling and saying last year they were our major concern. "What's the matter? Are you forgetting us this year? You've got other Jews? Different Jews?" And they are right. So that it is the most awful problem to make up a shipload of Jews. You've got too much merchandise and you have to allocate how many you will pick up from Marseilles and how many Poles you will pick up from Genoa and how many Egyptians you will pick up from Naples and fill up the boat.

I just want you to know very simply that in the first seven days of January 1957, 2,300 Jews entered Israel, 2,300 in the first week. Why, it's fantastic! It hasn't happened in so many years, that there is no way of grappling with this whole thing. We are waiting for one break, and you had better arrange this, Reuven. We are looking for places. The Israeli officials came out and met us in Paris and started to figure out how to handle this.

We asked about the camp in Sharalia (?) which most of you or many of you have seen, empty things flapping



in the breezes there. Some of those canvas and tin huts are six and seven years old. They are no damned good. But next to Sharalia there is another one called Atlith and when I had last seen it, it looked good. "How about Atlith? It has 5,000 capacity," I said. And Tana (?), the man from the Agency said, "That's right, it has 5,000 capacity. 5,000 Egyptian prisoners are in it."

A VOICE: No longer.

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Where are they?

SAME VOICE: They will be out in a week.

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Good, we'll get the place in a week.

Now, this is not an attempt to give you any sort of emotional recital of this at all. You are all very hardbitten people, but these facts and figures are themselves so enormous in their weight as they pile up and pile up that they make a story which is just incredible. If 2,300 Jews have come into Israel in the first week in January, and we are expecting this kind of a flood of Egyptians and we are expecting a steady, solid 4,000 a month from Poland -- and Reuven is quite correct. I think that 100,000 people this year is going to turn out to be on the



low side. It might be foolish in the second week in January to try to predict what is going to be by the end of December, but all facts being what they are and the political set of circumstances being what it is, unless you get some internal convulsion in Poland, one of the after-effects of which will be the cessation of this open door -- and that might happen -- there is already a very complicated whispering campaign starting against Gomulka.

It started, some people think, by people in Moscow accusing Gomulka of being unpatriotic to the best interests of Poland by letting all these Jews out, and they may use the fact that he is letting them out as a stick with which to whip him and have his head, because Russia would like very much to have his head, and they may have his head by using the Jews to break it. The incidental fact that that would then close the door to the Jews wouldn't bother anybody else except us.

Barring something like that or some other political combination, this door stays open, and if this door stays open my own personal judgment is that when you add up the Egyptians and the Poles and the Hungarians and the North Africans, you are over 100,000 people, and if you are over



100,000 people then it is perfectly correct and campaign rhetoric to say that your hundred million dollars is inadequate.

Let's raise it. Let's get the hundred million dollars. We gave this thing -- we; you -- gave it one hell of a whirl last year when in the \$25,000,000 campaign you helped get together \$20,000,000 almost. That was hard sledding. I don't know what kind of a campaign it is going to take to get this hundred million dollars but I just know this: that the consequences of not having the money are so awful that I don't want to contemplate the alternatives. Not to provide the money is simply going to create a set of circumstances in which there will be scandal and riot and unnecessary death and great political confusion for world Jewry, and awful consequences for the State of Israel, to say nothing of a default on our duty and obligation, which is a matter of honor and pride.

The hardest possible kind of campaign is going to be required to raise this money. You don't have to yell "emergency." It is an emergency. You've got to be a thousand times more skillful than I, because I have taken the better part of an hour to tell this story and you haven't



got an hour when you are talking in front of a fundraising crowd. We've got to translate somehow the impact of a people which suddenly has been torn up into a new series of movements and migrations, quite unanticipated. You've got to get across the fact that it is not something that can be delayed until next year.

In campaigning, people say, "Well, if we don't build the houses this year, we will keep them in tents and we will build the houses next year." This isn't even a question of building houses in Israel. We are going to fall so far short on that, it isn't even funny. 3,000 houses in Israel are under construction now. On the drawing boards there are 12,000 more -- on the drawing boards. They haven't even surveyed yet, let alone lay in water or anything else. There are 3,000 houses under construction, there are 12,000 houses being planned for, there are 1,800 new huts that are going up, there are 1,500 rooms that are being renovated in the old city of Jaffa, and all kinds of upsets in the plans because what you originally planned for North Africans won't work for Poles, and the places you have selected are no good and you've got to change the cities where you are going to put these new houses which



you haven't even surveyed on the ground yet.

I am not talking about keeping pace in Israel with the building program. I am talking simply about the sheer, primitive fact that we can't wait with Jews who want to come out of Egypt and we can't wait with Jews who want to come out of Poland. We can't tell them, "Come in November, we haven't got money in January."

That's the whole story and everybody's got to work like crazy, and I think we will have a great campaign. I think it won't be an accident. I think it will be because everybody will work like crazy and I think it will be because we will manage somehow under the blankets and wraps and inhibitions of all of these strictures, things we can't tell, somehow we will find a way of telling them and somehow we will find a way of getting the story across, and when we do, we will find a way of getting Jews to respond, and maybe we will even be able to do what Reuven suggests, get a more efficient operation here, change the way we operate and have small meetings instead of big ones, or all kinds of suggestions about more efficient manners of doing business. We'll try anything.

Look, we tried a crazy thing with that telecast



the night before last. That was just a wild shot. The best way to tell if anything is any good or not is to know if anyone else is going to copy it. The Bond Organization is going to have a telecast and they are planning it now, and that indicates to me that it probably was a good thing.

Good luck, everybody, and we might not have a chance to meet again during the coming year. Let's all just pledge ourselves to do the very best job we know how, and I am sure we will. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. BERNSTEIN: I hope that you will forgive me if I step out of the character of chairman of this meeting. It is something that most of us who have to plan meetings dislike to do and like to see done, but I do believe that there are certain things that you ought to know that tie in very closely with what you have been told.

We had a very successful campaign last year. I think it is a great tribute to everybody in this room, volunteer and professional alike, that we in New York will have raised surely as much as we did in 1955 for our regular campaign and somewhat over \$6,300,000 for the Survival Fund, and yet in the same breath I must tell you that so far as we professionals are concerned, it was a failure, and it



was a failure because when you examine what the figures show, all too many people who made what I am sure they felt were very adequate gifts to the campaign, failed to participate in the Survival Fund and I think all of you who speak in addition to all the other things that many of you do, can do something about it.

We trace our failure to one very simple fact compounded by another simple fact, and in some degree both of them have been referred to by both Reuven and Herb. One is that it is not possible to get an adequate gift from anybody unless they understand what it is we are trying to raise the money for, and the kind of money that is needed, and that means people must be informed.

The second and perhaps the most tragic of all is that there is such a lack of manpower that we are relegated again and again to the telephone calls and letters and all the devices that represent an escape from what must be done. I don't think anybody who is the least bit interested in saving anybody else's life thinks in terms of how he can avoid doing a job, and the reason I say we failed is because somehow or other in our organization we haven't found the way to do both of these things, to inform



people and to see to it that they are spoken to in person or, at the very least, reached at a fund-raising meeting, and so one of the things we want to ask of all of you is that at every opportunity, at every meeting you make a point of the fact that it isn't good enough to give money; that if people do not give time, then much that we are trying to accomplish won't take place, and I think that it is perfectly proper to say, as we did in 1946, that this represents a life or a death campaign.

Now I would like to give you some encouragement. I think it is the kind of encouragement all of us need and I think all of us must project whenever we speak. This hundred million dollars that has been adopted as the goal, if you will, to rescue a hundred thousand people -- I must agree with Reuven -- no longer is an accurate figure, no longer begins to represent the kind of problem we've got, and yet when in December at our national meeting the Resolutions Committee met to make a determination as to what ought to be done, some thirty-odd men sat around a table and argued about the old question of what is the practical thing to do. Should it be \$75,000,000, is it possible to raise \$75,000,000? Or should we do what the



facts called for, since at that time we knew that at least 100,000 would have to be rescued. Should we have the courage to ask for \$100,000,000?

Someone had the courage to do what hasn't been done at any such meeting in many, many years, and said that the only way in which we have a right to stand up before this assembly and report what we think should be done is if we are prepared to do it with our own money, and therefore he asked that everybody in the room commit himself for 1957 so that when they made a recommendation it wouldn't be a recommendation for what someone else should do, but it would be a recommendation that they back. They went around the room. Everybody in that room stood up and announced his gift. I've got a long list of gifts that were made that day, gifts that were made thereafter, and I think it is magnificent and points to the fact that we can succeed, that at this point there are nine gifts ranging between a quarter of a million and a half million dollars. There are gifts of four, five, ten and more times what people gave to the Survival Fund last year, and if anyone says to you, "We can't raise \$100,000,000," this is at least a partial answer.



For those of us who remember our 1948 campaign, only on the level of "it is possible to do," let me remind you that we in New York achieved the figure of \$54,000,000 and that is certainly possible for us in New York, and if it is possible in New York by the very fact that we do it in New York, we are going to help make it possible around the country.

I think it is your time to speak. I am sure many of you have questions. Some of you may have statements to make and if they are pertinent and brief and helpful, I am sure everybody will want to stay and hear them. We have with us Mr. Steinberg of the Jewish Welfare Board, Mr. Soskis of NYANA, Mr. Bernick of the ORT, Mr. Milton Kozen of the United HIAS, you have already heard from Mr. Dafni and Rabbi Friedman. There are others in this room, officers of the UJA campaign, people who have had experience in every facet of this work, in fact not only in experience in doing the work but even in being recipients of the help that UJA agencies have given.

Therefore I ask each of you, if you have a question, stand up, announce your name because we want to keep all of this on the record to use if it is helpful to all



of us. If anyone has a question, if you will ask I will try to recognize you and please announce your name.

MRS. SADIE HOFFSTEIN: If, in the light of what we have been told this evening, somebody should be so prosaic as to ask what is the difference between HIAS and NYANA, I would like to have this information.

MR. BERNSTEIN: Let me first correct one part of your statement. There is no HIAS. There is a United HIAS.

MRS. HOFFSTEIN: Actually my question is, how does it differ anyway?

MR. BERNSTEIN: And before that I think we might ask both representatives to give us their answer. Mr. Kozen.

MR. KOZEN: I think in giving my answer I may possibly have to give Phil's. NYANA is the resettlement agency in New York City. United HIAS Service is the agency which helps find a home and migrate people from countries of emigration to countries of reception. We operate with 330 cooperating committees in the United States out of New York. In cities like Atlanta or Cleveland there are resettlement agencies that take over our clients after we



bring them in. NYANA as the New York arm of course takes the great portion of the people who come in.

MR. SOSKIS: I don't to follow up Rabbi Friedman's point about the Hungarian refugees alone, because you have seen it in the newspapers and television and so on. NYANA will receive about sixty percent of all the Hungarian Jewish refugees who have come to the United States. The job of NYANA is to help find homes for the people, give them the money for the clothing they need, help secure jobs, help them furnish their homes, and maintain them until they are self-supporting.

This is a family group that is coming to New York City. It is made up of husbands, wives, children. The average family is a little bit over three people in each family. It is a group that we expect will move quickly towards self-support but no matter how quickly they move, they will need the help of the local agency here in Metropolitan New York which received the people that United HIAS Service refers to it, as well as those individuals, relatives and friends who cannot support the families, and helps to get them established.

For that, just to give you figures, in the first



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six weeks that the Hungarian refugee program has been operating in New York City we have had more refugees whom we have been asked to help than normally we would have in half a year, and at this moment the immigration issue is an explosive issue in the United States. The President is going to send a special message to Congress. No one knows as of this moment how many of the Hungarian refugees will be permitted to enter this country. No matter how many are permitted to enter, the Jewish people, you can be sure, fifty or sixty percent of them will settle right here in New York City.

MR. CARL BAER: I would like to ask a question of Herb. It stems out of the Jewish Newsletter that just came across my desk this morning, which indicates that the Jews of Egypt have, by and large, been vigorously anti-Zionist and that they are extremely angry with Israel for having precipitated this crisis and that their dispossession results from Israel's actions.

MR. MENACHEM: That is nothing but propaganda.

MR. BAER: I am concerned partly because the Christian community gets this news.

MR. BERNSTEIN: I think Mr. Menachem can give



the most direct answer. No one has heard it. I think he might very well repeat it.

MR. MENACHEM: This is just Nasser's propaganda and, as a matter of fact, 962 Jews who came to Naples, and of them 898 went straight to Israel. It will always be the same. Everybody wants to get there.

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Carl, I think we can go at great length into the analysis of Mr. Zuckerman's Newsletter. The facts of the matter are quite, quite coldly that Menachem is right. The Jews of Egypt have been pretty much cut off from any contact with Israel. There were originally about 80,000 Jews in Egypt. Some 30,000 have emigrated to Israel prior to this situation. If we take the population at the moment as being 50,000, cutting between the two estimates, 30,000 already have gone to Israel. I would not call this an anti-Zionist fact.

Secondly, the group that is coming out now knows quite well that the program of attack against them long pre-dates the October 29th invasion into Sinai. They know that they have been the targets or potential targets of Egyptian ill-will for two reasons. The germ of truth in what he says is that the fact that Israel didn't make life



any easier for Jews inside of Egypt, is so. I am not sure that it made it much harder for them.

This business here, of course, this thing that everybody has seen the photostats of -- but here it is -- this is the Egyptian abridged version of Mein Kampf in Arabic with the swastika on the cover and with the picture of Hitler on the frontispiece. This wasn't printed on the 30th of October. This thing was available for circulation among Egyptian army officers for many, many months. It was captured in Sinai in the fighting. This is on loan from the Israel Army and they've got to have it back.

So that I read Zuckerman's piece and I must say that trying to give him all the credit in the world for objective reporting, which I don't think he is entitled to, I still think that this is a propaganda statement, not a statement based on fact.

MR. DAFNI: I am not going to quote Zuckerman because the figures will tell. I have yet to see a Jew whom we have compelled at gunpoint to come to Israel. The figures will tell, but I want to warn you about something else and I am grateful that you brought this up.

I do not want to say anything against Jews but



I want to tell you of something and warn you that we are informed that next week three Egyptian Jews will be arriving in this country on a mission for the government of Egypt. We have their names already. They will be in this country to whitewash Nasser. I feel terribly sorry for them, terribly sorry.

MR. MENACHEM: They are momsters!

MR. DAFNI: I think we will have to handle this very, very carefully but I think that you ought to know it, and they will be going around to communities and they will be hitting the headlines, there is no doubt about it. The Egyptian government is bringing them over and sponsoring them. I can imagine under what conditions they are coming, under what pressure. I am unwilling to assume that they are -- you may say they are momsters, Mr. Menachem, but I don't think that they are coming of their own volition. We have seen things happening in other countries and other situations, but I wanted to bring you this news, that you should not be suddenly shocked and that you should not case any aspersions on the Jews of Egypt because of these three people. They have been coerced.

MRS. MOLLY WALDMAN (Bronx, N.Y.): In view of the



fact that there are so many strong racial ties of various groups in our city and throughout the country and because of this Hungarian situation especially that has created so much emotional tension, would it be possible to specifically earmark funds for Hungarian relief?

MR. BERNSTEIN: The answer to that can be given in one word, and the answer is no, because we cannot be in the position of treating the Hungarian Jews as the only object of our campaign. In one place, an Egyptian Jew in another, without creating chaos. The fact remains that the Rescue Fund, if it succeeds, will take care of all of them, and if people will think only in terms of the Hungarian Jew because they are Hungarian, that will spell failure for all.

MR. MORRIS SELDIN: I want to find out the reason why we dropped the term "survival" this year. I want to base my question on the following reasons: everyone speaks of what happened in 1948. That was the War of Liberation. It was Israel that called out all the hidden forces in the Jewish people that had had no outlet for thousands of years. That is why at that time we had literally to control collections at all kinds of Jewish affairs, and we were afraid



that we might not be able to control them.

Last year the word "survival" was a very lucky one, because it was a question of the survival of Israel which again revived the same old hopes, and the people understood that it was indirectly for ammunition -- it was to bring Jews in in order that the government should have the money for ammunition.

First of all, I think this ammunition problem still remains. I remember what Golda Meir said at our national conference. "We still haven't gotten one bomber and I think there is still the news of arming the countries around Israel."

The second thing -- this whole business of rescue which is the important thing now, to save a hundred thousand Jews. It take too long to connect up this problem at the end with Israel and the problem that Israel has, that if we bring in 100,000 Jews without Israel being prepared, that may really affect the survival of Israel. I remember when I was in Israel two years ago and I still saw about 60,000 Jews rotting in those camps. It made a terrible impression on me. Why do we bring over Jews to live that kind of a life?



So I think this problem of survival should be connected up. This term of survival would be very necessary this year too and we should not leave it out, unless we are afraid to use the word too long.

MR. BERNSTEIN: The answer, Mr. Seldin, is that the full name of the rescue fund is Emergency Rescue Fund for Freedom and Survival, and I think we can leave it to the people who are here and who are experienced speakers to tie in all these aspects in their presentations.

MR. VOLKERNY (Israel): May I ask our distinguished Consul why it takes from three to six weeks to get refugees in Poland a visa or a passport to go to Israel? Isn't the Consulate authorized to use their own judgment to grant these passports?

MR. DAFNI: The answer is very simple. It has nothing to do with us. You misunderstood what Herb said. To get out of Poland there are two sets of documents needed which the Polish authorities have to issue. Once a person has these documents we take him out, and visas and so on are no problem.

MR. VOLKERNY: I understood Rabbi Friedman said that then it takes from three to six weeks to get an Israel



visa.

MR. DAFNI: The paper work is not the problem. The problem is space in the trains and other things, but as far as the documents which he was talking about are concerned, to get the two sets takes about three weeks. They get them from the Polish authorities, not from us, and I give you my unofficial promise that if a Jew should come out of Poland without a visa, we will get him to Israel.

MR. ELIAS GULDEN: I would like to ask a question. Rabbi Friedman toward the end of his speech said that we must see this thing through. It is a matter of honor to us. I fully agree with him, but it seems to me that it is a matter of more than just honor to us.

What we have seen, especially in the course of the last few months in the United Nations and in the action or lack of action of our own State Department is this: two standards of ethics and justice have been established; one as far as the Arabs and non-Jews are concerned, and one as far as Jews are concerned, including the Jews of the United States of America, because there is discrimination against us and that is not a secret, and our government has not done anything against the discrimination of Arabs



against Jews.

I do not want to deliver a long speech and this is my point. My point is that when we are asking for money for Israel, we are not asking money for them alone but through them for us, and for the generations of Jews to come everywhere, and this point should be borne in mind by us when we ask Jews for money.

MRS. ESTHER KESSELMAN (New Jersey): Reuven Dafni made a very good suggestion when he said perhaps it isn't the leadership. The people are willing but the leadership isn't measuring up to the potential. He also told us how everybody wants Ben Gurion now because we can't get big enough speakers.

It seems to me then in this room must be many workers in the campaign, that this must be implemented from the grass roots. The communities must be involved in the matter of which you spoke and I would like to see this start rolling, this parlor meeting business, this whole new procedure in campaigning, and it shouldn't just a speech. It must be something that we must sit down carefully and plan on a national level, on a regional level and on a local level, and we must do it at once if you mean to have



any kind of action in the campaign this year. This is one of the important things that should come out of this meeting.

MR. BERNSTEIN: Anybody else?

MR. LAWRENCE GOULD (New York City): I believe that in the course of his speech Mr. Dafni promised us a comment on the matter of collusion. I don't believe that promise was fulfilled.

MR. DAFNI: I said I would put my foot into my mouth, and I was hoping it wouldn't be noticed.

MR. BERNSTEIN: Before Mr. Dafni talks to you about collusion, let me remind you there is a collation and if you all wait, you will have that.

I would like to make one point. I want to do what seems normal at meetings and that is to lambaste the many because of the few. We who worry about how well a campaign meeting is run find on occasion that after a speaker has made a very impassioned plea and talked about sacrifice, he or she runs, and I think that it is quite obvious that the people in the room who have been spoken to at such meeting won't feel that there is any sincerity behind that kind of statement if speakers, having said their



piece, walk out of the room, and I know that there are occasions when it is very difficult.

It means sitting around on "shpilkas," waiting for all the cards to be called, worrying about something else that you've got to do, but if you are going to do a complete job, if you are going to make this a total campaign effort, then it means that you've got to stay through to the very end.

There is an added thing about this and that is, that when you stay through to the end people will talk to you, you will have an opportunity to do things on a personal level because people speak with you. It will not only be helpful at that time but it will be very helpful to us on future occasions. There are men and women in this room who have been much more than speakers to us in the sense that they have thereafter been able to go to leaders in various groups and persuade them to do things because of the personal relationships which came out of their staying through to the end of the meeting, so now having said this to everybody, I apologize to those who didn't deserve it.

MR. DAFNI: I want to be honest with you. I didn't speak about it because while I was talking and although



I had promised, I somehow felt that one shouldn't talk about it for a very simple reason: because it is no longer a problem. It really is not. The time has passed and no one asks any longer if there was collusion. It's gone.

But since I already burned my fingers, all right. I want to make one clear-cut statement and there are a number of people in this room who can vouch for that. I give you my word of honor on one thing -- in one matter there was no collusion; that the officers of the government of Israel abroad knew nothing about the whole thing. There was no collusion with the government and the officers here. This you can take from me.

I still remember the first hours of the 29th of October that in the afternoon I was interviewed and, mind you, tape-recorded by NBC, and I was asked about the whole matter. I had a wonderful, bright idea about what I thought was the perfect answer. I was asked, "How do you explain the advance of 75 miles of the Israeli forces within one or two hours?" To which I brightly answered that somewhere a comma must have been lost. "It is probably seven comma five miles and this is just retaliatory action."

The one lucky thing that resulted from it is that



the guy who interviewed me never called me again. That much confidence he had in me from then on. So collusion between the government of Israel and its officers abroad did not exist on any level.

I would say that the best proof that there was no military collusion whatsoever is the fact -- I believe that if there had been collusion the thing would have ended differently. I think that the military side would have ended differently and a joke which has been told in Israel is no joke; that after a certain number of days the British High Command turned to Ben Gurion and asked to lend them Moishe Dayan for a week, to which Ben Gurion answered that he was offended at the suggestion because if he would give them Moishe Dayan, two days would have been enough. (Laughter)

There is another thing. Your government has agreements with some 41 countries of the world, security agreements, friendship agreements and so on, in the course of which it exchanges certain information and certain ideas with these other governments. Nobody has as yet accused the United States of collusion with any one of these governments on any matter, and if there is today and in



the last few years has developed a very fine and closely knit friendship between France, for instance, and Israel, I think it is perfectly legitimate and perfectly all right, and more power to us and to them.

I would say with all the force at my command that on the military level there was at no time any collusion whatsoever, and if you read your papers back a little, and I would advise you to do so, you will see that the day after Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal the British were already talking about force, they were already sending ships, they were already accumulating forces at Cyprus. All right, they did it. So I would say this is, in short, the story.

However, I think it is not of any importance any longer today because not even within the United Nations has the word "collusion" been heard in the last few days and it is a dead issue. No one is interested in it any longer.

But since I am already on my feet, as we say, I would like to comment on something which I was expecting that some of you might have remarked, and I would like to refer to one sentence, and this is now really most serious --



on one statement made by Herb which to me is shocking -- not what you said but the content of it -- shocking and frightening to the utmost degree, and I am surprised that none of you has noticed it.

Herb spoke of the fact that we might have to establish DP camps. My friends, anything but that! In the first few years of the existence of the State of Israel we got the reputation all over the world as a state which was solving problems, the problems of homelessness and DP camps. In the last two or three years, I am afraid, I must admit we have slowly gotten the reputation of a country which creates problems. If we are now at this time to allow the establishment of DP camps in Europe again, meaning that Israel cannot solve even that problem, I think that from a moral point of view this will be the greatest blow we have received in our entire history.

I must tell you, Herb, that as far as I am concerned, and I am quite sure that on this point I am speaking on behalf of every man and woman in Israel -- anything but DP camps. and I don't care if they live in flophouses -- anything but permanent DP camps in the tenth year of the existence of the State of Israel. I don't care if the



ma'aborot didn't make a good impression. I don't care. I would rather have ma'aborot which make a bad impression than beautifully established DP camps in Austria or any other place. (Applause)

I must tell you that the thought itself is the most frightening thing and this has to be put across to every Jew in the United States, if you have to go from house to house if there is no other way. This must be prevented. How are we going to look into our own hearts and how is the world going to look at us if, in the tenth year of the existence of the State of Israel, this state whose moral justification for existence is that it solves Jewish homelessness, is looking in Vienna, of all places, in Austria, for DP camps again?

I must say this we cannot allow.

MR. MENACHEM: Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say a few words. If there is any doubt among the Jews as to anti-Semitism in Egypt, let them remember and ask for the pamphlet No. 28 issued by the Ministry of the Interior of Egypt, where it is printed in bold red type that property, women and children of the Jews are legal loot for the Moslems.



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MRS. GITTI ZAHN: Herb, I would like to ask if you can tell us anything good that we can say about the attitude of our United States government. We are not in the position of speakers from overseas, the Israelis or others, who, being guests in this country, are not permitted or should not say anything in criticism of our government policies, but as an American with the right of free speech which I take very seriously and frequently, I was wondering as a bona fide Democrat what you can say in a room with many diehard Republican Jews who think that there is a halo around John Foster Dulles and Mr. Eisenhower, and I was wondering what we can say to equate this delicate situation when it arises.

RABBI FRIEDMAN: I think the best way to raise money is to stay out of politics. The right of free speech is one which everyone has and should exercise on every possible opportunity and occasion, except when it will cost money. If you start criticizing Mr. Dulles in front of a very rich Republican, it costs us money.

I am sort of joking about this thing except for the fact that our feelings on political matters and our attitudes on how many of these problems could be much better



solved maybe without even having to spend so much money, if we would get a better political response from Washington -- these feelings run very deep within us, and sometimes we can't confine ourselves to the purely technical job of raising money because our feelings run away with us and it is legitimate that they should.

However, when you are a technician trying to do one specific technical job, stick to your last. That is my advice to myself all the time. This is not to say that I suppress my own conceptions of his peculiar inadequacies and his peculiar detrimental qualities but there are other opportunities to express those feelings where you are not getting into the kind of heated argument that can throw the fundraising out of the window if it goes on for ten or fifteen minutes, so that my answer to the question how can you find something to say -- don't say anything. If it's very hard to find something to say, that's good. It is bad to find something to say that is bad, and I am just interested in not having anything that will cost money, and I think that kind of political argument does.

Find another forum, another meeting with the same



guy and argue it out with him on a different battleground; not when you are asking for cash. (Applause)

MR. BERNSTEIN: Thanks, Herb. I do want to comment on this. If Gitti takes him out for the evening she'll have a lot of people to take out.

I think there is one thing we can say without getting into political discussions, and that is what has been said to me by prominent Republicans and Democrats who ought to know. I even mean the Republicans -- that the one way in which people who have a concern about this problem can get across to our government how they feel about it is the extent to which they support and work in UJA. What is done by UJA is no secret, and every dollar that is raised is a vote for all the things we believe in and does have an effect on our own government.

I think we ought to try to conclude this meeting very soon because it is getting late and therefore, those who have questions, I wish they would make them very brief and we will try to make the answers even briefer.

MR. LEO LANIN: I agree completely with what Herb Friedman said about staying out of politics. I think that you have a tremendous case, and I speak from personal



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experience of speaking to Republicans, when you connect what we do in the UJA in that respect as a strengthening for what actually America stands for and the American government, as we believe, wants to accomplish.

If you take that line, then you are not attacking Dulles as a Republican, but you clarify in the minds of the people the real issue, and if I may add to that the DP question -- years ago I felt that we had a tremendous case which unfortunately was not very well taken up by bringing out how the DP camps were actually endangering not so much or equally the life of the Jews in the DP camps, as the whole fabric of our peace efforts in Europe, how in short the continuation of the DP camps would in the end boomerang against the security and best future of the Jews in America.

On that point I think that using the DP camps is a potential danger in that respect, and painting a picture of what that would mean to American peace efforts in Europe, to the communities in Europe and, incidentally, to the GI's who are stationed in Germany. That in itself would give additional impetus to our "political aspects" of the UJA campaign.



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MR. BERNSTEIN: At this point I think we might conclude with a very brief statement from Mr. Kozen of the United HIAS because while I am sure all of you know a great deal about all the other agencies in the UJA, I do believe that there should be a few words from him about United HIAS.

My hand is being pulled by Reuven, and I always yield.

MR. DAFNI: I just want to make an announcement which ought to interest you and I would appreciate it if you would spread it as much as you can. On January 27th on NBC, between three and four in the afternoon there will be a program, a one hour program on Israel, a film program about Drew Pearson's visit to Israel. I can say without exaggerating -- and I ought to know -- from our point of view it is the best thing ever done on TV, the best and strongest and finest presentation ever done. It is of the utmost importance that as many people as possible should see it, and I assure you it will show up in your campaigning later in the people who will have seen this presentation. They will be easier to talk to.

MR. BERNSTEIN: We will send each of you a notice,



reminding you of this program.

MR. KOZEN: Actually I asked for this brief moment because as a new beneficiary agency of the Greater New York UJA we feel that we have added a strong string to the overall bow that you are pulling to get the maximum amount of money, and we are terribly concerned about seeing that Greater New York UJA raises every nickel that we have raised in the past from our own contributors and more.

We had thirty odd thousand contributors in the City of New York last year, producing close to \$600,000. I don't think we can take it for granted that those thirty odd thousand contributors were automatically going to give their money to UJA or even that many of them were UJA contributors. I think you have to know the fact that United HIAS and particularly HIAS in the past is an agency that is 73 years old. It is an agency that was started as a folk institution for Landsmannschaften, from the Jewish masses, and there is probably hardly a Jewish family in the City of New York that hasn't had some direct help -- through the father, mother, grandfather, uncles, sisters, somebody, that has a close tie or remembers that United



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HIAS or HIAS people, we will call it, no matter what meeting you go into, that this agency helped them indirectly.

We were practically on a standby basis in the Hungarian situation, but now we have 300 people in our shelter, 300 people in hotels nearby that we are feeding. It is a showpiece right in the City of New York. It is something that people see every day. There are telephone calls coming in constantly, queries constantly. Today alone I got five requests for speaking engagements by various groups. We want you to know about this.

If there is any information we can give you, if you come into the building we will be happy to give it to you because we are so concerned that the Greater New York campaign reach its maximum, goes over its particular goals, and we feel that this is something to bring to the community. You can do a good job with it.

MR. BERNSTEIN: Thank you. May I conclude by saying thanks again and please join us in the collation.

(The meeting adjourned at 10:40 p.m.)