



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.

Series H: United Jewish Appeal, 1945-1995.

Subseries 4: Administrative Files, 1945-1994.

Box
39

Folder
13

History of the United Jewish Appeal. Notes and drafts. 1983-1994.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the American Jewish Archives website.

General
UJA NATIONAL CHAIRMEN:

National Chairmen
 1939-40-41 - Rabbis A.H. Siler + Jonah B. Wise *
 1942-43 - William Rosenwald + above two *
 1944-45 " " + Rabbis James G. Heller +
 1946 Charles J. Rosenbloom + Wise + Rosenwald
 H. Morgenthau, Jr. 1947-50 *

Emm Warburg	1951-54	* very old
W. ROSENWALD	1955-57	very old
Morris W BERINSTEIN	1958-60	*
Philip M KLUTZNICK	DEC 1960 - 61	Jan. very old
J. MEYERHOFF	FEB 1961 - 64	*
Max M. FISHER	1964-67	†
Edward GINSBERG	1968-70	
Paul ZUCKERMAN	1972-74	*
SEN. FRANK LAUTENBERG	1975-77	
LEONARD STRELITZ	1978-81	
IRWIN S. FIELD	1979-80	
HERSCHEL W. BLUMBERG	1980-81	
ROBERT E. LOUP	1982-84	
ALEX GRASS	1984-85	check these dates
MARTIN HARTY STEIN	1986-87	dates
MORTON KORNREICH	1988-89	
MARVIN LENDER	1990-91	
JOEL TAUBER	1992-93	
RICHARD PENALSTONE	1994 -	

Additional officers

Les Weston Irwin Levy
 Rudy Boschwitz Larry Silverstein
 Dick Goldman Albert Paton
 Steve Peck Sen. Herb Kohl
 Ray Zimmerman Mort Mandel
 Ed Sanders
 Jerry Dick
 * deceased

1991

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned, National Chairman of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation"), hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of the Corporation to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1991 Annual Meeting of the Corporation until the 1992 Annual Meeting of the Corporation:

Bennett L. Aaron
Alan Ades
Alan R. Crawford
David Hermelin
Robert S. Reitman
Joel D. Tauber
Leslie H. Wexner

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this Certification this 16th day of May, 1991.



National Chairman

ACTION BY THE MEMBERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.,
IN LIEU OF ANNUAL MEETING

We, the undersigned, being the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., ("Corporation"), do hereby certify pursuant to Section 614 of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law and Section 2.2-8 of the By-Laws of the Corporation, that the following action in lieu of annual meeting of the Members of the Corporation was taken without a meeting, to wit: The following were elected by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. ("JDC"), and by the United Israel Appeal, Inc., ("UIA"), as the Trustees of the Corporation provided in the By-Laws of the Corporation to be elected by each of them, to serve as members of the Board of Trustees until the next annual meeting of the Members:

JDC

UIA

1. Helene Berger
2. Arthur Brody
3. Patricia Gantz
4. Sylvia Hassenfeld
5. Sanford L. Hollander
6. Harvey M. Krueger
7. Eugene Ribakoff
8. Donald M. Robinson
9. Herbert H. Schiff
10. Peggy Tishman
11. Esther Treitel
12. Amb. Milton A. Wolf

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., have executed this instrument by their respective duly authorized officers on this _____ day of _____, 1991.

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION
COMMITTEE, INC.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC

By: Michael Schmitt
Executive Vice President

Executive Vice Chairman

ACTION BY THE MEMBERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.,
IN LIEU OF ANNUAL MEETING

We, the undersigned, being the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., ("Corporation"), do hereby certify pursuant to Section 614 of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law and Section 2.2-8 of the By-Laws of the Corporation, that the following action in lieu of annual meeting of the Members of the Corporation was taken without a meeting, to wit: The following were elected by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. ("JDC"), and by the United Israel Appeal, Inc., ("UIA"), as the Trustees of the Corporation provided in the By-Laws of the Corporation to be elected by each of them, to serve as members of the Board of Trustees until the next annual meeting of the Members:

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
UIA

Paul S. Berger
Rabbi Louis Bernstein
Edwin N. Brennglass
Edgar L. Cadden
Edgar R. Goldenberg
H. Irwin Levy
Norman H. Lipoff
Neil J. Norry
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Jane Sherman
Alan L. Shulman
Kalman Sultanik

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., have executed this instrument by their respective duly authorized officers on this 6 day of May, 1991.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC.


Executive Vice Chairman

RECEIVED
MAY 13 1991
RECEIVED

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned, Executive Vice President of the Council of Jewish Federations, Inc., hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation"), to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1991 Annual Meeting of the Corporation to the 1992 Annual Meeting of the Corporation:

Melvin G. Alperin
David G. Sacks
Charles H. Goodman
Mimi Schneirov
Donald Seiler
S. Perry Brickman
Richard L. Wexler

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this Certification this 8
day of August, 1991.



Executive Vice President

1992

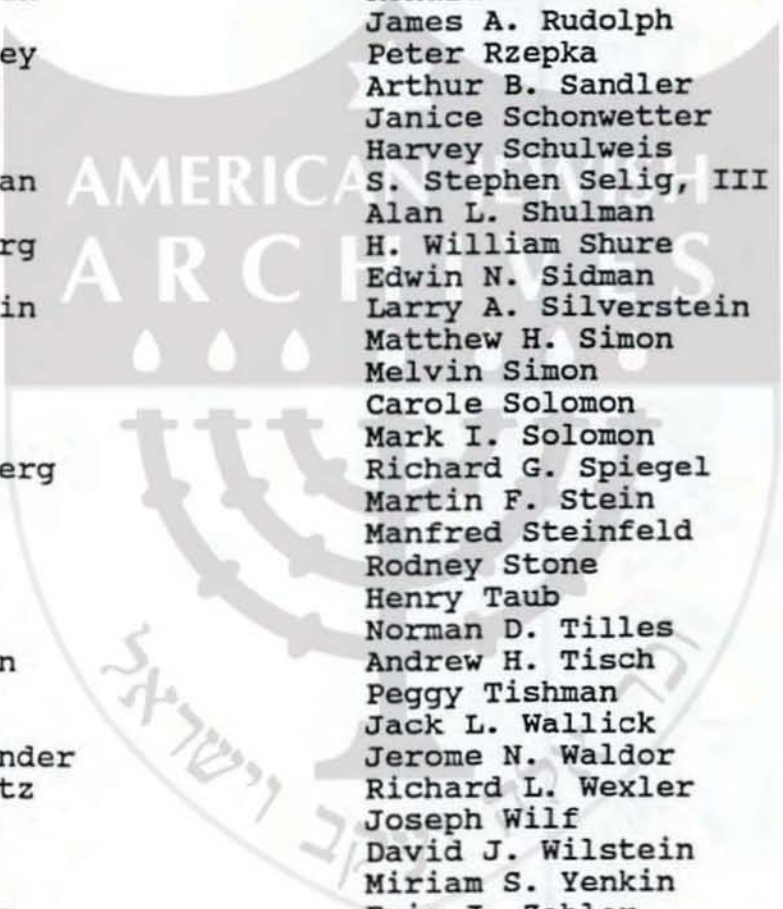
APPENDIX "E"

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.

National Vice Chairmen

Alan Ades
 Paul S. Berger
 Bernard Borine
 Paul Borman
 Norman Braman
 Shoshana S. Cardin
 Alan E. Casnoff
 Stanley N. Chesley
 Joseph A. Cooper
 Alan R. Crawford
 Heidi W. Damsky
 Lawrence B. Engman
 Marlyn Essman
 Sumner L. Feldberg
 Melvyn Fisher
 Morton L. Friedkin
 Donald Friend
 Rani Garfinkle
 Victor Gelb
 Conrad L. Giles
 Edgar R. Goldenberg
 John D. Goldman
 Anita Gray
 Thomas R. Green
 Joseph Gurwin
 David G. Hast
 David B. Hermelin
 Donald E. Hess
 Irwin Hochberg
 Sanford L. Hollander
 Gerald D. Horowitz
 Edward H. Kaplan
 Bobi Klotz
 Simon Konover
 Steven J. Kravitz
 R. Todd Lappin
 Charles B. Lebovitz
 Joel L. Leibowitz
 H. Irwin Levy
 Judith A. Levy
 Dr. Julius L. Levy, Jr.
 Arnold Lifson
 James H. Nobil
 Sam Oolie

Harold L. Oshry
 Shearn H. Platt
 Robert S. Reitman
 M. Russ Robinson
 Dr. Charles M. Rosenberg
 Ronald Rubin
 James A. Rudolph
 Peter Rzepka
 Arthur B. Sandler
 Janice Schonwetter
 Harvey Schulweis
 S. Stephen Selig, III
 Alan L. Shulman
 H. William Shure
 Edwin N. Sidman
 Larry A. Silverstein
 Matthew H. Simon
 Melvin Simon
 Carole Solomon
 Mark I. Solomon
 Richard G. Spiegel
 Martin F. Stein
 Manfred Steinfeld
 Rodney Stone
 Henry Taub
 Norman D. Tilles
 Andrew H. Tisch
 Peggy Tishman
 Jack L. Wallick
 Jerome N. Waldor
 Richard L. Wexler
 Joseph Wilf
 David J. Wilstein
 Miriam S. Yenkin
 Eric J. Zahler



NATIONAL OFFICERS

Jerry A. Benjamin
Elaine Berke
Conrad Giles
Yona Ann Goldberg
Charles H. Goodman
Sylvia Hassenfeld
Roberta Holland
Herbert D. Katz
William Kohn
Norman H. Lipoff
Richard L. Pearlstone (Officer-At-Large)
Michele M. Rosen
Rabbi Jacob S. Rubenstein
Michael Schenkman
Max R. Schraye, II
Rabbi Michael R. Zedek
Arlene Zimmerman (Officer-At-Large)
Emily F. Zimmern

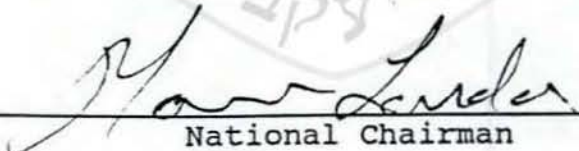


CERTIFICATION

The undersigned, National Chairman of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation"), hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of the Corporation to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1992 Annual Meeting of the Corporation until the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Corporation:

Bennett L. Aaron
Alan Ades
Alan R. Crawford
David Hermelin
Robert S. Reitman
Leslie H. Wexner
Elaine K. Winik

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this Certification this 7th
day of April, 1992.



National Chairman

ACTION BY THE MEMBERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.,
IN LIEU OF ANNUAL MEETING

We, the undersigned, being the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., ("Corporation"), do hereby certify pursuant to Section 614 of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law and Section 2.2-8 of the By-Laws of the Corporation, that the following action in lieu of annual meeting of the Members of the Corporation was taken without a meeting, to wit: The following were elected by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. ("JDC"), and by the United Israel Appeal, Inc., ("UIA"), as the Trustees of the Corporation provided in the By-Laws of the Corporation to be elected by each of them, to serve as members of the Board of Trustees until the next annual meeting of the Members:

AMERICAN JEWISH
JDC
ARCHIVES

1. Helene Berger
2. Arthur Brody
3. Patricia Gantz
4. Sylvia Hassenfeld
5. Sanford L. Hollander
6. Harvey M. Krueger
7. Eugene Ribakoff
8. Donald M. Robinson
9. Herbert H. Schiff
10. Peggy Tishman
11. Esther Treitel
12. Amb. Milton A. Wolf

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., have executed this instrument by their respective duly authorized officers on this 27th day of MARCH, 1992.

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, INC.

By: Michael Schneider
Executive Vice President

ACTION BY THE MEMBERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.,
IN LIEU OF ANNUAL MEETING

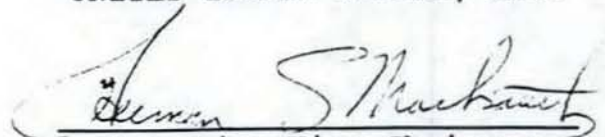
We, the undersigned, being the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., ("Corporation"), do hereby certify pursuant to Section 614 of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law and Section 2.2-8 of the By-Laws of the Corporation, that the following action in lieu of annual meeting of the Members of the Corporation was taken without a meeting, to wit: The following were elected by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. ("JDC"), and by the United Israel Appeal, Inc., ("UIA"), as the Trustees of the Corporation provided in the By-Laws of the Corporation to be elected by each of them, to serve as members of the Board of Trustees until the next annual meeting of the Members:

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
UIA

- Paul S. Berger
- Edwin N. Brennglass
- Edgar L. Cadden
- Edgar R. Goldenberg
- H. Irwin Levy
- Norman H. Lipoff
- Neil J. Norry
- Richard L. Pearlstone
- Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
- Jane Sherman
- Alan L. Shulman
- Kalman Sultanik

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., have executed this instrument by their respective duly authorized officers on this 27 day of April, 1992.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC.

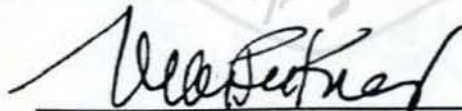

Executive Vice Chairman

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned, Executive Vice President of the Council of Jewish Federations, Inc., hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation"), to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1992 Annual Meeting of the Corporation to the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Corporation:

S. Perry Brickman
Alfred I. Coplan
Charles H. Goodman
David G. Sacks
Mimi Schneirov
Donald Seiler
Richard L. Wexler

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this Certification this 9
day of April, 1992.



Executive Vice President

National Vice Chairmen as of May 13, 1993

Joel Tauber, National Chairman

Alan Ades

Melvin Alperin

Paul Berger

Bernard Borine

Paul Borman

Norman Braman

Shoshana Cardin

Stanley Chesley

Melvin Cohen

Joseph Cooper

Alan Crawford

Heidi Damsky

Martin Damsky

Lawrence Engman

Marlyn Essman

Michael Feiner

Sumner Feldberg

Melvyn Fisher

Morton Friedkin

Donald Friend

Rani Garfinkle

Victor Gelb

Larry Glick

Conrad Giles

Edgar Goldenberg

John Goldman

Charles Goodman

Alexander Grass

Anita Gray

Thomas Green

Jerome Gumenick

Joseph Gurwin

David Hast

David Hermelin

Donald Hess

David Hirsch

Irwin Hochberg

Sanford Hollander

Gerald Horowitz

Edward Kaplan

Bobi Klotz

Steven Kravitz

R. Todd Lappin

Charles Lebovitz



Joel Leibowitz
H. Irwin Levy
Judith Levy
Julius Levy
Norman Lipoff
James Nobil
Harold Oshry
Richard Pearlstone
Shearn Platt
Judy Robins
M. Russ Robinson
Charles Rosenberg
Ronald Rubin
James Rudolph
Peter Rzepka
Arthur Sandler
S. Stephen Selig III
Richard Shenk
Alan Shulman
H. William Shure
Rabbi Matthew Simon
Carole Solomon
Mark Solomon
Richard Spiegel
Martin Stein
Manfred Steinfeld
Jerome Stern
Rodney Stone
Henry Taub
Norman Tilles
Peggy Tishman
Jerome Waldor
Jack Wallick
Richard Wexler
Joseph Wilf
David Wilstein
Eric Zahler
Arlene Zimmerman
Lois Zoller



Continuing Officers

Yona Goldberg
Max Schroyer
Emily Zimmern
Rabbi Jacob Rubenstein
Michael Schenkman
Herbert Katz
Mendel Israel Kaplan
Charles Goodman

Officer-At-Large

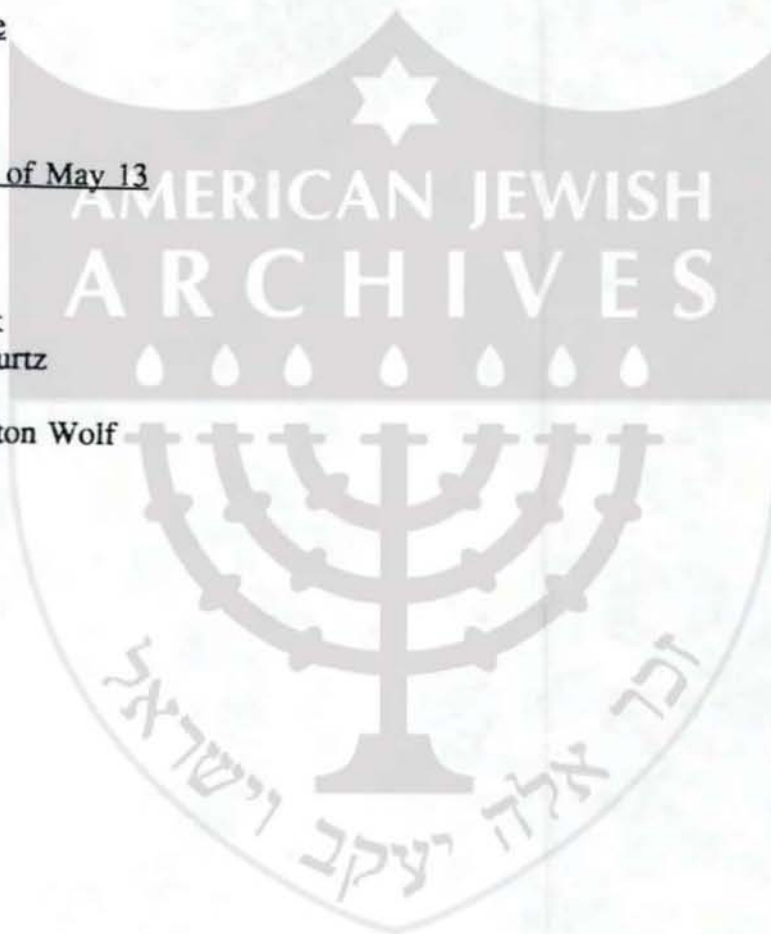
Andrew Tisch

New Officers as of May 13

Joel Beren
Debra Pell
Sandra Cahn
Robert Klutznick
Rabbi Vernon Kurtz
Jonathan Mayer
Ambassador Milton Wolf

Officer-at-Large

Andrew Tisch



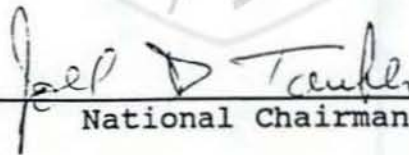
APPENDIX "C-1"

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned, National Chairman of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation"), hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of the Corporation to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Corporation until the 1994 Annual Meeting of the Corporation:

Bennett L. Aaron
David B. Hermelin
Yona Ann Goldberg
Robert S. Reitman
Richard G. Spiegel
Leslie H. Wexner
Elaine K. Winik

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this Certification this 5th day of April, 1993.



National Chairman

APPENDIX "C-2"

ACTION BY THE MEMBERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.,
IN LIEU OF ANNUAL MEETING

We, the undersigned, being the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., ("Corporation"), do hereby certify pursuant to Section 614 of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law and Section 2.2-8 of the By-Laws of the Corporation, that the following action in lieu of annual meeting of the Members of the Corporation was taken without a meeting, to wit: The following were elected by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. ("JDC"), and by the United Israel Appeal, Inc., ("UIA"), as the Trustees of the Corporation provided in the By-Laws of the Corporation to be elected by each of them, to serve as members of the Board of Trustees until the next annual meeting of the Members:

<u>JDC</u>	AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES	<u>UIA</u>
1. Helene Berger		1.
2. Arthur Brody		2.
3. Patricia Gantz		3.
4. Sanford L. Hollander		4.
5. Harvey M. Krueger		5.
6. Eugene Ribakoff		6.
7. Donald M. Robinson		7.
8. Herbert H. Schiff		8.
9. Andrew W. Tisch		9.
10. Peggy Tishman		10.
11. Esther Treitel		11.
12. Amb. Milton A. Wolf		12.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., have executed this instrument by their respective duly authorized officers on this 25th day of MARCH, 1993.

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION
COMMITTEE, INC.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC

By: Michael Schneider
Michael Schneider
Executive Vice President

Herman S. Markowitz
Herman S. Markowitz
Executive Vice Chairman

APPENDIX "C-3"

ACTION BY THE MEMBERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.,
IN LIEU OF ANNUAL MEETING


We, the undersigned, being the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., ("Corporation"), do hereby certify pursuant to Section 614 of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law and Section 2.2-8 of the By-Laws of the Corporation, that the following action in lieu of annual meeting of the Members of the Corporation was taken without a meeting, to wit: The following were elected by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. ("JDC"), and by the United Israel Appeal, Inc., ("UIA"), as the Trustees of the Corporation provided in the By-Laws of the Corporation to be elected by each of them, to serve as members of the Board of Trustees until the next annual meeting of the Members:

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
UIA

Melvin G. Alperin
Paul S. Berger
Edwin N. Brennglass
Edgar L. Cadden
Shoshana S. Cardin
Irwin Hochberg
H. Irwin Levy
Norman H. Lipoff
Neil J. Norry
Richard L. Pearlstone
Alan L. Shulman
Arlene Zimmerman

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., have executed this instrument by their respective duly authorized officers on this 11 day of May, 1993.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC.


Herman S. Markowitz
Executive Vice Chairman

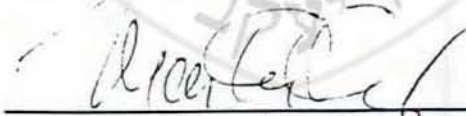
APPENDIX "C-4"

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned, Executive Vice President of the Council of Jewish Federations, Inc., hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation"), to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Corporation to the 1994 Annual Meeting of the Corporation:

Charles H. Goodman
Benjamin D. Kuntz
David G. Sacks
Miriam Schneirov
Donald H. Seiler
Richard L. Wexler
Maynard Wishner

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this Certification this 9
day of April, 1993.



Martin Kraar
Executive Vice President

1984

ACTION BY THE MEMBERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.
IN LIEU OF ANNUAL MEETING:

We, the undersigned, being the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. ("Corporation"), do hereby certify pursuant to Section 614 of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law and Section 2.2-8 of the By-Laws of the Corporation, that the following action in lieu of annual meeting of the Members of the Corporation was taken without a meeting, to wit:

The following were elected by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. ("JDC") and by the United Israel Appeal, Inc. ("UIA") as the Trustees of the Corporation provided in the By-Laws of the Corporation to be elected by each of them, to serve as members of the Board of Trustees until the next annual meeting of the Members:

JDC

Edgar L. Cadden
Heinz Eppler
Harold Friedman
Richard N. Goldman
Sylvia Hassenfeld
Neil J. Norry
Donald M. Robinson
Herbert H. Schiff
Henry Taub
Jack D. Weiler
Amb. Milton Wolf
Louis I. Zorensky

UIA

Bernard Borine
Melvin Dubinsky
Rabbi Roland Gittelsohn
Osias G. Goren
Jerold C. Hoffberger
Ludwig Jesselson
Arthur Levine
Lee Scheinbart
Jane Sherman
Phyllis Sutker
Bernice Tannenbaum
Sandra Weiner

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc.

have executed this instrument by their respective duly authorized officers at this 13th day of May, 1984.

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, INC.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC.

By: _____
Executive Vice President

By: [Signature]
Executive Vice Chairman

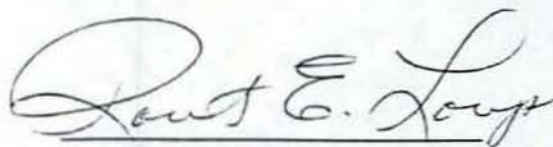
APPENDIX "D"

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned, National Chairman of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation") hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of the Corporation to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1984 Annual Meeting of the Corporation until the 1985 Annual Meeting of the Corporation:

Victor Gelb
Lawrence Jackier
Herbert D. Katz
H. Paul Rosenberg
Bud Levin
Irving Schneider
Martin Stein

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this
Certification this 10th day of April, 1984.


National Chairman

MAY 14 1983

CERTIFICATION

The Undersigned, Executive Vice President of the Council of Jewish Federations, Inc. hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation") to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1984 annual meeting of the Corporation until the 1985 annual meeting of the Corporation:

Jerome J. Dick
Albert B. Ratner
Esther Leah Ritz
Beryl B. Weinstein
Norman H. Lipoff
Charles Goodman
Edward H. Rosen

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this Certification this
21st day of May, 1984.


Executive Vice President

UJA NATIONAL VICE CHAIRMEN BEING NOMINATED FOR THE 1985 CAMPAIGN

APPENDIX "I"

ALAN ADES
New Bedford, Mass.

SAMUEL I. ADLER
Miami Beach, Fl.

RALPH AUERBACH
Denver, Col.

RABBI HASKELL M. BERNAT
Miami, Fla.

BERNARD BORINE
Philadelphia, Pa.

LEON H. BRACHMAN
Ft. Worth, Tex.

NATHAN BRAUNSTEIN
Allentown, Pa.

JOEL S. BRESLAU
Washington, D.C.

NEIL A. COOPER
North Shore, Mass.

JEROME J. DICK
Washington, D.C.

ANNETTE DOBBS
San Francisco, Ca.

VICTOR GELB
Cleveland, Ohio

EDGAR R. GOLDENBERG
Philadelphia, Pa.

RICHARD N. GOLDMAN
San Francisco, Ca.

OSIAS G. GOREN
Los Angeles, Ca.

STEPHEN M. GREENBERG
Metropolitan, N.J.

DR. STANLEY HERSH
Waco, Tex.

LARRY J. HOCHBERG
Chicago, Ill.

SANFORD L. HOLLANDER
Morris-Sussex, N.J.

LAWRENCE S. JACKIER
Detroit, Mich.

MORTON A. KORNREICH
New York, N.Y.

BUD LEVIN
St. Louis, Mo.

H. IRWIN LEVY
Palm Beach, Fl.

DR. JULIUS L. LEVY, JR.
New Orleans, La.

Norman H. Lipoff
CHARLES D. LOWENSTEIN
Atlanta, Ga.

SAMUEL H. MILLER
Cleveland, Ohio

NEIL J. NORRY
Rochester, N.Y.

ALBERT B. RATNER
Cleveland, Ohio

H. PAUL ROSENBERG
Kansas City, Mo.

LEE SCHEINBART
Boston, Mass.

IRVING SCHNEIDER
New York, N.Y.

KENNETH J. SCHWARTZ
Hollywood, Fl.

ALAN L. SHULMAN
Palm Beach, Fl.

Stanley L. Sloan
MARTIN F. STEIN
Milwaukee, Wi.

BERNARD M. WALDMAN
Hartford, Ct.

MARSHALL M. WEINBERG
New York, N.Y.

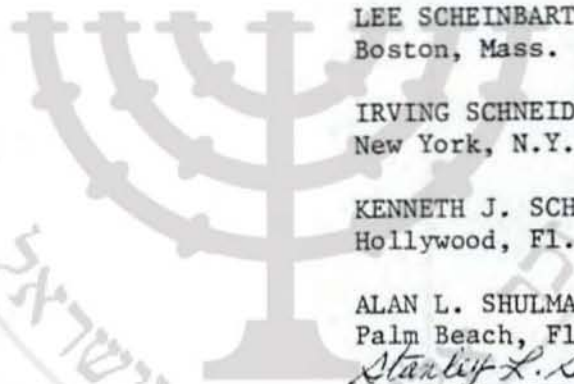
SANDRA WEINER
Houston, Tex.

LESLIE H. WEXNER
Columbus, Ohio

JOSEPH WILF
Central, N.J.

ELAINE K. WINIK
Rye, N.Y.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



UJA NATIONAL OFFICERS

1989 Campaign

Morton A. Kornreich,
National Chairman

Marvin Lender,
National Chairman-Elect for 1991 Campaign

1988

HONORARY VICE CHAIRMEN

Bennett L. Aaron
Michael M. Adler
Melyin G. Alperin
Joel D. Berkowitz
Norman Braman
Nathan M. Braunstein
Edgar L. Cadden
Alan E. Casnoff
Melvin S. Cohen
Alan R. Crawford
Sumner L. Feldberg

Victor Gelb
Edgar R. Goldenberg
Richard N. Goldman
Betsy R. Gordon
Anita Gray
Stephen M. Greenberg
Harold I. Grossman
Steven Grossman
Sylvia Hassenfeld
David Hermelin
Dr. Stanley Hersh

Stanley Hirsh
Irwin Hochberg
Larry J. Hochberg
Gerald D. Horowitz
Herbert D. Katz
Ron Kaufman
Simon Konover
Joel L. Leibowitz
Marvin Lender
Bud Levin
H. Irwin Levy

Judith A. Levy
Dr. Julius L. Levy, Jr.
Stephen E. Lieberman
Arnold Lifson
Norman H. Lipoff
Francine Loeb
James H. Nobil
Sam Oolie
Richard L. Pearlstone
Albert B. Ratner
Robert S. Reitman

Burton P. Resnick
Dr. Charles M. Rosenberg
Ronald Rubin
Stanley C. Ruskin
Seymour Sacks
Irving Schneider
Janice Schonwetter
Leonard Shane
Jane Sherman
Alan L. Shulman
Edwin N. Sidman

Larry A. Silverstein
Melvin Simon
Dr. Saul Singer
Harriet G. Sloane
Mark I. Solomon
Manfred Steinfeld
Melvin S. Taub
Joel D. Tauber
Andrew H. Tisch
Morry Weiss
Richard L. Wexler

Leslie H. Wexner
Joseph Wilf
Elaine K. Winik
Miriam S. Yenkin
Arlene Zimmerman
Harriet Zimmerman

17
3

DESIGNATED OFFICERS

Mandell L. Berman
*President,
Council of Jewish Federations*

Betty Byrnes
*Chairman, Business and Professional
Women's Council*

Amy N. Dean
*Chairman,
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

Heinz Eppler
*President,
American Jewish Joint
Distribution Committee*

Frank S. Hagelberg
Chairman, Young Leadership Cabinet

Stanley B. Horowitz
*President,
Chief Professional Officer, UJA*

Mendel Kaplan
*Chairman,
Jewish Agency Board of Governors*

Herbert D. Katz
*President,
Israel Education Fund*

Irving Kessler (through July 31, 1988)
Herman Markowitz (as of Aug. 1, 1988)
*Executive Vice Chairman,
United Israel Appeal*

Bobi Klotz
Chairman, National Women's Division

Judith A. Levy
*President,
National Women's Division*

Lewis Norry
*Chairman,
University Programs
Advisory Board*

Rabbi Norman R. Patz
Chairman, Rabbinic Cabinet

Richard L. Pearlstone
*Chairman,
Project Renewal*

Edward B. Robin
*Chairman,
North American Jewish Forum*

Michael Schneider
*Executive Vice President,
American Jewish Joint
Distribution Committee*

Rabbi Matthew H. Simon
*Chairman-Designate
Rabbinic Cabinet*

Marjory Stone
*Chairman-Designate,
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

Henry Taub
Chairman, United Israel Appeal

Eric J. Zahler
*Chairman-Designate,
Young Leadership Cabinet*

HONORARY NATIONAL CHAIRMEN

Herschel W. Blumberg
Irwin S. Field

Max M. Fisher
Edward Ginsberg

Alexander Grass
Hon. Frank R. Lautenberg

Robert E. Loup
William Rosenwald

Martin F. Stein
Leonard R. Strelitz

UJA CORPORATE OFFICERS

1988/89 Term

Chairman of the Board
Martin F. Stein

National Chairman
Morton A. Kornreich

President
Stanley B. Horowitz

Treasurer
Albert B. Ratner

Secretary
Alexander Grass

UJA BOARD OF TRUSTEES

1988/89 Term

Martin F. Stein, *Chairman*

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Mandell L. Berman
Rabbi Louis Bernstein
Herschel W. Blumberg
Bernard Borine
Joel S. Breslau

Shoshana S. Cardin
John C. Colman
Manuel Dupkin II
Heinz Eppler
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Harold Friedman
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Charles Goodman
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Sylvia Hassenfeld
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Bud Levin
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Rabbi Haskel Lookstein
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H. Paul Rosenberg
Charles Rutenberg
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Irving Schneider
Daniel S. Shapiro
Jane Sherman

Stanley L. Sloane*
Kalman Sultanik
Henry Taub
Harry S. Taubenfeld
Wilma S. Tisch
Jack D. Weiler
Sandra Weiner

Elaine K. Winik
Hon. Milton A. Wolf
Louis I. Zorensky

*deceased

LIFE TRUSTEES

Hon. Frank R. Lautenberg

William Rosenwald

Philip Zinman

UJA NATIONAL OFFICERS

1988 Campaign

National Chairman

Martin F. Stein

National Chairman-Elect for 1989 Campaign

Morton A. Kornreich

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Alan Ades
Michael M. Adler
Samuel I. Adler
Melvin G. Alperin
Joel D. Berkowitz
Nathan Braunstein
Edgar L. Cadden
Alan E. Casnoff
Melvin S. Cohen
Alan R. Crawford

Ervin Donsky
Irvin Frank
Gilbert Gertner
Edgar R. Goldenberg
Richard N. Goldman
Betsy Gordon
Osias G. Goren
Stephen M. Greenberg
Harold I. Grossman
Steven Grossman
Sylvia Hassenfeld

Dr. Stanley Hersh
Stanley Hirsh
Larry J. Hochberg
Lawrence S. Jackier
Herbert D. Katz
Simon Konover
Morton A. Kornreich
Marvin Lender
Ben Zion Leuchter
Bud Levin
Dr. Phillip A. Levin

H. Irwin Levy
Stephen E. Lieberman
Arnold Lifson
Norman H. Lipoff
Francine Loeb
Sam Oolie
Richard L. Pearlstone
Stephen M. Peck
Albert B. Ratner
Robert S. Reitman
Burton P. Resnick

Stanley Ruskin
Irving Schneider
Janice Schonwetter
Jane Sherman
Edwin N. Sidman
Larry A. Silverstein
Melvin Simon
Dr. Saul Singer
Harriet G. Sloane
Joel D. Tauber
Andrew Tisch

Marshall M. Weinberg
Morry Weiss
Leslie H. Wexner
Joseph Will
Elaine K. Winik
Miriam Yenkin
Arlene Zimmerman
Harriet Zimmerman

DESIGNATED OFFICERS

Betty Byrnes
*Chairman, Business and
Professional Women's Council*

Shoshana S. Cardin
*President,
Council of Jewish Federations*

Amy Dean
*Chairman-Designate,
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

Heinz Eppler
*President,
Joint Distribution Committee*

Ralph I. Goldman
*Executive Vice President,
Joint Distribution Committee*

Robert Goldman
*Chairman, University
Programs Advisory Board*

Anita Gray
*Chairman,
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

Frank S. Hagelberg
*Chairman-Designate,
Young Leadership Cabinet*

Jerold C. Hoffberger
*Chairman,
Jewish Agency Board of Governors*

Stanley B. Horowitz
*President,
Chief Professional Officer, UJA*

Herbert D. Katz
*President,
Israel Education Fund*

Irving Kessler
*Executive Vice Chairman,
United Israel Appeal*

Bobi Klotz
*Chairman,
National Women's Division*

Judith A. Levy
*President,
National Women's Division*

Rabbi Norman R. Patz
Chairman, Rabbinic Cabinet

Jane Sherman
Chairman, Project Renewal

Rabbi Matthew H. Simon
*Chairman-Designate,
Rabbinic Cabinet*

Henry Taub
*Chairman,
United Israel Appeal*

Theodore A. Young
*Chairman,
Young Leadership Cabinet*

HONORARY NATIONAL CHAIRMEN

Herschel W. Blumberg
Irwin S. Field
Max M. Fisher

Edward Ginsberg
Alexander Grass
Hon. Frank R. Lautenberg

Robert E. Loup
William Rosenwald
Leonard R. Strelitz

UJA BOARD OF TRUSTEES

1987/88 Term

Alexander Grass, Chairman

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Mandell L. Berman
Rabbi Louis Bernstein
Herschel W. Blumberg
Bernard Borine
Joel S. Breslau
Shoshana S. Cardin
John C. Colman

Melvin Dubinsky
Manuel Dupkin II
Heinz Eppler
Raymond Epstein
Irwin S. Field
Max M. Fisher
Harold Friedman
Victor Gelb

Edward Ginsberg
Charles Goodman
Henry J. Goodman
Osias G. Goren
Sylvia Hassenfeld
Jerold C. Hoffberger
Lawrence S. Jackier

Rabbi Charles A. Krolloff
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Bud Levin
Norman H. Lipoff
Rabbi Haskel Lookstein
Robert E. Loup
Donald M. Robinson

H. Paul Rosenberg
Charles Rutenberg
Herbert H. Schiff
Irving Schneider
Daniel S. Shapiro
Stanley L. Sloane
Martin F. Stein

Bernice Tannenbaum
Henry Taub
Harry Taubenfeld
Jack D. Weiler
Sandra Weiner
Elaine K. Winik
Amb. Milton A. Wolf

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Hon. Frank R. Lautenberg

William Rosenwald

Phillip Zinman

1987

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1986/87 TERM

1986

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Rabbi Louis Bernstein
Herschel W. Blumberg
Bernard Borine
Joel S. Breslau
Shoshana S. Cardin
Melvin Dubinsky
Manuel Dupkin II
* Heinz Eppler
Executive Committee

Irwin S. Field
* Max M. Fisher
Harold Friedman
Victor Gelb
Edward Ginsberg
Richard N. Goldman
Charles Goodman
Henry J. Goodman
* Osias G. Goren
Sylvia Hassenfeld

* Jerold C. Hoffberger
Lawrence S. Jackier
Bud Levin
* Norman H. Lipoff
Rabbi Haskel Lookstein
* Robert E. Loup
* Albert B. Ratner
Esther Leah Ritz
Donald M. Robinson
H. Paul Rosenberg

Charles Rutenberg
Herbert H. Schiff
Irving Schneider
Daniel S. Shapiro
Stanley L. Sloane
* Martin F. Stein
Phyllis Sutker
Bernice Tannenbaum
* Henry S. Taub
Harry Taubefeld

Jack D. Weiler
Sandra Weiner
Elaine K. Winik
Amb. Milton A. Wolf
Louis I. Zorensky

LIFE TRUSTEES
Hon. Frank R. Lautenberg
William Rosenwald
Philip Zinman

SENIOR STAFF

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Raphael Rothstein, *Vice President - Program*
Morris Sherman, *Vice President - Campaign*
Lee Twersky, *Vice President - Finance Administration*

Marshall M. Jacobson, *Senior Assistant Vice President*
Harold Cohen, *Assistant Vice President*
Nan Greenblatt, *Assistant Vice President*

UJA DEPARTMENTS

Accounting
Allocations
Assets Realization
Business and Professional Women's Council
Cash Collections
Communications Public Relations
Conferences and Seminars
Endowments
Executive Office
Human Resources

Israel Education Fund
Leadership Development
North American Jewish Forum
Rabbinic Cabinet
Young Leadership Cabinet
Young Women's Leadership Cabinet
Major Gifts
Management Information Services
Missions
Missions Administration

National Training Center
Operations Analysis
Project Renewal
Regional Operations
Speakers
Staff Development
UJA Washington Office
University Programs
Women's Division

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OFFICES

UNITED STATES

UJA - National Headquarters

99 Park Avenue, Suite 300
New York, NY 10016 • (212) 818-9100

UJA Region I - Atlantic Seaboard

111 Kinderkamack Road
P.O. Box 4216
River Edge, NJ 07661 • (201) 489-2700

UJA Region II - Midwest

175 West Jackson Boulevard, Suite A 1007
Chicago, IL 60604 • (312) 427-1600

UJA Region II - Cleveland Orbit

3570 Warrensville Center Road, Suite 201
Shaker Heights, OH 44122 • (216) 991-4306

UJA Region III - Southern

13771 North Central Expressway, Suite 832
Dallas, TX 75243 • (214) 644-3200

UJA Region III - Southern Region Sub-Office

8237 Dunwoody Place
Atlanta, GA 30338 • (404) 993-2955

UJA Region IV - Western

6505 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 1104
Los Angeles, CA 90048 • (213) 651-3944

UJA Region V - Florida

Hillsboro Executive Center
700 W. Hillsboro Boulevard
Building 2 - Suite 202
Deerfield Beach, FL 33441 • (305) 428-6677

UJA Washington Office

227 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Suite 220
Washington, DC 20002 • (202) 547-0029

ISRAEL

UJA Israel Office

1 Ibn Gvirol Street
Jerusalem 91920, Israel • (02) 248-446



Done
1985

UJA National Officers 1986 Campaign

National Chairman
Alexander Grass

National Vice Chairmen

Alan Ades
Samuel I. Adler
Ralph Auerbach
Joel D. Berkowitz
Rabbi Haskell M. Bernat
Bernard Borine
Leon H. Brachman
Marvin N. Demchick
Jerome J. Dick
Annette Dobbs
Ervin Donsky
Victor Gelb
Edgar R. Goldenberg
Richard N. Goldman
Osias G. Goren
Stephen M. Greenberg
Dr. Stanley Hersh
Stanley Hirsh
Larry J. Hochberg
Sanford L. Hollander
Lawrence S. Jackier
Herbert D. Katz
Morton A. Kornreich
Marvin Lender
Bud Levin
Dr. Philip A. Levin
H. Irwin Levy
Dr. Julius L. Levy, Jr.
Norman H. Lipoff
Charles Lowenstein
Samuel H. Miller
Neil J. Norry
Albert B. Ratner
H. Paul Rosenberg
Leonard H. Rudolph
Lee Scheinbart
Irving Schneider
Jane Sherman
Alan L. Shulman
Stanley L. Sloane
Martin F. Stein
Marshall M. Weinberg
Sandra Weiner
Leslie H. Wexner
Joseph Wilf
Elaine K. Winik
Harriet Zimmerman

Chairman, Jewish Agency

Jerold C. Hoffberger

Chairman, UJA

Irwin S. Field

President, JDC

Heinz Eppler

President, CJF

Shoshana S. Cardin

Chairman,

National Women's Division

Judith A. Levy

President,

National Women's Division

Harriet Zimmerman

Chairman,

Project Renewal

Jane Sherman

President,

Israel Education Fund

Herbert D. Katz

Chairman,

Young Leadership Cabinet

Michael M. Adler

Chairman, Young Women's

Leadership Cabinet

Ann-Louise Levine

Chairman,

Business and Professional

Women's Council

Robyn D. Berenstein

Chairman,

Rabbinic Cabinet

Rabbi Haskel Lookstein

Chairman,

Student Advisory Board

Alan Semel

Honorary National Chairmen

Herschel W. Blumberg

Irwin S. Field

Max M. Fisher

Edward Ginsberg

Hon. Frank R. Lautenberg

Robert E. Loup

William Rosenwald

Leonard R. Strelitz

Paul Zuckerman**

Senior Staff

Stanley B. Horowitz

President

Lee J. Twersky

Vice President-Finance/Administration

Raphael Rothstein

Vice President-Program

Marshall M. Jacobson

Senior Assistant Vice President

Harold Cohen

Assistant Vice President

Nan S. Greenblatt

Assistant Vice President

UJA Board of Trustees 1985-1986 Term

Robert E. Loup, Chairman*

Rabbi Louis Bernstein

Herschel W. Blumberg

Bernard Borine

Joel S. Breslau

Edgar L. Cadden

Shoshana S. Cardin

Jerome J. Dick*

Melvin Dubinsky

Heinz Eppler*

Irwin S. Field*

Max M. Fisher*

Harold Friedman

Victor Gelb*

Edward Ginsberg

Richard N. Goldman

Charles Goodman

Osias G. Goren

Alexander Grass*

Sylvia Hassenfeld

Jerold C. Hoffberger*

Lawrence S. Jackier

Herbert D. Katz

Bud Levin

Neil J. Norry

Albert B. Ratner

Esther Leah Ritz

Donald M. Robinson

Edward H. Rosen

H. Paul Rosenberg

Lee Scheinbart

Herbert H. Schiff

Irving Schneider

Jane Sherman

Martin F. Stein

Phyllis Sutker

Bernice Tannenbaum

Jacques Torczyner

Jack D. Weiler

Sandra Weiner

Beryl B. Weinstein

Elaine K. Winik

Amb. Milton A. Wolf

Louis I. Zorensky

Life Trustees

Hon. Frank R. Lautenberg

William Rosenwald

Philip Zinman

*Executive Committee

**Deceased

1989

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned, National Chairman of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation"), hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of the Corporation to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1989 Annual Meeting of the Corporation until the 1990 Annual Meeting of the Corporation:

Bennett L. Aaron

Alan Ades

David Hermelin

Marvin Lender

Norman H. Lipoff

Robert S. Reitman

Joel D. Tauber

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this Certification this 15TH day of MAY, 1989.



National Chairman

ACTION BY THE MEMBERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.,
IN LIEU OF ANNUAL MEETING

We, the undersigned, being the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., ("Corporation"), do hereby certify pursuant to Section 614 of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law and Section 2.2-8 of the By-Laws of the Corporation, that the following action in lieu of annual meeting of the Members of the Corporation was taken without a meeting, to wit: The following were elected by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. ("JDC"), and by the United Israel Appeal, Inc., ("UIA"), as the Trustees of the Corporation provided in the By-Laws of the Corporation to be elected by each of them, to serve as members of the Board of Trustees until the next annual meeting of the Members:

<u>JDC</u>	<u>UIA</u>
1. Patricia Gantz	1. Rabbi Louis Bernstein
2. Steven Grossman	2. Joel S. Breslau
3. Sylvia Hassenfeld	3. Edgar L. Cadden
4. Sanford L. Hollander	4. Edgar R. Goldenberg
5. Harvey M. Krueger	5. Ron Kaufman
6. Barbara Mandel	6. Albert B. Ratner
7. Bert Rabinowitz	7. Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
8. Eugene Ribakoff	8. Jane Sherman
9. Donald M. Robinson	9. Kalman Sultanik
10. Herbert H. Schiff	10. Henry Taub
11. Peggy Tishman	11. Harry Taubenfeld
12. Elaine K. Winik	12.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., have executed this instrument by their respective duly authorized officers on this _____ day of _____, 1989.

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION
COMMITTEE, INC.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC

By: M. Schenker
Executive Vice President

Executive Vice Chairman

ACTION BY THE MEMBERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.,
IN LIEU OF ANNUAL MEETING

We, the undersigned, being the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., ("Corporation"), do hereby certify pursuant to Section 614 of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law and Section 2.2-8 of the By-Laws of the Corporation, that the following action in lieu of annual meeting of the Members of the Corporation was taken without a meeting, to wit: The following were elected by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. ("JDC"), and by the United Israel Appeal, Inc., ("UIA"), as the Trustees of the Corporation provided in the By-Laws of the Corporation to be elected by each of them, to serve as members of the Board of Trustees until the next annual meeting of the Members:

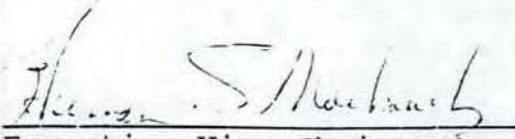
<u>JDC</u>	<u>UIA</u>
1. Patricia Gantz	1. Rabbi Louis Bernstein
2. Steven Grossman	2. Joel S. Breslau
3. Sylvia Hassenfeld	3. Edgar L. Cadden
4. Sanford L. Hollander	4. Edgar R. Goldenberg
5. Harvey M. Krueger	5. Ron Kaufman
6. Barbara Mandel	6. Albert B. Ratner
7. Bert Rabinowitz	7. Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
8. Eugene Ribakoff	8. Jane Sherman
9. Donald M. Robinson	9. Kalman Sultanik
10. Herbert H. Schiff	10. Henry Taub
11. Peggy Tishman	11. Harry Taubenfeld
12. Elaine K. Winik	12. H. Irwin Levy

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Members of United Jewish Appeal, Inc., have executed this instrument by their respective duly authorized officers on this 6 day of June, 1989.

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION
COMMITTEE, INC.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC

By: _____
Executive Vice President



Executive Vice Chairman

CERTIFICATION

The Undersigned, Executive Vice President of the Council of Jewish Federations, Inc., hereby certifies that the following persons have been elected as Trustees of United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (the "Corporation"), to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Corporation from the 1989 Annual Meeting of the Corporation to the 1990 Annual Meeting of the Corporation:

Melvin G. Alperin
Mandell L. Berman
Shoshana S. Cardin
Henry J. Goodman
Charles Rutenberg
Daniel S. Shapiro
Richard L. Wexler

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have signed this Certification this 4th
day of May, 1989.


Executive Vice President

APPENDIX "C"

CAMPAIGN OFFICERS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL - 1989 - 1990

(* Indicates newly-designated Officers)

National Chairman, Morton A. Kornreich

National Vice Chairmen

Bennett L. Aaron

Alan Ades*

Michael M. Adler

Melvin G. Alperin

Philip Altheim*

Paul Berger*

Bernard Borine*

Norman Braman

Edgar L. Cadden

Alan E. Casnoff

Melvin S. Cohen

Sumner L. Feldberg

Morton Friedkin*

Victor Gelb

Betsy R. Gordon

Anita Gray

Stephen M. Greenberg

Harold I. Grossman

Steven Grossman

Joseph Gurwin*

Sylvia Hassenfeld

David Hermelin

Stanley Hirsh

Irwin Hochberg

Larry J. Hochberg

Gerald D. Horowitz

Herbert D. Katz

Ron Kaufman

Simon Konover

R. Ted Lappin*

Joel L. Leibowitz

Marvin Lender

H. Irwin Levy

Dr. Julius L. Levy, Jr.

Stephen E. Lieberman

Arnold Lifson

Norman H. Lipoff

Francine Loeb

James Nobil

Sam Oolie

Harold Oshry*

Richard L. Pearlstone

Robert S. Reitman

Burton P. Resnick

Dr. Charles M. Rosenberg

Ronald Rubin

Stanley C. Ruskin

Seymour Sacks

Janice Schonwetter

Leonard Shane

Jane Sherman

Alan L. Shulman

William Shure*

Edwin N. Sidman

Larry A. Silverstein

Melvin Simon

Dr. Saul Singer

Harriet G. Sloane

Mark I. Solomon

Richard Spiegel*

Manfred Steinfeld

Melvin Taub

Joel D. Tauber

Andrew H. Tisch

Peggy Tishman*

Morry Weiss

Richard L. Wexler

Joseph Wilf

Elaine K. Winik

Miriam S. Yenkin

Arlene Zimmerman

Harriet Zimmerman



President, Chief Professional Officer,
United Jewish Appeal, Inc.

Stanley B. Horowitz

Chairman, Jewish Agency Board of Governors

Mendel Kaplan

Chairman, United Israel Appeal

Henry Taub

President, The American Jewish Joint
Distribution Committee

Sylvia Hassenfeld*

President, Council of Jewish Federations

Mandell L. Berman

Chairman, National Women's Division

Roberta Holland*

President, National Women's Division

Bobi Klotz*

Chairman, Young Leadership Cabinet

Eric Zahler*

Chairman-Designate

Tom Falik*

Chairman, Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

Marjory Stone*

Chairman-Designate

Heidi Damsky*

Chairman, Business and
Professional Women's Council

Barbara Ginsberg*

Chairman, Rabbinic Cabinet

Rabbi Matthew Simon*

Chairman-Designate

Michael Zedek*

Chairman, University Programs
Advisory Board

Robin Toubin*

Executive Vice President,
The American Jewish Joint
Distribution Committee

Michael Schneider

Executive Vice Chairman,
United Israel Appeal

Herman Markowitz*

Chairman, Project Renewal

Richard L. Pearlstone

President, Israel Education Fund

Herbert D. Katz

Chairman, North American
Jewish Forum

Edward B. Robin

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Irwin S. Field
● M. Fisher

Edward Ginsberg
Hon. Frank R. Lautenberg
Robert E. Loup

William Rosenwald
Leonard R. Strelitz
Paul Zuckerman

National Chairman
Alexander Grass*President*
Stanley B. Horowitz*National Vice Chairmen*

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Samuel Adler
Ralph Auerbach
Joel D. Berkowitz
Rabbi Haskell M. Bernat
Bernard Berine
Leon H. Brachman
Marvin N. Demchick
Jerome J. Dick
Annette Dobbs
Ervin Donsky
Victor Gelb

Edgar R. Goldenberg
Richard N. Goldman
Osias G. Goren
Stephen M. Greenberg
Dr. Stanley Hersh
Stanley Hirsh
Larry J. Hochberg
Sanford L. Hollander
Lawrence S. Jackier
Herbert D. Katz
Morton A. Kornreich
Marvin Lender

Bud Levin
Dr. Philip A. Levin
H. Irwin Levy
Dr. Julius L. Levy, Jr.
Norman H. Lipoff
Charles Lowenstein
Samuel H. Miller
Neil J. Norry
Albert B. Ratner
H. Paul Rosenberg
Leonard H. Rudolph
Lee Scheinbart

Irving Schneider
Jane Sherman
Alan L. Shulman
Stanley L. Sloane
Martin R. Stein
Marshall M. Weinberg
Sandra Weiner
Leslie H. Wexner
Joseph Wilf
Elaine K. Winik
Harriet Zimmerman

Designated Officers

Jerold D. Hoffberger
Chairman, Jewish Agency

● Irwin S. Field
Chairman, UJA

Heinz Eppler
President, UIA

Shoshana S. Cardin
President, CJF

Judith A. Levy
*Chairman,
National Women's Division*

Harriet Zimmerman
*President,
National Women's Division*

Jane Sherman
Chairman, Project Renewal

Herbert D. Katz
*President,
Israel Education Fund*

Michael M. Adler
*Chairman,
Young Leadership Cabinet*

Ann-Louise Levine
*Chairman, Young Women's
Leadership Cabinet*

Robyn D. Berenstein
*Chairman, Business and
Professional Women's Council*

Rabbi Haskel Lookstein
*Chairman,
Rabbinic Cabinet*

Alan Semel
*Chairman,
Student Advisory Board*

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*Vice President -
Finance/Admin.*
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*Vice President -
Program*
Raphael Rothstein

*Senior Assistant
Vice President*
Marshall M. Jacobson

*Assistant
Vice President*
Harold Cohen

*Assistant
Vice President*
Nan S. Greenblatt

*UJA Board of Trustees
1985-1986 Term*

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Bernard Borine
Joel S. Breslau
Edgar L. Cadden
Shoshana S. Cardin
Jermone J. Dick
Melvin Dubinsky
Heinz Eppler
● Irwin S. Field
Max M. Fisher

Harold Friedman
Victor Gelb
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Osias G. Goren
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Sylvia Hassenfeld
Jerold D. Hoffberger
Lawrence S. Jackier
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Bud Levin
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Jane Sherman

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Sandra Weiner
Beryl B. Weinstein
Elaine D. Winik
Amb. Milton A. Wolf
Louis I. Zorensky

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William Rosenwald

Philip Zinman

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Irwin S. Field

Max M. Fisher
Edward Ginsberg

Alexander Grass
Hon. Frank R. Lautenberg

Robert E. Loup
William Rosenwald
Leonard R. Strelitz

National Chairman
Martin F. Stein

National Chairman-Elect for 1989 Campaign
Morton A. Kornreich

National Vice Chairmen

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Alan Ades
Michael M. Adler
Samuel I. Adler
Melvin G. Alperin
Joel D. Berkowitz
Nathan Braunstein
Edgar L. Cadden
Alan E. Casnoff
Melvin S. Cohen
Alan R. Crawford
Ervin Donsky
Irvin Frank

Gilbert Gertner
Edgar R. Goldenberg
Richard N. Goldman
Betsy Gordon
Osias G. Goren
Stephen M. Greenberg
Harold I. Grossman
Steven Grossman
Sylvia Hassenfeld
Dr. Stanley Hersh
Stanley Hirsh
Larry J. Hochberg
Lawrence S. Jackier

Herbert D. Katz
Simon Konover
Morton A. Kornreich
Marvin Lender
Den Zion Leuchter
Bud Levin
Dr. Philip A. Levin
H. Irwin Levy
Stephen E. Lieberman
Arnold Lifson
Norman H. Lipoff
Francine Loeb
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May 23, 1994

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
The Wexner Heritage Foundation
551 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

I have shared with Brian Lurie your May 4 request for updated lists of UJA leadership, and, in accordance with Brian's authorization, I am pleased to send you herewith copies of lists from May 1984 through May 1994.

For years in which an annual report was prepared, you will find that the format of the lists is the same as that for which you have earlier lists; for those years in which there was no annual report, I have extracted copies of lists from minutes of meetings of the UJA Board of Trustees.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jonathan M. Lichter
Assistant Secretary

JML/se

cc: Rabbi Brian L. Lurie

Enclosures

wpdoc\letter\RHAF.523

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Huntington Center Suite 3710
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Columbus, Ohio 43215
614 464 2772

4 May 1994

Mr. Jonathan Lichter
Facsimile #818-9654

Dear Jonathan,

Thank you for your cooperative attitude.

Enclosed are some pages from Henry Feingold's history of the UJA, which can serve as examples of what I would appreciate your preparing for me.

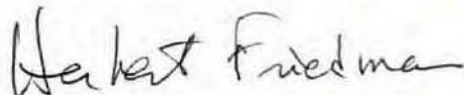
Feingold's data goes as far as 1984. I would like an update to 1994 or 1995, if you have it.

Please use Feingold's format and typography, if possible, since his layout is very readable.

While you are gathering data, I shall get Brian's approval, so that you can release the material to me.

My fax number is 751-3739.

Once again, sincere thanks.



Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

HAF/ja

enclosure

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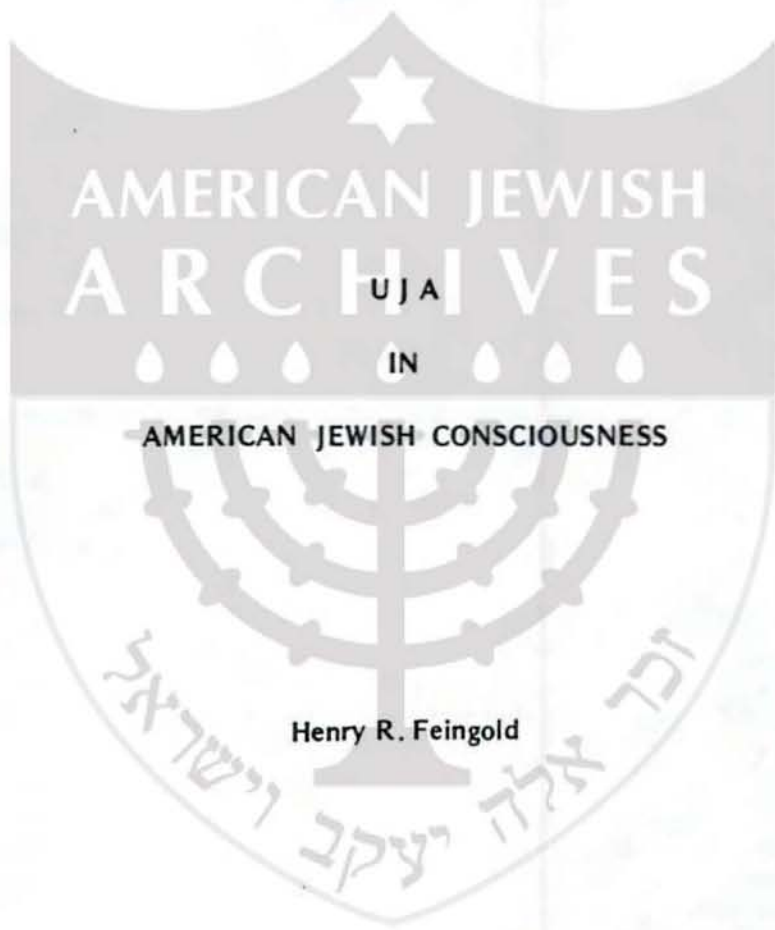
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**UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
IN AMERICAN JEWISH CONSCIOUSNESS
BY HENRY L. FEINGOLD**



AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

UJA

IN

AMERICAN JEWISH CONSCIOUSNESS

Henry R. Feingold

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

American Jews must acknowledge "how strongly rooted in Jewish tradition quality and achievement are, and move from an initial love of excellence to a still deeper attachment to the underlying Jewish culture."

In a wide-ranging essay, "The Condition of American Jewry in Historical Perspective: A Bicentennial Assessment," published in the *American Jewish Year Book* in 1976, Feingold discussed the question: "How does the condition of American Jewry appear from the historical point of view?" Looking backward and then into the present, he maintained an optimistic stance. Jews in the United States, he wrote, were free, have economic and social mobility and are to be found in all levels of government, as both elected and appointed officials. Rejecting the pessimistic conclusions of many observers about the future of the American Jewish community, Feingold observed that "The commitment [to preserve and enrich Jewish life] is still carried forward by the few . . . the many dance around the golden calf. [Still,] some return when summoned."

But time and again, Feingold returned to the Holocaust. In a paper he delivered in 1980 at a conference sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, he said, "We are left with a truth almost too difficult to accept because it flies in the face of everything we want to believe, at least about our time in history. It is more dangerous than ever to be powerless in the secular world because the modern nation state is not capable of making human responses, and the moral force . . . no longer exists." This ominous new fact, Feingold suggests, more than any other, bodes evil for future generations, Jew and non-Jew alike.

In 1982 Feingold published a third book, *A Midrash on American Jewish History*, based on twenty-four radio lectures. This book assesses the American Jewish experience and is widely used in college courses dealing with American Jewish history.

Feingold serves on the editorial boards of several leading Jewish history periodicals, *Jewish Frontier*, *Congress Monthly* and *Reconstruction*, and is the former editor of *American Jewish History*, a publication of the American Jewish Historical Society. He is also the Chairman of the Academic Council of the Jewish Historical Society.

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For the needy shall never cease out of the land;
therefore I commend thee, saying, thou shalt
open thy hand wide unto thy brother. . . .
—Deuteronomy 15:11

No man is ever impoverished by giving.
—Joseph Caro, Shulhan Arukh

Before reciting a prayer, a person should give to
charity.
—Nachman of Bratslav

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SPACE FOR INTRODUCTION BY WILLIAM ROSENWALD
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

American Jewry possesses the most successful money-raising apparatus in the world. Some have likened the United Jewish Appeal and the network of local Jewish federations, with which and through which it operates, to a voluntary self-taxing apparatus. In 1983 more money was raised—by UJA—than the combined total of the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, Muscular Dystrophy Associates, March of Dimes and the Easter Seal Society. The per capita amounts raised from a constituency of less than 5.7 million far outpace United Way, America's most successful fund-raising agency. If anything differentiates American Jewry from other subcultures in America it is its extraordinary generosity. Yet it is as much a learned response as it is natural. How to give generously was taught to American Jewry by the UJA. Its history reflects all the conflicts, agonies and triumphs of American Jewry since 1939. It is therefore a story that needs telling especially today when there is such despair regarding American Jewry's continued ability to fulfill the responsibility history and kinship have thrust upon it.

It is easy to imagine that success, especially when it is manifested in the collection of huge sums of money, might serve as grist for the anti-Semitic mill, which traditionally feeds on fantasies of a Jewish money power. But that has not happened. Instead it has enhanced the respect in which American Jewry is held. According to former Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin, the massive giving to Jewish causes has had "tremendous impact on the attitude of non-Jews toward the Jewish community and toward Israel." That is so because money is recognized as an acceptable instrument of power in American society. Moreover the Jewish "habit of giving" is by no means confined to Jewish causes. According to some estimates, twice as much "Jewish money" is given to purely secular institutions and causes, including politics. Politicians have learned that they can ignore the legendary Jewish generosity* and more recently at Jewish PACs only at considerable risk.

Withal, the glare of gold may blind the non-Jewish observer so that he is unable to see that giving for American Jews is actually the first step in a remarkable process of identity formation. It often serves as the solitary remaining link of a highly secularized people to the Jewish enterprise. They are performing an act that the Judaic ethos places on the highest level. The outside observer of organized Jewish philanthropy cannot be expected to fathom the paradox that lies just below the surface. Most American Jews are immersed in a process of acculturation which will ultimately lead many to lighten or altogether dispense with their cultural and religious baggage. That loss of identity and commitment is already reflected in all aspects of Jewish life, except fundraising. Since UJA was organized in 1939 there has actually been a steady rise in giving. How strange that as their Jewish identity weakens, their giving to Jewish causes increases. Finding the answer to that dilemma, a search which forms part of the substance of this essay, is not simple. Secular Jews give what for many represents a measure of their personal worth, so that they can go beyond themselves. The sense of transcendence becomes itself a key

* UJA, of course, as a philanthropic institution, makes no political contributions of any kind.

It has much given

to Jewish identity formation so that the UJA claim that it "makes Jews" is not idle hyperbole. An explanation of how a comparatively small group of lay leaders and professionals achieves such remarkable results is found partly in the relationship between giving and Jewish consciousness and identity.

Yet few understand its complex workings, how it does what it does. It is an umbrella organization composed of several constituent agencies, but Jews cannot belong to UJA. Except for a small young leadership group, it is not a membership organization. [Yet] it is omnipresent in Jewish life, crisscrossing all facets and activities of the community. It impresses slogans that have a prophetic biblical ring, "Year of Deliverance," "Year of Destiny," "We Are One," "Remember the Promise," on the consciousness of American Jewry. Most important, it helps raise the funds that buttress the institutional structure that, in turn, helps assure its survival.



For the historian, the Enlightenment and Emancipation serve as a great dividing line in the Jewish experience. The institutional forms of pre-emancipation Jewry show a corporate community, responsible for its members but at the same time often despised as a member of general society, which made taking care of their own imperative. That situation bears little comparison to a modern secular society whose citizens are free and whose adherence to the Jewish community is voluntary. Yet we shall note the impingement to pre-emancipation forms and tradition remains in transmuted form. Modern American Jewish philanthropy is an attempt to meet the enduring Jewish communal responsibilities, which in the pre-emancipation period could be fulfilled by coercion, through persuasion.

Much of that history can be interpolated from Jewish law (*Halacha*) to which these pre-emancipation communities more or less adhered. These laws are grouped under the general heading of *Tzedakah*, which is only imperfectly translated into the modern concept of charity. That word derives from the Latin root *caritas*, which means concern or love. In contrast, *Tzedakah* is a value concept derived from the Hebrew root *Tsedek*, which concerns justice and equality. It concerns justice as well as love. What the Christian world gives out of love, Jews are obliged also to give to right the injustice of poverty. The former leads to the concept of *noblesse oblige* while the latter leads to communal responsibility. In Jewish tradition, giving is not done out of choice or only for love; it is a responsibility rooted in law. Moreover, the relationship between the giver and receiver is one among equals. If anything, the law tips in favor of the poor. "The poor man does more for the giver," we are informed in Leviticus Rabbah 34:8, "than the giver does for the poor man." So crucial is the dignity of the receiver of philanthropy in Jewish law that it is suggested that he be given enough so that he too can fulfill the *Mitzvah* of giving. The needy moreover have a claim to emotional as well as material sufficiency. What serves as one of the major rationales for UJA fundraising is actually part of a pre-emancipation tradition which binds philanthropy tightly to communalism. It is a "web of engagement," a binder of the community as well as a principal reason why community exists.

The philanthropic enterprise was a major communal purpose. The servicing of the needy, *Tzedakah*, was only slightly below the service of God and the learning of Torah and the reason for living in community. Its administration was primarily a local affair, since there was no national community to speak of before the nation-state developed. One knew of a world Jewry only through the occasional "messenger" who came from the outside to collect alms. The major responsibility for the care of the needy and dependent fell on the family. It was the principal instrument of philanthropy. Its responsibility was buttressed by Jewish law, which viewed the priorities of giving as emanating outward from the individual in ever-broadening concentric circles. For Jews charity truly began at home with im-

poverished members of the extended family. Next the needy of Israel had priority over the poor of the Diaspora. (*Shulkan Yoveh De'ah 25:3*).

Jewish philanthropy also stemmed directly from the responsibility Jewish communities assumed for the welfare of other Jewish communities. The customary reminder of this need was the occasional "messenger" who collected a "share" for the poor of Palestine, a high priority obligation from the beginning. There were also travelers who brought news of distress of other distant Jewish communities and later the waves of Jewish immigrants themselves who were living testimony of need. The distinction, which remains reflected in contemporary organized Jewish philanthropy, is that there are two claims. The first involves the local poor and dependent; we might call it face-to-face philanthropy. The second, represented by the "messenger," who was highly regarded because of his mission, represented Jewry in its entirety (*K'lal Yisrael*). The messenger's role reflected a greater purpose, which went beyond the community and expressed a link to the larger Jewish enterprise. Such an activity was held in the highest esteem.

The "messenger" was exalted, but the tired traveler who found himself in need was also entitled to a meal and a night's lodging. When the massive east-west migration began in earnest in the last quarter of the 19th century, there would be thousands of such Jewish travelers on the road. Later they would crowd into strategically located cities like Brody or port cities like Hamburg and Danzig, often without sufficient funds and of uncertain legal status and unable to speak the language. The conditions for an international Jewish effort of philanthropy were created. Immigration and resettlement of these Jews, the *sine qua non* of Jewish history, became a prime requisite for Jewish philanthropy beyond the local level. The dependence of the refugee required a special emphasis on the communal aspect of Jewish philanthropy and did so precisely at the historical juncture when the forces of secularism and the dispersion itself loosened communal ties and weakened identity. The perpetual thread running through trans-local Jewish philanthropy in the 19th and 20th centuries concerns immigration and resettlement. Even Zionism itself, from this perspective, is an ideology concerned with this process. The resettlement of large masses of people required great sums of money not only to subsidize the actual movement but to ameliorate the social and psychological problems such uprootings inevitably leave in their wake. Most Jewish immigrants were able to negotiate this transplantation with the aid of a chain of relatives. But ultimately this lifeline proved inadequate for the task. A new generation of Jewish agencies directed themselves toward ameliorating the conditions that triggered the movement and helping those who were already in the pipeline. The British Board of Deputies, the French *Alliance*, the German *Hilfsverein* and, eventually, the Joint Distribution Committee, joined by the individual efforts of Jews of wealth, came into play. We will see presently that for American Jewry, the major goal of the latest immigration, the nurture and support of these immigrants, shaped a good portion of the philanthropic effort.

In summary, we can note that the contemporary work of fundraising is strongly buttressed by the special place such an activity has in the Judaic religious ethos. We are told in Maimonides (*Mishneh Torah*, Gifts to the Needy, 10;1-2) that *Tzedakah* is the "throne of Israel." More important, the fund raiser earns a special place. "He who persuades and compels others to give," we read in Isaiah 32;7, "shall have a reward greater than that of the giver himself."

There is, of course, a more practical motive for UJA's persistent reminders of this tradition. It contains a rationale for UJA's priority to overseas needs, especially the needs of Israel. Local claims, to be sure, have priority in Jewish law, but the strengthening of links to Israel assures the universal Jewishness on which the entire enterprise is ultimately based. It, therefore, earns an even greater place. Operating in a modern secular society, UJA reminds us in its brochures that the "solicitation process is itself educational." Solicitors are reminded that they are not merely "beggars for beggars" but are doing sacred work. Where social ostracism could formerly be used to compel Jews to give their share, today they must be persuaded. For UJA that change in Jewish governance shapes its persona but it also contains a special problem involved in telling secular and voluntarily associated Jews of the obligation to give. The very process of secularization, which most accept avidly, is one of desacralization. Modern man believes that all is within his realm. Increasingly he is a professional man whose loyalties are not to

tribe and to culture, but to career. He makes for himself the decisions that were once made communally.

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH TRADITION OF PHILANTHROPY

When twenty-three hapless Jewish refugees from Recife landed in New Amsterdam in September 1654, they were at once the carriers of an ancient Jewish tradition and also in need of help. The American society they were reluctantly allowed to join was destined to become the favorite child of the European enlightenment, which would make it the freest society developed by western man. Freedom of religion and separation of church from state was written into its constitution. In the case of the latter, it merely sealed a condition that had developed naturally in the colonies. Neither the Congregational nor the Presbyterian church experienced much success in establishing itself. The former itself espoused the dominance congregational and the latter was associated with the disreputed Church of England. Moreover, the sheer size of land space allowed schismatic groups to move to adjacent empty spaces. That is how the colony of Rhode Island and the territory of Utah came into existence. The fact that much of Colonial leadership was imbued with the ideas of enlightenment and the low profile maintained by the early Sephardic community, probably the least aberrant of the many religious sects which inhabited the religious landscape of the new nation, enabled the relationship between Jews and American society from the outset to develop on comparatively benevolent terms. Ultimately it was its freeness supplemented by its prosperity that placed American Jewry in a good position to help its brethren abroad. But freedom also created a special problem of maintaining community coherence and identity. Prosperity created a spirit of generosity and largesse for which it became well known. Ultimately, it was the joining of the two, the generation of group identity through generous giving, that became a major rhetorical argument of the UJA solicitor.

Some find the roots of the elaborate philanthropic network, which came to characterize American Jewry, in a promise given to Governor Stuyvesant during these founding days. After the Governor expressed his fear to the directors of the West India Company that the "deceitful race" would become dependent on the colony's charity, he was compelled by the directors, convinced that Stuyvesant's fears were warranted but also afraid to confront the Jewish stockholders to whom the Jews had turned, to accept them as settlers. In turn, there was a collective promise that the Jews would never become dependent on the public treasury. They would take care of their own. It is an interesting story especially when one considers that Stuyvesant followed his initial anti-Jewish petition with a policy of constricting the commercial activity of the Jewish settlers. Had Stuyvesant known the Jews and their tradition of self-support, he might have realized that such was the practice of the Jews in any case. In the pre-emancipation period all guilds and corporations took care of their own since there was no one else who could do so.

The first Jewish settlers arrived penniless, having been forced to give their worldly goods to the Captain of the bark *St. Charles*, who had rescued them. They required several hundred guilders merely to survive. But thereafter, the Jewish settlers developed a self-help network anchored in their congregation. The records of Shearith Israel, the first congregation established in the colonies, shows that the *Parnassim* spent considerable time and energy on matters of charity. Itinerant Jewish travelers occasionally posed vexing problems for the Jewish burghers. The principal source of funds was a tax of twenty guilders per annum paid by all congregation members. Community leaders occasionally threatened sanctions, like denial of burial in the Jewish cemetery, for those reluctant to pay. There is no record of how effective such sanctions were. The successful exploitation of the fur trade and other crafts probably produced a few individuals with sufficiently large incomes to supplement normal sources.

The role of the "big giver" can be traced back to the earliest colonial days and was already present in Europe where vast income differentials were possible. Halachically he was obliged to give more. That is what Aaron Lopez, the Sephardic merchant prince of Newport, did. The first celebrated hero of American Jewish philanthropy was Judah Touro, who was cultivated by Christians as well as Jews. Little is known about his personal life after he left Boston in 1801 to resettle in New Orleans' freer atmosphere. His connections to Judaism became tenuous even after his fortune increased. Oddly, it was a Christian friend who reminded him of the claims of his Jewish background. He was a marginal Jew who left a good part of his estate to Jewish causes.

The American Jewish community began as a receiver of charity, not as a giver. The community was the recipient of aid, in the form of Torah Scrolls and donations for the synagogue building fund, from older Jewish communities in the Caribbean. But that lasted only until the community could support itself. Thereafter, American Jewry became known for its generosity. The earliest witnesses to that fact were the messengers who collected *Chalukah* for the small Jewish community in Palestine. Rabbi Moses Malki, who came in 1759, and Rabbi Haym Isaac Karigal of Hebron in 1772, and Aaron Selig in 1849, made a strong impression on both the Jewish and Protestant communities. By 1833 there existed a formal organization to transmit these collections. Two decades later the American Relief Society for Indigent Jews in Jerusalem absorbed its function. In 1859 it was itself absorbed by the newly established Board of Delegates of American Israelites.

There would be changes from the European pattern as well. *Halacha* could no longer maintain its hold in the free secular society developing in the New World. During the colonial period there were already distinct changes occurring beneath the surface. Eventually they would result in a separation of the fund-raising function from its natural habitat in the religious congregation. The arrival of German-speaking Jews from central Europe and their dispersion into the interior meant that there would be an insufficient number of Jews to do the myriad things required of a Jewish community. Moreover, rabbis and other functionaries were scarce in the New World. Most important, the separation process was accelerated by the secular policy, which separated affairs of "church" from affairs of "state" and made belonging to a religious community a voluntary affair. Religious establishment was supported neither by law nor by taxes. Religious life became congregation centered and within the congregation instruments of power were held by the trustees, not the church hierarchy. No one could compel a Jew to be Jewish and no organization could compel the congregation to adhere to its regulation. American Jewry never had a chief rabbi and, like everything else in American Jewish life, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites was a voluntary federation dependent on persuasion rather than coercion. Fragmentation and denominationalism, which characterized American Protestantism, were inherent in the new condition and partly account for the eventual triangulation of the Jewish religious community. It was accompanied by an internal functional fragmentation, which was hastened by a gradual increase in the need for philanthropy triggered by the influx of dependent Jewish immigrants. It was physical evidence of the kinship of American Jews to their brethren in other parts of the world. Although the congregations continued to play a key role in philanthropy, they could not manage the larger problems. Gradually their charitable function, as well as specialized religious functions such as supervision of the burial ground, circumcision, ritual slaughter and the ritual bath, were separated from the congregation. Eventually they would become services rendered commercially. In the secular world of America many things that were once in the communal realm now became private. Under such conditions, philanthropy and the welfare of the needy became a private activity separated from the religious congregation. In the 20th century it would become the responsibility of philanthropic committees employing professional experts.

But while America was earning a reputation for carrying out its side of the emancipation transaction, the crisis in Jewish life in the 19th century elsewhere indicated that such benevolence was the exception rather than the rule. Each crisis brought an outpouring of giving from American Jewry, which further established American Jewry's reputation for generosity. But in the memory bank of the fund-raising enterprise, if indeed there is such a thing, is firmly implanted the fact that the correlation

between crisis and the loosening of the purse strings was very high. On the domestic level, Jewish charity was separated from religion even while its activities were sometimes dictated by a fulfillment of religious law. The establishment of separate Jewish hospitals, like Jew's Hospital in 1850 (renamed Mt. Sinai in 1860), orphanages, vocational schools, adoption agencies, and the panoply of welfare agencies, were required partly to fulfill the requirements of Jewish law. What a paradox! A people increasingly disinclined to subject itself to Jewish law creates a welfare agenda and an extraordinary need for charity because of the requirements of Jewish law.

The separation of philanthropy from the religious congregation did not mean that it became a purely secular activity. Judaism had an alternative ethnic component—Jewishness—which could be separated from the religious Judaic element only at the risk of destroying both. They were like Siamese twins, inseparable. Jewish fund raisers naturally continued to couch their appeals in religious as well as Jewish peoplehood terms. They had to address the many facets of a people who were adopting a modernistic sensibility. But by mid-19th century, philanthropy and fundraising, even while it used a Judaic or Jewish metaphor, had become largely a secular activity.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

THE EASTERN MIGRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZED OVERSEAS AID

We need only note a few pertinent details concerning the full-blown development of American Jewish philanthropy in the first two decades of the 20th century. We have seen that depredations aimed at distant Jewish communities had customarily aroused the concern of American Jews. It also led to a practice of seeking American government intercession, as in the case of the Damascus Blood Libel, the Mortara kidnapping, discriminations in the Cantons of Switzerland or in Romania and the bloody depredations in Russia. Much of their Jewish identity was in the process of being lost as a result of rapid acculturation, yet concern for Jews abroad actually grew in significance. It is the persistent concern for Jews overseas that is one of the mysteries of American Jewish identity formation. It is as if American Jewry tilts outward the better to hear the cry for help from its brethren. It may be that American Jewry desperately clung to its Judaism by its link to *K'lal Yisrael*, which it made its centerpiece. That may account for the peculiar juxtaposition of an ever more intense secularization matched by an equally intense concern for Jews abroad. It is a phenomenon we shall note throughout our study. American Jews virtually defined themselves by concern for Jews abroad. It accounts for the establishment of the elaborate organizational network that saw the formation of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the dozens of Zionist organizations that made up the American Zionist Federation, the Joint Distribution Committee and other organizations. Of all the major Jewish organizations only the fraternal order of B'nai B'rith and the New York *Kehillah*, organized by Judah L. Magnes in 1908, had no apparent overseas connection. UJA's organization in 1939 is but the last in a series of steps that lay at the very core of organized Jewish activity. It stands on the shoulders of a well-established inclination which stems from the inner recesses of the American Jewish spirit.

It is that massive uprooting and resettlement of eastern and later central European Jewry which furnished the primary motivation for the continued development of organized philanthropy in America. The travail entailed in that process could furnish the plots for a thousand novels. It was not easy for provincial people with limited financial resources to plunge into the unknown. The cries for help from receiving Jewish communities were not long in coming. The sheer mass of often penniless refugees posed serious logistic problems. Moreover, the uprooting process also caused numerous unexpected social problems by weakening the mainstay of Jewish survival, a strong family life. Husbands left families for protracted periods of time and sometimes forgot about them. In 1903, ten percent of the

applicants for relief to the United Hebrew Charities were deserted wives. For some, finding a source of livelihood, adjusting to a highly urbanized secular culture, learning the new language or simply handling freedom for the first time in their lives, posed insuperable problems. The social pathology attendant on such an uprooting and resettlement—crime, vice and prostitution—predictably made their debut. Some help in ordering the process was urgently required. Agencies to ameliorate the worst effects made their debut in all nations with sizable Jewish communities.

In America the rapid mobility of the former 19th century immigrants from central Europe considerably complicated the organization of philanthropy. The sources of the "uptown"- "downtown" antagonism, about which we shall have more to say presently, are rooted in this immigrant layering of American Jewry. Its resonances could still be felt after the Holocaust. Not only was there a natural hostility between giver and receiver but the eastern immigrants carried Russian cultural values in their baggage, which contrasted sharply with the German cultural norms of the older migration. Each group came to different terms with the fact of its Jewishness and that added an edge to the antagonism. Even when the "yoke of Torah" had been lightened or altogether abandoned, eastern immigrants continued to feel themselves members of a distinct people. They were far less Poles and Russians than they were Jews. More in the throes of modernization, German Jews in America readily accepted a purely denominational identity later associated with the Reform movement. They became German or French citizens "of the Mosaic persuasion." In America they called themselves Hebrews or Israelites. They were in the process of becoming less Jews and more Americans. For our study that split is crucial to our comprehension of the early conflicts within UJA over allocation formulas between UPA and JDC. In a rough way, the former was a descendant of a "downtown" sensibility, while the latter represented what remained of the "uptown."

A few eastern immigrants attained affluence quickly, sometimes by a ruthless exploitation of the later "greener" arrivals. But the formation of the third élite in American Jewish history, composed of the descendants of the eastern immigrants, would take longer to negotiate the more numerous paths to achievement. The American economy was less open when they arrived and the leap to middle-class life often had to be delayed for a generation of proletarianization. Nevertheless, the eastern Jews created various relief committees to help their brethren and supplemented them with a network of relief agencies to ameliorate the conditions that diminished their lives. They duplicated and supplemented help emanating from "uptown" sources but there was a distinct difference in style and techniques of fundraising; they were far earthier. One suspects that the "hard sell" school of fundraising, and perhaps the origins of the professional fund-raiser himself, are traceable to the eastern immigrant culture, which had less and yet needed far more. The pressure of peers could be effective where peers and community still mattered. The same is true of the theater benefits, the use of "stroking"—even the "pushkes" have an earthy eastern Jewish flavor. But they were also in the throes of an eastern European tradition, proliferant organization. By 1901 there were almost six hundred charitable agencies in New York, pleading for their clients. That proliferation would be a major reason for the later attempt to bring some coherence into the fund-raising enterprise.

Another ingredient in the establishment of professional fundraising through the AJDC acting as an umbrella agency stems from the requirements of "uptown" Jewry. It would be an error to assume that the abbreviated Judaism of the German Jews curtailed their generosity to Jewish causes. Probably the reverse was the case. The ideology of Reform Judaism gave much emphasis to precisely those prophetic aspects of the religious culture, justice, righteousness, humaneness, in which *Tzedakah* would find a natural place. While they may have experienced difficulty in bridging the cultural gap between themselves and the eastern Jews, the moral imperatives for helping remained strong.

The coordination of American Jewish philanthropy is largely attributable to the "uptown" penchant for organization, institutionalization and efficiency. It was insisted upon by the cadre of wealthy stewards who accepted the responsibilities of their newly made fortunes. Our image of these stewards has been distorted by residual antagonism and by a popular history written by Stephen Birmingham (*Our Crowd*, Harper & Row, 1967). Birmingham focused on their social trespasses and idio-

syncracies but that element was actually minor. The Schiffs, Strauses, Warburgs, Sulzbergers, Rosenwalds, Lehmans and dozens of other families formed a "commercial élite," to be sure, but they also furnished American Jewry with a sober, service-oriented leadership, which other ethnic groups would take generations to produce. They contributed not only to Jewish philanthropy but to many non-Jewish institutions especially in the cultural sphere. The model of Baron de Hirsch and the Rothschilds was followed in America by Jacob Schiff, whose activities went beyond philanthropy. He attempted to use his commercial bank of Kuhn-Loeb to wring better treatment of Jews in Russia by denying them the American bond market during the Russo-Japanese war.

To Jacob Schiff American Jewish philanthropy owed two of its primary characteristics—its social engineering aspect and its professionalization. The latter is linked to Schiff's careful monitoring of his contributions so that each penny could be accounted for. He was also among the first to insist on matching from others, so that he is a prototype of the donor/solicitor who plays an important role in the UJA enterprise today. The social engineering aspect of his approach, the attempt to go beyond relief to "correct" what were imagined to be flaws in the culture which then produced undesirable types, can be observed in his involvement with the Galveston movement. With the help of Schiff's purse, about 10,000 Jews were landed in Galveston between 1908 and 1914 and dispersed to Jewish communities in the interior. The primary aim was to relieve congestion and social ills of the ghettos in eastern seaboard cities. But like the communal farming settlements sponsored by the Baron de Hirsch fund, the hope was to restructure the Jewish identity and social class structure so that Jews could better fit into society. Dispersing Jews into the interior would thin out the critical mass, which generated an alien Yiddish-speaking culture with radical elements clinging to it. In the West they would be better able to see the American model they were expected to emulate. Schiff soon discovered that this eastern European human clay was not easily molded. It held to its own assumptions of how a Jewish life should be lived. Their numerical preponderance allowed for the transmission of these values to contemporary American Jewry and shaped the character of American Jewish fundraising.

The continued deterioration of the Jewish condition in eastern Europe and the advent of World War I set the stage for coordination of the chaotic American Jewish fund-raising activity. Various relief organizations like the American National Committee for Relief of Sufferers by Russian Depredations, the Russian Emigrant Relief Society, The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society and dozens of smaller funds, could not muster a fraction of the resources required to make a dent in the massive problem caused by the progressive impoverishment of eastern Jewry. After the outbreak of war in August 1914, millions of dollars of private remittances, by concerned relatives, were distributed behind German lines by the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden*. Finally, in November, a meeting of representatives of the numerous relief agencies was held at Temple Emanu-El, then the flagship congregation of the German Jewish stewards. The meeting was followed by the establishment of the Joint Distribution Committee of American Friends for Relief of Jewish War Sufferers. Its president was Louis Marshall, a Syracuse lawyer who had already gained recognition as an activist in Jewish causes. Felix Warburg was appointed treasurer. The first component of what would become the United Jewish Appeal was thus in place and a new era of professional fundraising was about to begin.

A year later, in 1915, an organized fund-raising campaign was launched at a rally in Carnegie Hall, under the leadership of Judah L. Magnes, a radical pacifist and Marshall's brother-in-law. The sum of \$400,000 was pledged in that one night and the campaign brought in \$4.3 million. The 1915 campaign is of special interest because many of the techniques of contemporary fundraising—"pace-setting" gifts, professional face-to-face solicitation, publication of amounts contributed—were systematically employed. By 1917, Magnes, who supervised the distribution of funds behind German lines, suggested a goal of \$10 million. What seemed then like an astronomical figure barely matched the dire need in the war-torn areas. America had never seen anything like this separate Jewish effort. To the distress of Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, Jews were giving to their own agencies in unheard-of sums and ignoring secular relief agencies like the Red Cross. The special needs of Jews in the war zone were understood. Between 1914 and 1919, the JDC raised \$30,158,000. Herbert Hoover, whose early

reputation was earned as a distributor of government relief in eastern Europe, could only marvel at Jewish largesse. Had he been aware of the entire picture, which included thousands of additional dollars in private remittances and considerable aid to the *Yishuv*, he would have been astounded. The JDC even gave his operation \$3,000,000 to assuage his hurt sensibilities about the independent Jewish relief effort. The role of the "Joint" in distributing the \$47,000,000 it had collected by 1924 in keeping Jewish communities in eastern Europe and Poland alive, is one of the brightest pages in American Jewish history. It heralded the arrival of a new kind of Jewry on the world stage. Its distinctive character was managerial efficiency and a purity of concern, unencumbered by political ideology, which characterized other facets of Jewish organizational life. For the historian it is the first sign that American Jewish power was most pronounced in the area of fundraising rather than in projecting influence through the political process. That would become even more evident during World War II. It is a characteristic consistently overlooked by those eager to indict American Jewry for its supposed indifference during World War II.



AMERICAN JEWISH
THE GENESIS OF THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT
ARCHIVES

Man organizes into communities to safeguard those who, for reason of age, health or other circumstance, are dependent and cannot take care of themselves. Charity, used here to mean concern, and community form an enduring tandem in society. The rise of the federation movement, and the organized philanthropy it represents, goes naturally hand in hand with the development of local Jewish communities. For some scholars it is all the evidence required to prove that there is such a thing as a Jewish community in America.

We have noted that organization for the collection and disbursement of charity was a primary function of Jewish communities in Europe and in colonial America. But in the latter case, it became privatized and secularized and in the course of time utterly chaotic. Federations developed as part of the quest for order in the second half of the 19th century. They paralleled a similar development among the Protestant denominations. As early as 1864, the Jews of Memphis established a single umbrella agency for the collection of money. It later became the nucleus of the federation. In 1895, Boston, followed a year later by Cincinnati, did the same. Other large Jewish communities followed suit. In some cases, like Baltimore, two federations, one serving the needs of the German Jews and the other of the more recent arrivals, came into existence. In 1900, the newly established National Conference of Jewish Charities held its first convention. Attending were representatives from almost 600 charitable societies. At the National Conference of Jewish Federation, convened several years later, Professor Morris Loeb cautioned the delegates that the chaotic condition of fundraising would ultimately diminish the collection of funds required for worthy causes. The answer was a national federation and an agreed-upon formula for fund disbursement. The German Jewish stewards, whose affluence made them the natural targets for individual solicitation, did not need to be convinced since they had witnessed first hand the wasteful duplication involved when each agency organized a separate campaign.

The establishment of local federations in the first two decades of the 20th century did not occur without acrimony, the hallmark of all Jewish organizational life. But whether they were called federations or councils, their growth was inexorable. In 1916, the largest and richest Jewish community of New York organized its federation paralleling the establishment of the JDC in 1914. Today, 95 percent of American Jewry and 90 percent of the Jews of Canada are federation affiliated through their local communities. It is easily the most prominent single form of organization within American Jewry.

The initial purpose of the federation was to raise, allocate and distribute funds for local, national

and overseas needs. Predictably, they soon went beyond coordination of fundraising to plan community services in such areas as family care, child welfare, health, recreation, Jewish education, care for the aged, vocational guidance and community relations. Today, it has assumed many additional functions such as the absorption of Soviet Jews. Probably no other subculture in American society offers such a full panoply of social service.

In 1932, in the midst of the Depression, an organizational capstone was put into place with the establishment of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (CJFWF). It began as an umbrella organization for the local federations taking over the functions of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research and the National Information Appeals Service. The latter agency provided objective data on those seeking support from federations, and the former provided a flow of information about American Jewry which was necessary for long-range planning. The seepage of some power from the federates to the umbrella organization was gradual and not atypical. Many things, especially long-range planning, can be done better from the center. The Council's ability to provide local communities with know-how and trained professionals to organize and do the work of the federation, is another reason for its growth and influence. At first, only sixty local federations joined the Council. Today, the number is well over 200.

On the local level, American Jewry thus had achieved a modicum of professional organization before Hitler came to power. It was further extended in 1944 with the organization of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC), which included among its constituent organizations the American Jewish Committee, the fraternal order B'nai B'rith and Zionist-oriented organizations like the American Jewish Congress. Initially it began with six national and fourteen local community relations councils. In 1951, the AJC and the ADL withdrew after taking strong exception to the Maclver report whose finding of duplication of effort they felt compromised their organizational integrity. They rejoined in 1965 and 1966 respectively. By 1980, the NJCRAC had eleven national and one hundred seven local members and the number of communities joining is rising.

The federations began as coordinating mechanisms for fundraising for social services on the local level. Today they are government-like representative bodies whose provenance includes the sum total of activities of local Jewish communities. Its umbrella organization, the CJF, rationalized the chaotic organizational scene and, like JDC, provided a neutral professional container where the older German Jewish and all the organizations stemming from the eastern migration could operate in a common framework. Yet, while a basis for rationalization of all community organizations was in place, it would take three more decades to sufficiently mute the deep political and ideological differences that divided American Jewry and its organizations.

These organizations were so abundant that it sometimes seemed that American Jewry had given birth to every kind of organization human flesh can be heir to. But, while from the outside it made American Jewry appear like the most organized subculture in America, the proliferation of organizations was, in fact, reflective of American Jewry's deep fissures. Each political opinion, even every mood, required an organizational expression. That is why it is so difficult to view American Jewry during the Holocaust as an organized polity, as some students of American Jewry do. There was less here than meets the eye. The development of the federations represents an administrative unity for limited purposes on the local level and through its Community Relations Councils perhaps the hope of a future unity. Only after World War II, when the federations had gained sufficient momentum, did the major national organizations begin to sort themselves out in relation to the governing function which was gradually being assumed by the federations. The process is not yet complete.

In the 1930s, some elements of unity in the area of fundraising had developed and it was on that fragile base that it proved possible to bring the UJA into existence in 1939.

THE AMERICAN SOCIAL CONTEXT

The development of Jewish philanthropy in America before 1930 reflects the experience and practices established in prior centuries. The quest for self-sufficiency, assumed as a matter of course in pre-emancipation European Jewish communities, was largely retained in America and only partially abandoned with the advent of the welfare state. Jewish philanthropy in America was based on an amalgamation of Jewish modalities with new innovative American forms. In the case of "messengers" and the resettling of European immigrants, the link to the Jewish enterprise was direct. Serving the needs of European victims of depredations and war became a principal motivation for placing fundraising on a more efficient footing. It led to the establishment of the JDC in 1914. Ultimately, there developed a two-tiered system with one branch devoted to domestic needs and another to send aid to beleaguered Jewish communities abroad. By the 20th century, the former gradually came under the control of the local federations. The latter became the responsibility of the UJA. In both cases fundraising and communalism developed hand in hand. The federations, the JDC and later the UJA, furnished a neutral environment which helped mute the bitter strife that characterized Jewish communal life. They provided a professional arena for "uptown" and a growing number of "downtown" givers who wanted to see better management in the fund-raising enterprise. It never totally eliminated that strife, but there was now a minimal coherence. That, together with the imperatives of the new crisis of the thirties, established the preconditions for the establishment of the UJA. Its spluttering intermittent beginning demonstrated that real unity was far from a reality. The allocation conflicts between JDC and UPA (United Palestine Appeal), which characterized organized fundraising, did not magically vanish. They were too deeply rooted in conflicting premises about Judaism and the centrality of Zionism as well as different commitments to Jewishness, the community's ethnic component. The gradual preeminence of the federations and their assumption of a governing function at the grass roots would eventually compel other Jewish agencies and organizations to scramble and seek a defining role in nongoverning activities.

We have noted that new innovations were grafted onto the stock of the Jewish tradition of philanthropy in America. These changes stemmed from the fact that the organization of the Jewish community in the free atmosphere of America was based on voluntarism. The *Kehillah* had no means of coercion to force a Jew to his Jewishness. Those who adhered to the community did so voluntarily and retained the right to determine their own degree of commitment. That radical change from corporated authority to free association developed when the crisis growing out of a failing emancipation in western Europe and deterioration of the economic and social base on which Jews lived in eastern Europe required ever larger sums of money for amelioration. Paradoxically, community leaders were compelled to depend on the arts of persuasion to loosen the Jewish purse strings at the historical juncture when the seductively free atmosphere of America would cause a waning of commitment and Jewish identity. The persistent reminders, by fund raisers, of the obligation of *Tzedakah* had little meaning for those who rejected the tradition or allowed its influence to lapse. In America, fundraising, like every other activity, had to persuade Jews to partake. It had to take its place side by side with the myriad of other influences that sought to claim the soul and the resources of the American Jew.

Separated from the persuasiveness of the sacred, embodied in a religious code which in any case was losing its hold, a new basis for charity had to be developed. Today the UJA stands at the end of that development. It offers a series of persuasive linkages to Jewish peoplehood in a secularized form suited to a largely secularized Jewish community. The dilemma it faces is similar to that faced by all Jewish institutions seeking to survive. Is secularism enough to assure ongoingness?

THE THIRTIES AND THE BIRTH OF THE UJA

The Jewish travail of the thirties is so well known that there is no need to examine it in all its detail. The UJA was born *in extremis* for there is no period in Jewish history when the suffering of the Jewish people was so palpable. Distant from the slaughterground and ensconced in a benevolently absorbent society, American Jewry had literally to reinvent itself as a people in order to fulfill the role kinship assigned to it. It largely failed to do that during the thirties. The chasms that divided a voluntarily associated community proved to be unbridgeable. But in the crucial areas of philanthropy, a troubled unity was finally fashioned. The conflicts over distribution of the limited funds that were raised during the crisis indicate that it was never complete. The UJA was almost stillborn. But it clung to life and became a symbol of what could be.

It almost single-handedly activated the Jewish masses with giant rallies. In September 1934, a committee calling itself the United Jewish Appeal, headed by Felix M. Warburg, Paul Baerwald, Louis Lipsky, Cyrus Allen, Herbert Lehman and Stephen S. Wise and others, sponsored a giant rally at Yankee Stadium. It mobilized the considerable "show biz" talent available to the Jewish community. Called a "Night of Stars," the rally drew an audience of unprecedented size for Jewish causes and became the model for dozens of such mass rallies as the crisis worsened.

American Jewry was not immune from the effects of the Depression. The proletarianized eastern Jews experienced severe unemployment and the mercantile and commercial sectors of the Jewish economy suffered losses and bankruptcies. At the juncture when the crisis, which was itself partly an outgrowth of the Depression, required enormous sums of money, the wellsprings of fundraising seemed to dry up. Bill Rosenwald, then associated with JDC, observed sadly that there no longer seemed to be Jews with money to keep philanthropy afloat. The decline in fundraising went unnoticed by the new strident anti-Semites of the thirties who spoke endlessly of "Jewish international finance." Had such an instrument existed, Jews would have been able to make good use of it. Yet a small, highly conspicuous number of Jews did emerge from the Depression earlier than others. But that did not noticeably affect fundraising, even while it aroused the envy of other ethnic groups like the American Irish whose help would be required for the Jews to form a political coalition in the refugee cause.

If there was coherence in their raucous internal politics, their support for Roosevelt's New Deal was virtually unanimous. It persisted even after the election of 1936 when other hyphenates had allowed their ardor to cool. It was rooted in a confluence of assumptions. The notion of a welfare state was related to the idea of community responsibility embedded in the Jewish tradition of *Tzedakah*. It was transmuted in secular form by the Jewish labor movement which had previewed many of the social service measures which became part of the New Deal domestic program. It was on that domestic program, rather than on Roosevelt's foreign policy, that the affinity between Jews and Roosevelt was based. The "love affair" with Roosevelt was reinforced by his appointment of Jews to high places within the Administration and the entrance of Jews to the upper echelons of the federal civil service, especially as lawyers. The pejorative "Jew Deal" was used by those who resented the Jewish presence. But for American Jewry, made insecure by the events in Europe and their resonance in America, the high place achieved by Jews like Henry Morgenthau (appointed Secretary of the Treasury), Samuel Roseman (Roosevelt's speech-writer), Herbert Lehman (to become Governor of New York), and Felix Frankfurter (Advisor and Judge of the Supreme Court) allayed their fears. Many Jews could recite the names of these prominent people as if it were a religious litany. Only later would they learn that the protection and acceptance they thought such high-placed Jews represented were more apparent than real. Except for Henry Morgenthau, few would speak out openly for a specific Jewish need during the bitter

Holocaust years, and some few were so completely acculturated that they were Jews in name only and could no longer recognize Jewish need. They had risen to the top through a transaction familiar to Jews living in the West. They dropped their distinctive religious and ethnic characteristics in exchange for achieving place. In the end they became Americans who happened to be Jewish, sometimes unhappily so. In a sense they served as a portent of what acculturation would ultimately mean for all American Jews. The case of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., who would become chairman of the UJA campaign in 1946, deserves special mention because here was an instance where a prominent Jew was radicalized by the crisis. That was behind his "hard" plan for the postwar treatment of Germany and his activism in the Jewish community between 1946 and 1951.

But Morgenthau was an exception. It became apparent in the midst of the crisis that Jewish leadership, which at one time had been drawn from a homogeneous cultural stratum that required no reminder of its duty, had been divided by the relentless secularization process. Those leaders who rose through the community, like Stephen Wise, depended on access to power-holders on Jews like Felix Frankfurter, who achieved their station through some special skill or by rising to the top in law, business, or the university. More often than not, the latter group did not allow its influence to be used in a Jewish cause. Everything had changed since the turn of the century when leaders like Jacob Schiff and Louis Marshall totally involved themselves in the leadership role and were recognized by American political leaders as speaking for the Jewish people. By the 1930s, not only had the community become fragmented, but the holistic environment that could produce a leadership, certain of its role and confident that there would be those who followed, no longer existed. The problem ever since has been to find a way to produce new leadership by some other means.*

The organization of the Zionist component of the UJA, the UPA (United Palestine Appeal), was, because of its singular focus on the welfare and security of the Jewish community in Palestine, not really comparable to the JDC or the National Refugee Service, who aided Jews where they found them. In their concern with a long-range solution to the Jewish problem, Zionist-oriented agencies tended to be political and ideological. In America, the slow-starting Zionist movement formed a world unto itself, which despite its commonalities was perhaps even more riven than what was normal in the Jewish world. Under the leadership of Louis D. Brandeis, the Zionist movement had developed a "Zionism of the ledger." It placed high priority on good bookkeeping, operational efficiency and building up the economy of Palestine. That was typically American, as was its disdain for ideology and systemic thinking. A potash plant on the Dead Sea was more important than visionary notions concerning the renaissance of the Jewish people. But after Brandeis removed himself from leadership in 1921, the movement entered the doldrums. Its membership fell off sharply and the fundraising of the UPA could not compare with that of the JDC. Between 1921 and 1925, the four *Keren Hayesod* appeals raised only \$6,000,000 compared to JDC's \$20.8 million. The organization of the UPA, for the 1925-1926 Campaign under the leadership of Stephen Wise, set itself a goal of \$5,000,000 but achieved only a fraction of that, although the riots of 1929 and the separately organized Palestine Economic Corporation, under Felix M. Warburg's leadership, considerably increased the total amount available for development. In 1929, the controlling Weizmann-Lipsky leadership desperately implemented a policy, drawn up at the World Zionist Congress in 1925, of welcoming non-Zionists to their cause. They sought to attract the same people Brandeis had called upon in 1919. Fifty percent of the Jewish Agency's 224 members were now assigned to non-Zionists, even while the Agency continued to represent the interests of the Jews of Palestine. David Brown, former leader of the JDC campaign, became head of the Palestine Emergency Fund. The rapprochement set the stage for the first Allied Jewish campaign of 1930.

* The Young Leadership Cabinet, which was initiated during the tenure of Herbert Friedman, did eventually find a way to incubate such leaders, and the precedent was ultimately followed by the federations. We shall observe presently that the techniques developed to "train" young secular Jews and develop them into a highly committed leadership cadre, were one of UJA's most significant contributions to American Jewish survival.

Nevertheless, the organizational world of American Zionism continued in disarray throughout the early years of the thirties. It was not until the end of the decade that a Zionist consensus began to shape the thinking of American Jewry, over 400,000 of whom had become active in its various organizations. What caused this remarkable reversal was that the crisis itself substantiated a Zionist world view predicated on the persistence of implacable anti-Semitism. American Jewry cared little for the subtle nuances that separated one Zionist branch from another and they had difficulty understanding the heavy ideological freight those branches brought to bear to explain the Jewish condition and how to improve it. What they did understand is the physical reality of masses of penniless Jewish refugees extruded by Nazi Germany who were not welcome anywhere. Not even America wanted to receive the Jews. A nation, a sovereign territory, under Jewish control, which would accept Jews and intercede for them, was imperative for survival. It was not Messianic ideology but the reality of day-to-day happenings which finally convinced the overwhelming majority of American Jews of the need to rebuild Zion. The Holocaust Zionized American Jewry just as it radicalized many of those already committed to it. In the postwar period that simple belief in a "refugee" Zionism, premised on the notion that Jews needed a place to call "home," was transformed into the centerpiece of a new civil religion which we might call "Israelism." Where everything else in the Judaic religio-culture might be in the process of losing meaning, the loving care and nurture of the Jewish state had become paramount. No understanding of the remarkable achievements of the postwar period and the rationale of the UJA's advocacy role is possible without a sense of the part "Israelism" played in revitalizing and energizing American Jewry in the postwar decades.



THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

We have noted that one branch of American Jewish philanthropy, represented by the JDC, concerned itself primarily with the problem created by anti-Jewish depredations abroad. Its strategy was to offer aid in-place or to encourage resettlement. The advent of Nazism in Germany, which advocated a solution to the "Jewish problem" as the core of an otherwise mock ideology, shifted its concern to central Europe. At the outset, the Nazi regime did not think in terms of processed mass murder. The decision for a definitive "final solution" followed sequentially from the failure of potential receiving nations to accept the Jews extruded penniless from the *Reich*. As the German Army moved eastward, first to Austria, then Czechoslovakia, then Poland, it found itself with greater and greater masses of Jews under its control and its much desired goal of creating a *Judenrein* empire in Europe more remote of realization. Finally, the invasion of the Soviet Union in June of 1941 offered the possibility of using the war itself as a cover to solve the Jewish problem by liquidation. In Hitler's mind-set, Communism was in any case a Jewish conspiracy. The Russian campaign represented an opportunity to join the ideological and physical war in a grand crusade to rebuild Europe without the hated joint plague. For our purpose here, it is important to recall the direct link between the failure to solve the Jewish question by emigration and the decision to liquidate European Jewry.

For German Jewry, settled in some Rhineland communities before the Germans, it proved difficult to accept the idea that they had become unwelcome "guests" in the "new" Germany. The early emigration of Jews from Germany varied with the direness of the "cold" pogrom. The problem of where to find a haven was made insurmountable by Nazi insistence that German Jews leave Germany as they imagined Jews had first entered it, penniless. Receiving nations, in the throes of a worldwide depression, did not cherish resettling penniless Jews, who by age and occupational profile would have been difficult to absorb under normal circumstances. Of the 550,000 German Jews, over 70 percent were over the age

of forty and were heavily concentrated in the managerial and mercantile occupation categories, hardly good human material for pioneering ventures. Thousands of those who could pioneer were being siphoned off by the Zionist movement through special programs like *Youth Aliyah*. When after *Kristallnacht*, November 9, 1938, German Jewry finally came to the realization that their position in the *Reich* was untenable, they discovered that there were few countries that would receive them.

The British removal of Palestine as the most likely resettlement venture left only the possibility of resettlement elsewhere. That possibility posed a dilemma for the Jewish rescue advocate. The bitter tensions between Zionist and non-Zionist, which within UJA were reflected in the battles over the distribution formula between JDC and UPA, cannot be understood without a knowledge of these events. Resettlement outside Palestine haunted the Zionist movement and in 1944 caused a surfacing of a bitter dispute on the question of separating the rescue goal from the homeland goal.

The issue was first joined in the early months of 1939 when George Rublee, Roosevelt's crony and director of the newly established Intergovernmental Committee for Political Refugees, succeeded, against considerable odds, in reaching an agreement with Hjalmar Schacht, President of the *Reichsbank*, and Goering's assistant, Helmut Wohlthat, concerning the release of German Jewry. The plan resembled the transfer agreement except that it was based on the expropriation of all remaining Jewish property in Germany, and the transfer of the value of some of that property as German capital goods. The Jewish immigrant would, in a sense, act as the salesman of German capital goods in order to redeem at least part of his property. The controversial Transfer (*Ha'avara*) agreement would now be expanded beyond Palestine to include all Jewish communities.

Predictably, many Zionists opposed the scheme of resettling Jews outside of Palestine at Jewish expense on ideological and practical grounds. It would require enormous sums of money, the Jewish agency estimated, at least £2,000 for each adult immigrant, to resettle German and Austrian Jewry, money that Jews would better spend in developing the only community that welcomed Jews, the *Yishuv*. For our purposes, we need to note that the refugee crisis and its byplays created considerable tension involving as it did the three principal constituents of UJA. The UPA, which had been created in 1925 to coordinate the campaigns of the Jewish National Fund, the Palestine Foundation Fund, and the campaigns of Hadassah and Mizrachi, naturally advocated the mainline Zionist position. The JDC maintained a nonpolitical posture. Its interest was primarily ameliorating the plight of Jews wherever they were. The third component, subsidiary to be sure, was the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants Coming from Germany (NCCR) who sought to aid in the resettlement of refugees when they succeeded in reaching American shores. (Its name was shortened to National Refugee Service in 1939.) Headed by Joseph Chamberlain, the NRS was, in fact, an umbrella organization for refugee agencies and was mostly funded by JDC. From the UPA's perspective, the NRS claim was particularly nettlesome. In proportion to its Jewish population, Palestine absorbed more immigrants and in a better cause and received some funds for that purpose from JDC, but no special refugee agency acknowledged its role.

THE RESETTLEMENT DILEMMA

The struggle involved in fashioning a unified fund-raising effort and the conflict to derive a distribution formula among the components of the UJA, can serve the historian as a prism through which to view the actual flow of power within American Jewry. One could reasonably conclude from a study of these formulas during the Holocaust that wealth continued to have its prerogatives in the internal politics of American Jewry. The Zionist consensus was not fully reflected in this distribution of funds until after

the war.

The allied campaign of 1930 was made possible by three factors: the precipitous decline in dollars raised especially by the Zionist fund-raising campaigns during the twenties, the modicum of good feeling created by Zionist leaders, of which the inclusion of non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency was a reflection, and the developing crisis in Europe and Palestine. Yet, despite such favorable portents, the 1930 campaign was a failure. Louis Lipsky attributed it to the bad economic conditions and the fact that newly monied eastern Jews tended to adopt "uptown" attitudes to gain a much desired respectability. The campaign's goal of six million dollars, modest by today's standards, pre-assigned \$3.5 million to the reconstruction in eastern Europe funded by the JDC. A comparatively generous \$2.5 million would go to the UPA representing the Jewish Agency. The formula was the product of two years of negotiation. UPA's generous percentage marked an effort by Edward Warburg to heal the split by "blending the effort of our people in eastern Europe and the promotion of the Jewish Agency for Palestine [to] bring . . . a measure of harmony and cooperation." The effort was forlorn, in part, because despite the strenuous efforts of David Bressler, an experienced fund raiser, only \$2.5 million was pledged, and only \$1.5 million collected. Beyond the depressed economic conditions, unified fundraising ran into the opposition of anti-Zionist "big givers" associated with JDC. They were not yet prepared to surrender control of their gifts, only 55 percent of which were going to JDC projects in eastern Europe. For the next three years the notion of a unified campaign was abandoned.

In March 1934, under the chairmanship of Felix Warburg, William Rosenwald and Louis Lipsky, a second attempt at unified fundraising was made. Its goal of \$3,000,000, to be raised in 297 cities, was more modest than in 1930. But only \$2.2 million was raised. The 55 percent assigned by the formula to JDC came to only \$1.29 million, hardly sufficient to finance its far-flung projects and less, it felt, than it might have raised independently. Nevertheless, JDC stayed with the joint campaign organized under the name of the United Jewish Appeal for 1935 only to find itself again with another short-fall. The amount raised fell below the pre-Depression year of 1928. The effort and the organizational frame were then abandoned.

Behind the dissolution of the joint campaign were not only the poor results but the fact of bitter internecine strife within the Zionist movement and the growing conflict over the burgeoning refugee problem. The separate UPA campaign of 1936 with a goal of \$2.5 million was similarly unsuccessful, especially when contrasted with JDC's effort for that year. The conclusion that the Zionists could not by themselves raise the needed funds and those who had such funds to give were not interested in Zionist goals, seemed unavoidable. Predictably, negotiations for a unified campaign for 1937-1938 were rejected by JDC.

THE WARTIME ROLE OF JDC

The conflict within UJA should not be allowed to overshadow the remarkable rescue work done through JDC auspices during the Holocaust years. That story has been recorded by Professor Yehuda Bauer. (*American Jewry and the Holocaust, The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939-1945*). He clearly shows that while its apolitical character entailed serious limitation of function domestically, it was, in fact, quite flexible in its overseas program. Domestically, the JDC remained strictly within its confines of a philanthropic fund-raising agency. It was so successful in projecting this image that Breckinridge Long, the Assistant Secretary of State, who more than any other official thwarted the rescue effort, speaks of it favorably in his diary. It is the only Jewish agency to receive such kudos. What Long was unaware of was that in Europe those who acted on behalf of the agency,

or were financially supported by it, in Poland, France, Holland and other countries under the Nazi heel, did use JDC funds to support underground work and every effort which might save Jews. Bauer finds that even the Warsaw ghetto uprising of April 1943 was funded partly by unspent JDC social service funds. The "Joint" was indirectly involved in virtually every rescue program from the rescue of Jewish children from France across the Pyrenees, to the protracted negotiations conducted by Sally Mayer, acting as its Swiss agent, with the SS. Even the stipends for Jewish families in Palestine whose breadwinners were fighting in the Jewish brigade, were supplemented by the "Joint." It took over much of the support of Yeshivas in the Holy Land. It supported the handful of Jews who had found refuge in neutral countries, and those who had found a precarious haven in Shanghai. It is important to mention that role because those eager to indict American Jewry for its ostensible indifference to the fate of its European brethren during the Holocaust rarely take note of the role played by American Jewish philanthropy, as represented by JDC, in their accounts. It seems clear that it was in that traditional role, rather than in politics, that the major American Jewish contribution was made.

AMERICAN JEWISH UJA DURING THE PERIOD OF THE HOLOCAUST ARCHIVES

Withal, the catastrophe which befell European Jewry, while it led to a modicum of unity symbolized by the establishment of the UJA in 1939, could not magically heal the enormous gulf that divided Jews. The war seemed in fact to exacerbate that gulf. Facing a military threat from Rommel's Africa Corps in 1942, its enterprise severely restricted by British policy, the *Yishuv* reacted like an animal fighting for its life. If it could muster little enthusiasm for JDC's prewar settlement ventures, it positively condemned the support it would give to DORSA (The Dominican Republic Resettlement Association, a resettlement project strongly supported by the State Department in the Dominican Republic) or other resettlement projects. Ultimately, the rancor broke out in the fragile rescue listening stations established on the periphery of occupied Europe. In Lisbon the agents of the JDC and the World Jewish Congress fought bitterly over the proper strategy of bringing Jewish children out of occupied France. There were other disputes as well.

In 1944, a simmering conflict between the mainline Zionist organization and the Bergson group of Revisionists (a group of a half-dozen Palestinian Jews associated with the *Irgun Z'vai Leumi*, active in the United States, who first advocated a Jewish Army of stateless and Palestinian Jews, but soon expanded their activities and proposed radical solutions for all problems associated with the crisis), broke out over much the same question, resettlement outside of Palestine for rescue purposes. Bergson argued eloquently that the highest priority should be given to saving Jewish lives and for that purpose the rescue goal and the homeland goal were working at cross purposes and should, therefore, be separated. Technically, of course, the Zionists favored, in fact, were actively helping to save lives wherever they might be saved but, radicalized by the Holocaust, they had passed a commonwealth resolution at the Biltmore Conference in May 1942. More than ever the Zionists now considered Palestine as the primary haven and spent much energy in trying to get London to revoke the White Paper. Resettlement outside of Palestine was a critical dividing line during the Holocaust years as it was in the 1920s and the 1930s. It posed a threat to the *Yishuv* when it was at its weakest. The Jewish community in Palestine had to have priority because it represented the only hope for a long-range solution to the Jewish problem.

In order to make the charter of the reconstituted UJA, signed by William Rosenwald, Jonah Wise and Louis Lipsky on January 18, 1939, work, both sides had to learn to compromise. The leaders of JDC were not necessarily anti-Zionist, even when they stemmed, like Rosenwald, from families where

there was such a tradition. He had supported the use of JDC funds to aid resettlement in Palestine. He could do so on humanitarian grounds. Many JDC leaders, probably most, agreed that Palestine had to be made available as part of any solution to the refugee problem. Most American Jews did. The Zionists, in their turn, acknowledged that the economy of Palestine was insufficiently developed to absorb the millions of Jews who needed a haven.

The role of federation in bringing about the marriage was that of matchmaker. Interested in efficiency and the maximization of fundraising, its leadership had proposed, in October 1938, a new formula for a combined appeal to raise \$20 million. Allocation conflicts would be minimized by agreeing on a formula beforehand for the first \$9.5 million (JDC—\$5.0, UPA—\$2.5, NCCR—\$2.0). A special allocations committee, in which Council of Jewish Federations (CJF) would have the most prominent role, would distribute anything collected beyond the \$9.5 million. The CJF, moreover, would throw its full weight behind the 225 community campaigns.

The \$20 million goal was not reached, but the \$16.25 million raised was considerably higher than previous years. The lesson was clear for all and led to a renewal of the agreement for 1940. At the insistence of the leader of the CJF, Sidney Hollander, ORT, HIAS and JDC would be included in the 1940 formula in return for a promise not to hold independent campaigns. The 1940 campaign, announced jointly by co-chairmen Stephen Wise and Abba Hillel Silver on February 1, 1940, set a goal of \$23 million. The distribution formula continued to reflect the predominance of JDC, which would receive \$10.2 million, while UPA would get \$5.25 million and NRS \$2.5 million. Again, the surplus would be distributed by a yet-to-be-determined formula which CJF would help establish.

Had it been possible to raise larger sums, the tensions within UJA might have been mitigated. As it was, the UPA, aware of the Zionist consensus growing in American Jewry, could barely reconcile itself to the disparity between wealth and the Zionist consensus reflected in the distribution formula. Considering its size and its economy, Palestine was absorbing a proportionately greater number of refugees. Under such circumstances, the \$4.25 million allocated to the NRS in 1941, which placed them on an equal footing with the *Yishuv*, was difficult to comprehend. Surely the importance of Palestine to Jewish survival warranted more generous allocations. The JDC's and NRS's emphasis on refugeeism could never be more than a partial solution. Something had to give.

At this juncture, Rabbi Silver suggested the mobilization of the new Zionist consensus by holding a referendum in 166 of the most important Jewish communities. But his plan was premature. Fully 40 percent of the communities polled were indifferent to such a referendum. UPA was compelled to return, to the UJA campaign for 1941, with its goal of \$25 million. Again it was the CJF which played the crucial role in holding the UJA together by threatening to independently prearrange the allocation formula in the major communities. The UPA decision to hold its own campaign with a goal of \$12 million would then become an even more risky undertaking. In mid-February, a more conciliatory JDC leadership announced its willingness to reopen negotiations and accept binding arbitration on the NRS share. The CJF pressure was effective, a reflection of its increasing influence. But the UPA also demonstrated an ability to bring the formula to reflect the growing strength of the Zionist position. The new formula gave JDC \$4.8 million, 45 percent as compared to 48.6 percent in 1940. The UPA, which received only 23.3 percent in 1940, increased its share to 28.6 percent. It was done mostly at the expense of NRS, whose percentage declined more than six points, from 28.1 percent in 1940 to 22.9 percent in 1941. By 1940, thanks to a series of anti-refugee administrative devices implemented by the State Department and to the war itself, few refugees were, in any case, able to reach American shores.

These figures reflect two realities. American Jewry's relative lateness in understanding the nature of the crisis faced by its European brethren, is reflected in its poor giving between 1939 and 1941. The second was how slowly the growing Zionist consensus was reflected in the distribution formula of UJA. It occurred first at the expense of the NRS, which by 1942 was eliminated entirely from a share in the surplus segment of the formula. The \$13 million excess in 1941 meant that UPA received \$4 million more than in 1940, even though the overall total for the campaign was actually \$2.6 million less. Slowly, then, fund allocation in the Jewish community began to reflect the new power

realities. By 1945 the roughly 60/40 formula of 1942, 1943 and 1944, between JDC and UPA, had given way to a 57/43 distribution. In a few years, the UPA would receive the greater percentage. In the wings stood a new power, the CJF, which would ultimately play the major role in organized fundraising.

There is one redeeming fact concerning the role of the UJA during the crisis. American Jewry remained largely disunited during the Holocaust years. The crucial year of 1943 witnessed the failure of the American Jewish Conference, the establishment of the American Council for Judaism, under Lessing, Rosenwald and the activities of the Bergson group, which rejected Jewish leadership entirely, whatever else its contributions. The delicate bridges that had been painfully built to bind the various sections of the community together collapsed in the face of the crisis. Jews could agree neither on the nature of the danger nor on how to counteract it. Ultimately, they stood helpless before the onslaught, living proof that only in the Nazi imagination was there such a thing as a unified Jewish people. There was one exception and that occurred in the important area of organized philanthropy. The UJA contained and ultimately muted the bitter conflicts that elsewhere tore the Jewish community apart. We have seen how difficult that was to achieve: only a thin thread held the JDC and the UPA together. It raised \$124,000,000 between 1939 and 1945, not nearly enough considering the nature of the crisis, but the figures also show a yearly increase. By 1944, it had set itself a goal of \$32 million and collected \$27 million of it. That would have been considered impossible in 1940. There is a modest redemption in that to lighten an otherwise bleak picture.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

THE POST-HOLOCAUST YEARS

News of the "final solution" had been received as early as October 1942. Thereafter bits and pieces of news telling of the actual implementation of the mass murder process leaked out of the European *Geheam*. Yet the Jewish community was not much more successful than Americans generally in fathoming what was happening. That was true even for those who were earmarked for slaughter and those around the listening posts on the periphery of occupied Europe. The details of the story simply beggared the imagination. Rescue advocates never could surmount the enormous credibility problem. Recalling the atrocity mongering of the first world war, many rejected the notion that a modern industrial nation could employ the industrial process to mass produce death.

The full extent of the destruction of European Jewry did not fully enter world and Jewish consciousness until the camps were liberated and the survivors were able to tell their story. Even then, the extent of the bloodletting was underestimated. (The estimate of 6,000,000 Jewish dead was not arrived at until mid-1946.) The revelation of systematic slaughter left American Jewry in a state of shock. Within the next two years it underwent a radical change in sensibility. The Holocaust became a great dividing line in Jewish history. Before the Holocaust, European Jewry had been the principal generator of Jewish culture. After it was no more, an American Jewry, beset by sorrow and guilt, stepped into the vacuum and finally assumed the reins of leadership that for generations had been held by European Jewry. It played the central role in resolving the problem of the Jewish DPs, survivors of the Holocaust, and contributed notably to a long-range solution of the perennial Jewish problem by the creation of the Jewish state. The nurture of that state became the core of a new Jewish mentality. All studies of Jewish identity of the fifties repeatedly reveal that while American Jews could agree on little else, a concern for Israel's welfare and security was paramount for all. Even highly secularized elements of the Jewish population, who retained little of Jewish culture, avidly supported the state. Those who traditionally opposed political Zionism on both the left and right side of the Jewish political spectrum, muted their opposition. The history of the UJA, in these postwar years, its propulsion into the very

center of American Jewish life, is linked to that change of consciousness. Through it, a secular but committed Jewry was able to reclaim at least part of its lost heritage.

One of the ironies of contemporary Jewish history is that while their European brethren were being systematically decimated, American Jews were beginning to prosper. To be sure, their climb to affluence was not uniform, as the recent discovery of the Jewish poor demonstrates. Nevertheless, the pent-up demand created by the war achieved what the New Deal's counter-cyclical measures never did. It generated a sustained prosperity, which American Jewry, now primed with entrepreneurial skills and professional training, took advantage of. By the late 1950s studies of their economic position show that in per capita annual income and the correlated years of formal education and professional status, American Jewry had gone far beyond other American subcultures and, in some cases, beyond the founding Protestant groups, which heretofore occupied an unchallenged place at the top of the economic pyramid.

In the postwar era, this development combined with the traditional input in specific areas of the economic checkerboard, clothing, the secondhand business, and all forms of merchandising, geometrically increased wealth in Jewish hands. But, at the same time, there was a leveling of Jewish fortunes. Among the new "egghead millionaires" there were few who could boast of astronomical fortunes on the scale of Jacob Schiff. The change in Jewish economic fortunes and in its economic profile would have considerable impact on the strategies and techniques of professional fundraising, which was also undergoing a consolidation. In 1935, the federations and welfare funds provided 20 percent of the capital for thirty-two national and overseas agencies. By 1945, 60 percent of all contributions of American Jews were raised by the federations. By 1970, the percentage had risen to over 80 percent.

More startling yet was the modification of the urban/urbane lifestyle traditionally preferred by Diaspora Jews. American Jews were among the first to move to suburbia, there to establish what one researcher has dubbed "golden ghettos." They fled their urban ghettos, observes Irving Howe, to get away from the congestion and slums and, perhaps, from what they felt was the confining Judaism of their parents. But they did so with other "also escaping" Jews. In suburbia, their primary association patterns, the people they preferred to socialize with, continued to be other Jews. The dispersion would also have an impact on the fund-raising enterprise. It thinned out the Jewish population of Jewish neighborhoods, leaving ageing, sometimes dependent parents. They would become the concern of the Jewish welfare agenda of the mid-seventies. More important, it meant that funds would be needed to rebuild those community institutions, synagogues, Jewish centers, old age homes, which were required to maintain the communal corporate character of Jewish life. It is estimated that between 1950 and 1970, \$800 million was expended by local Jewish communities to construct the new buildings required for the housing of community services and synagogues. The claim of local needs coincided with the crucial need for funds abroad. American Jews had demonstrated an incomparable generosity in their giving, but there was a balancing side to the picture. They also assigned themselves a great deal more to do.

Fund raisers, voluntary and professional, were well aware of the social and economic changes that American Jewry was undergoing. But the change in the potential second- and third-generation givers, in relation to their Jewish identity, were not so readily apparent. First-generation givers retained sufficient connection with either the religious tradition or, if secularized, with an ethnic tradition called *Yiddishkeit*. Among the most intensely identified, both were involved. They accepted the obligation to give, not necessarily because they understood the obligation of *Tzedakah*, but because they cared for and belonged to the Jewish people. Second- and third-generation descendants could rarely boast of such a background. They lived their lives at the other end of an acculturation process, which often took them completely out of the Jewish fold. Often they were left merely with the memory of a memory, a sentimental nostalgia for a culture they never knew. How could fundraising for Jewish causes maintain its momentum in the face of such a development? It would literally be required to make Jews in order to meet the inordinate Jewish need. Giving would be the beginning of that re-Judaization process, and Israel, the one element that continued to move even weakly identified Jews, would necessarily become

the major lever to mobilize American Jewry.

REHABILITATING THE JEWISH DISPLACED PERSON

Those who view the great breakthrough, which was the campaign of 1946, as the work of one man, Henry Montor, ignore the broader framework of the post-Holocaust era in Jewish history, and the new lay leadership. Montor understood intuitively how central Zionism had become, and used it to raise the sights of American Jewry. In the background was a prospering but conscience-stricken Jewry, ready to mobilize its resources to achieve what it could not during the Holocaust, saving the Jewish remnants in Europe's DP camps. The effort itself was reinforced by a new breed of lay leader: Henry Morgenthau (President, UJA, 1947-1950), Edward M. Warburg (1951-1954), and William Rosenwald (1955-1957), who were willing to place their time, their talent and their considerable financial resources at the service of the United Jewish Appeal. Especially noteworthy was the bond between Rosenwald, active in all phases of UJA activity since 1935, and Montor, which served as a model for subsequent cooperation between lay and professional leaders.

There were approximately 250,000 such Jewish DPs. Representatives of Jewish organizations, Jewish chaplains and others who rushed to the camps, saw there a remnant of a once thriving community, often housed together with their former tormentors, in poor physical health and spiritually demoralized. The reluctance to resettle Jews, manifest during the war, had not changed with news of what had transpired in the death camps. Canada, with a vast empty interior, candidly preferred Balts and Polish veterans, who they felt were more work oriented. In the camps, few of their cultural and spiritual needs were taken care of. Often there had simply been a change of guards and camp life continued much as before.

Within the Jewish community, the disposition of the Jewish DPs became once again the source of some acrimony. Jewish representation to the Truman administration had produced an investigation and report that confirmed many of the grievances concerning the treatment of Jewish DPs. Eisenhower was ordered to take corrective action. In 1946, Truman offered to take 100,000 DPs into the United States. For the *Yishuv*, each DP life was especially precious, since the population stock that would have made up Jewish society in Palestine was largely destroyed. The conflict that followed was basically a continuation of the resettlement debacle during the war. Non-Zionists insisted on the right of Jews to settle anywhere, and Zionists insisted that the DPs wanted to settle in Palestine. They had expanded illegal immigration (*Aliyah Beth*), but a lever was required to open the doors of Palestine, whose Jews stood ready to nurse this "saving remnant" back to health.* Of course, between the period 1945-1948, many Americans came to share the view that Palestine must become a Jewish state, whether by partition or declaration. But most stopped short of insisting that Jews be compelled to settle there. For American Jews, the DP survivors were simply people who required a haven. For many Zionists, they were living proof that the establishment of a Jewish state could no longer be postponed.

* An expression first used by Chaim Weizmann to describe the survivors.

MONTOR AND ISRAELISM

We shall note presently the high positive correlation between a successful UJA fund-raising campaign and the presence of crisis in the Middle East. In 1946, such a crisis atmosphere was present. It stemmed partly from the revelations of the Holocaust and partly from the imminence of some radical events in Palestine. There was also a human variable, which should be considered in the final accounting for the "breakthrough" 1946 campaign. Henry Montor, who became the executive vice director of UJA, succeeding Isidor Coons, after spending the previous nine years with UPA, was a rare instance of a fortuitous confluence between the right man and a particular moment in history. A driven and driving Jew, who appeared at this office promptly at 6:45 a.m., dressed in a black suit, Montor had a single vision of the primacy of Zion in Jewish consciousness. That vision happened momentarily to correspond to what post-Holocaust Jewry was sensing. But the advocacy of that primacy also meant conflict. It required that it be reflected in the allocations formulas and that meant a clash of interest with CJF and all those in the Jewish community who did not sense a similar urgency of creating a new center of Jewish civilization in the Middle East to substitute for what had been lost in Europe.

Montor was a throwback to an earlier east European Jewish type. He held the new professionals who headed the local federations in low regard. They were, he observed, drawn from the field of social work and inevitably found themselves over their heads when it came to the earthy business of fund-raising. They could not project sufficient personal power to raise the sums warranted by the crisis. "Our campaigns were subject to this pressure by organized executive directors," he informed an interviewer in 1976, "who had as their objective the maintenance of their position in the hierarchy of fund-raising and also in the Jewish community." They did not understand that the establishment of a Jewish state would now capture the passion of American Jewry and could be used to amplify fundraising beyond their dreams. What followed from that was fairly simple for Montor. "Since the overwhelming bulk of Jews gave to Israel," he later observed, "therefore the overwhelming bulk of funds should go to Israel and not be stripped away for other purposes, however valid they may be."

If he could not fully comprehend the advocacy of local needs by federation directors, he positively abhorred the "overwhelming negativism" of the "aristocratic" Jews, his pejorative for the small core of "big givers" who resisted the primacy he assigned to the creation and nurture of the Jewish state. The issue came to a head over the question of the DPs. In August 1945, Joseph C. Hyman, executive director of the JDC, joined by Samuel Bronfman and Lazar Goodman, two lay leaders, approached Montor with the idea for organizing a special emergency campaign to raise \$15 million. The money would be earmarked for service to the remnants in the DP camps. Having heard the proposal of what he believed was a paltry sum considering the massive problem, his wrath knew no bounds. "You're crazy," he responded; "you're dealing with the biggest disaster in the history of the Jews, and you're going to piddle it away for a mere \$15 million." The annual campaign was already under way and the solution proposed was not only inadequate in scale but merely ameliorative in scope. "Some Jews thought they would set up soup kitchens wherever they were needed," Montor later observed. Such a solution might have worked for JDC after World War I, but after the catastrophe something more than stopgap measures was required if the Jewish people were to survive. For Montor and much of the UJA leadership that meant the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, and the resettlement of the Jewish DPs there.

Montor's response was a proposal for a \$100 million campaign for 1946—more than what had been raised between 1939 and 1944. Predictably it did not go down easily with the leaders of the federations, who would actually have to raise what they considered an "unrealistic and unattainable" sum, which might destroy the basis of fundraising for years to come. But Montor was adamant and

accused the delegates at the UJA convention in Atlantic City of not confronting the situation and really "putting their hands in their pockets." In imagination, Montor's strategy matched his goal. He enlisted Bill Rosenwald, who had had doubts about the \$100 million goal, to announce a "kick-off" gift of one million dollars. Rosenwald agreed and put the amount requested together by soliciting several members of his family. The goal was passed in executive committee by a vote of one to zero. "I voted for it," Rosenwald later recalled, "and no one would vote against me." But in the background was Montor's threat to mount a separate UPA campaign. It was not only a question of an appropriate campaign goal, but a larger appropriation for the UPA. A display of power, as well as the seduction of money, was required. But after setting up a tri-state campaign in the triangle where Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia join, where he imagined "there were Jews from Eastern Europe [in the tri-state area] whose attachment was always Zionism," and setting up over forty local UPA committees, he was forced to abandon the idea. The committees were frozen out by the local federation directors and unable to appreciably affect the distribution formula for funds. For Montor it should have been a harbinger that the federations had achieved considerable control over grass-roots fundraising and that prudence dictated pulling in his horns.

History records that UJA exceeded its goal in 1946 by one million dollars and then, breaking Montor's pledge for a "one-time" campaign, UJA raised \$157.8 million in 1947 and \$205 million in 1948. How remarkable a feat that was can be gleaned from the fact that the 1948 figure was three times as much as collected by the American Red Cross whose constituency was 150.7 million Americans as compared to 5.4 million American Jews. Moreover, the distribution formula finally did come to reflect the Zionist consensus that had developed in American Jewry, a consensus that Montor and others insisted was the reason behind the quantum leap in amounts raised. It came none too soon. Between 1948 and 1953, Israel had a population increase of 254 percent. It did not possess the resources to absorb both the thousands of DPs and the Jews of the Magreb. Each new inhabitant cost the economy between \$2,300 and \$2,500. The role of the UJA in those early postwar years in helping to achieve the absorption of Israel's population stock was crucial. One cannot imagine an ongoing society without it. Abba Eban concluded as much in later years: "We wouldn't have been able to liberate our own resources for security procurement, if the UJA had not taken on its shoulders the burden of immigration absorption."

Montor realized that conviction and ideology would be insufficient to loosen the American Jewish purse strings. It had to be combined with an "arm twisting" psychology and a shrewd insight into the psychic configuration of American Jewry. He understood that American Jewry was inherently more optimistic, more at home in its world than its prewar European counterpart. He therefore counseled that the 1946 campaign should not dwell on the victimization of the Jews, on their suffering during the Holocaust. More money could be raised from focusing on the Jewish ability to wring triumph from disaster. The struggle and survival symbolized by the *Yishuv* rather than the defeat and suffering of Auschwitz was the way to American Jewish hearts and pocketbooks. It proved not only to be practically true, but to offer Jews a moral uplift after the disaster. That too is important in accounting for his successes in the next few years.

In the end it was, he understood, the power relationship in face-to-face solicitation which determined the success of the fund raiser. "Card calling" became to fundraising what the yolk was to the egg. A donor, he counseled repeatedly, should announce his gift. There must not only be peer pressure but the giver must be prepared for the solicitation before the meeting. "If you just call a meeting, Jews don't give," he observed. "No one gives money just because a meeting is called. You must work with and prepare givers." Without pressure, the potential "prospect" would "dodge" his full burden. "Let every man in the room know every other man's level of giving in the previous year," he instructed solicitors, and some old timers recall that he made locking the doors a standard practice before card-calling.

His campaigns were carefully orchestrated: prominent speakers like Bernard Baruch, pace-setting "kick-off" gifts to help the campaign "lift-off" and the now familiar network of business and professional groups. Aware that in 1946 90.1 percent of the funds raised came from givers of \$100,000 or more, he focused attention on them. By 1947, the percentage had risen to 92.0. He was shrewd

enough to realize that especially for these givers nothing would as quickly place the stamp of respectability on giving to Jewish causes as Christian approval. Edward Warburg convinced Nelson Rockefeller to head a nonsectarian committee, which drew in Winthrop Aldrich, Chairman of Chase Bank; Henry Luce, the noted publisher; and even the Ford Motor Company, whose stock was not high among Jews. None of these techniques were new. Those who had worked with Joseph Willen, the former director of the UPA campaign, found them familiar. But now they were applied relentlessly, and the campaign itself gave excruciating attention to detail. Twenty-three regional conferences were convened in 1946 to cover the westward tilt that was occurring simultaneously with the move to suburbia. The National Women's Division, chaired by Mrs. David M. Levy, was energized, local campaigns were carefully coordinated with the national campaign and quotas for each locality established. Behind the sloganeering, "Year of Survival" (1947), "Year of Destiny" (1948), "Year of Deliverance" (1949), was meticulous planning by a man whose energy seemed to be released by his conviction that he was on the right side of history.

It may have been the sense that he was somehow in historical synchronization that attracted men like Bill Rosenwald, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Edward M. Warburg to join him. Morgenthau, who bore an important name in American Jewish history, became the first full time chairman of the national campaign from 1947 to 1950 and then followed Montor to Israel Bonds. He liked to refer to Montor as "my good right arm" but those who knew both men understood that the situation was actually the reverse. Morgenthau was often Montor's instrument and one of the few "uptown" Jews he trusted and liked. Under Montor's tutelage, Morgenthau completely immersed himself in the campaign and became as driven as his mentor. Yet, while Montor had an enormous influence on Morgenthau, it was not a relationship between puppet and puppeteer. His interest in the fate of the Jews began while he was Secretary of the Treasury when he became aware of the concerted attempt to conceal news of the Final Solution. Even before that, Roosevelt teased him for an ostensible interest in Zionism, an ideology condemned by his father. He was the only Jew in Roosevelt's charmed inner circle who mustered sufficient courage to openly broach the question of rescue. It was his assistants, in the Treasury, who wrote a detailed brief, "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of This Government in the Murder of the Jews," which Morgenthau delivered to Roosevelt in December 1943. It led directly to the establishment of the War Refugee Board in January 1944, according to a formula suggested by Morgenthau. When Montor recruited Morgenthau for UJA, he was getting a man whose odyssey back to a strong Jewish affiliation had begun in 1940. It finally brought him to a staunch support of the Jewish state. Montor too may have realized that he was witnessing, in the hyperactivity of his campaign chairman, a kind of *T'shuva* that was rare among "aristocratic" Jews.

Montor could not have been blind to the fact that with such huge sums of money at stake, power confrontations within the agency and with other interests were inevitable. He never shirked such confrontations, and one suspects that he may even have relished them. His criticism of his successor, Joseph J. Schwartz (Executive Vice President, 1951-1957) was that he had no taste for the fray. The most notorious of these confrontations was with the budget committee of the Jewish Welfare Fund of Chicago in 1948. Montor felt that the Chicago federation was particularly aggrieved at his reneging on his "once-in-a-lifetime" pledge for the 1946 campaign—and thereafter opposed him at every turn. He had just returned from Poland and, undoubtedly, news of the Kielce pogrom was still fresh in his mind. He was less than ever able to understand those who felt no urgency about getting Jews out of Europe, and the impossibility of sending them back to where they came from. He lectured the Chicago committee: "If you have it, give it!" and "Don't talk about this business of once in a lifetime." Some of his listeners were irate at such open reneging on a solemn promise, even if the cause was just. The group remained recalcitrant and, finally, an exasperated Montor threatened that he would set up a refugee camp on the outskirts of Chicago and conduct a separate campaign there as well. The contretemps was finally smoothed out by Colonel Jack Arvey, who Montor observed was of "east European origin himself," and presumably better able to understand the need "than the German Jews or pseudo-German Jews, who controlled the destiny of Chicago's Jewish Welfare Fund."

Montor's confrontationist tactics with prominent leaders of local federations took their toll. Professionals, who saw eye-to-eye with the primacy he insisted belonged to Israel, nevertheless became convinced that such confrontationism worked against efficient fundraising over the long run. Suspecting that Zionist leaders Abba Hillel Silver and Emanuel Neumann were misusing their control of UPA funds to dominate the emerging social structure of Israel, Montor threatened to resign as the executive director of that agency in September 1948. He now insisted that thousands of nonaffiliated American Jews would give to Israel through local federation campaigns and a separate UPA apparatus was unnecessary. The conflict impinged directly on internal politics in Israel, since Silver and Neumann had earlier joined Ben Gurion in easing Chaim Weizmann, the "grand old man" of the Zionist movement, out of the picture. In turn, Silver was made chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency, parent body of the UPA, from which he waged a continuous battle to oust Montor and gain complete control. In the raw struggle for power, Montor won a momentary victory. But there was no relaxation of this conflict, or any other with which he was involved. The 1949 campaign, which only 52 members of the executive board endorsed, began without the participation of Montor and Morgenthau. The conflict was resolved only when Silver and Neumann withdrew from the scene. But by 1950, Montor, whose enemies were now legion, was in turn forced to resign his UJA leadership post. Together with Morgenthau, he moved to the newly established American Finance and Development Corporation for Israel, which had been established by Israel to market her bonds.

Montor's strengths, understanding of and need for power, a fondness for confrontation, a knowledge of the fund-raising business, and of the psychology of American Jewry, and a willingness to place the welfare of Israel above all else, had by the mid-fifties become liabilities. His power base was too narrow to control what was happening at the grass roots. There the federations, charged with a broader mission, which viewed Israel as an important but not an exclusive priority, were consolidating their position. For federation leaders, Montor's passion and his confrontationism convinced many that he had outgrown his usefulness.

THE DILEMMA OF IDEOLOGY

Only in the narrowest sense is UJA a fund-raising agency. It organizes campaigns, but collects funds only in the smaller nonfederated communities, which account for about 20 percent of the amounts raised. Mostly it is a service agency for the federations, training their solicitors, supplying them with promotional material, organizing missions to Israel and generally doing the myriad of things, from planning to administering, that go into a successful campaign. It is stated with startling directness in an in-house report of the Long Range Planning Committee issued in March 1982:

The UJA's role is a) to facilitate and enhance the fund-raising efforts of the American Jewish communities by actively providing services to Federations and nonfederated communities so that through joint efforts maximum funds may be raised for local, national, and overseas needs; b) to be an active advocate of overseas needs.

The leaders of UJA have always been in the unenviable position of having no actual instrument, in organizational or personal form, to implement its charge. It has no independent grass roots power, it cannot boast of a fraternal role, or one of defense, it is not a religious organization. It is not even a tax collector, but only an advisor to those who are. Nor does it have a mandate from the government of Israel, whose development is the major tenet of its "advocacy" posture. It offers only a skill and a compelling ideological line. More than any other Jewish agency, its power is undefinable. In such

circumstances the agency can easily lose its "turf." That may be partly behind the defensiveness of Montor and his successors to the position of Executive Vice President. Montor, in his less combative moments, sensed that how much "space" the UJA had in which to operate, its very organizational integrity, depended on the ability of its leadership, lay and professional, to protect its turf. It possessed no other natural barriers to being preempted. A mere service agency could not withstand the encroachments of solicitation for private causes, hospitals, Israeli universities, Yeshivot by the score, and competing official causes, like Israeli Bonds. Even while helping to raise millions, its role is always being questioned and its territory encroached upon. How each successive UJA leader handled the problem of keeping UJA in business was as crucial as the more obvious measure—successful fundraising. Montor was successful in both initially and when he resigned it was because of failure in the former area. He was arousing a needless challenge to UJA's role.

UJA amplifies its service role by means of ideology that draws heavily on the centrality of Israel and the notion of universal Jewish peoplehood. To the student of history its penchant for ideology has a peculiar logic. Zionists have always reverted to it in confronting the branches of the movement in the West. Traditional eastern Zionists spoke incessantly of the need for ideological work (*Gegenwartsarbeit*) among the Jewish masses in America and other western nations. They lived their Zionism twenty-four hours a day; it shaped their entire lives. Men like Brandeis and Frankfurter, they believed, were at best part-time Zionists and part-time Jews. Zionism went beyond the American penchant for "operationalism" or building a new potash plant on the Dead Sea. It meant refurbishing the soul of the Jewish people and reentering history with a modicum of control of its own fate. That holistic view of Zionism, which placed a mystique at its very center, would have particularly rough sledding with American Jewry, whose character reflected the practicality cherished by American society. Their new hero was the problem-solving engineer rather than the ideologue-dreamer. Those "cool" but concerned doers were everywhere coming to play a leading role in the federations. Would they be able to fathom that ideology was required not only to permit UJA to keep its "space" but that without it the fund-raising effort would be diminished?

The ideology proposed by Montor, a simple Israelism, was perhaps too raw for the new American Jewish fund-raising constituency. "I was safeguarding, I thought, the interest of Israel within the UJA, and whatever had to do with Israel, whether on one front or another, I was there." In the postwar years, when first- and second-generation immigrants were in control of Jewish fortunes and the euphoria of finally having a Jewish state was strong, such a view was in consonance with what was felt by committed Jews at the grass roots. But even then, much to Ben Gurion's dismay, the strong pro-Israel sentiment felt did not include the notion that a Jewish renaissance would now occur and it required all Jews to be ingathered in Zion. It contained no imperative for *Aliyah*. It was a Zionism shaped in an intensely secular business culture where commitment was expressed with cash. How could the passionate state of mind required by the new state be generated among such a people?

UJA encouraged such a substitution so that the giving of money becomes a way of expressing Jewish concern. Subsequent UJA Executive Vice Presidents were no less Israelistic than Montor, but carefully fashioned their Zionism to comport with the American Jewish spirit. During this tenure Irving Bernstein noted that "raising money can be a truly Jewish experience" and bemoaned the fact that there was an inadequate realization of the crucial role philanthropy plays in the building of the Jewish community. To be sure he was convinced that a yearly *Aliyah* of 10,000 would do no damage to American Jewry while strengthening the link to Israel, which historically and practically has always been the core of Jewish peoplehood. "How do we practice Judaism today?" he asked. "Not by prayer but through philanthropy. Not by standing before the *Aron Kodash* but by standing before Israel—for Israel." He saw no alternative for American Jewry. "The Jewish country club is not Jewish, the Jewish synagogue or temple you don't go to except once or twice a year—therefore, where do you make your Jewish commitment? Where do you get a lesson in Jewish values? You get it through your philanthropic work." For Bernstein the act of giving had become sacred where all else has been desacralized.

Such a rationale does create the necessary "space" for the UJA to function effectively since it

is at the center of the philanthropic process. Yet an organization that received contributions from over a million Jews distributed in over 800 communities and that yearly reminded American Jews of the imperatives of Jewish needs beyond their local ones, has something of the omnipresence and the rhetorical urgency that religion once used to have among Jews. And if Judaism is a religion of acts then the act of giving what is most precious is quintessentially Jewish.

The question is whether ideology is enough. The inherent power relationships all organizations must confront in real life have a way of ignoring prophetic messages. The claim of making Jews through giving to Israel did not go unchallenged. All who solicit for Jewish causes perforce claim that they are strengthening the Jewish community. For the federation member it may be the need for a new old-age center and for the Orthodox it may be in a new Yeshiva. We shall note presently that the advocacy role that focuses exclusively on Israel poses dilemmas of its own. But for the fund-raising enterprise the role of ideology can hardly be underestimated. It makes it possible for a solicitor to sell an unseen intangible product to an unconcerned, often indifferent, consumer.



AMERICAN JEWISH
THE UJA IN THE FIFTIES, SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES
ARCHIVES

In the first decade of life of the Jewish state events themselves seemed to reinforce the sense of Israel's primacy. There were constant reminders that Israel required such nurturing. There was the Arab inability to reconcile itself to the existence of the state, the murderous rage of the displaced Palestinians allowed to fester in refugee camps, and the sustained raids of the terrorists. Enormous outlays for defense were required even if it meant momentarily neglecting community needs. The image of a small nation absorbing thousands of immigrants with one hand and with the other holding off hostile Arab neighbors anxious to push the Jews "into the sea" did not need to be "sold" to American Jewry. It represented reality. The new lay leadership, Morris W. Berinstein (UJA President, 1953-1960), Philip M. Klutznick (1961), Joseph Meyerhoff (1961-1964), and Max M. Fisher (1965-1967), who comprised a new breed of UJA campaigners, had history on their side.

Yet it proved difficult to maintain the high level of giving initiated by the campaigns of 1946 and 1948. There was a desperate need to relax, to become normal again. For the internal workings of the UJA there were other problems as well. There were continued tension with CJF, the development of Israel Bonds as an alternative form of giving, and a threat to its tax exemption status, which, if unresolved, could play havoc with fundraising.

One could argue that the decline of the amounts raised between 1951 and 1955 was simply a return to normality. But they were nevertheless startling after the initial successes and insufficient to carry forward the domestic and foreign tasks American Jewry assigned itself. In 1951 only 50 percent of the campaign goal, \$85 million, was collected. Things were not much improved between 1952 and 1955 when the collection averaged about 60 percent of the 1948 banner year of \$205 million. For UJA, moreover, there was a decline of the percentages allocated to it. It had finally received 60 percent of the collection in 1953 but the following year not only did the overall collection decline by 8 percent, but the UJA share plummeted to 58 percent. It had received \$58.2 million in 1953; it would receive only \$52.5 million in 1954. For Zionists, the fact that the United Israel Appeal (UIA) now really overshadowed JDC was small compensation but it concealed the extent of the overall decline. In 1946, for example, JDC still received 51 percent of the allocation, but by 1951, 65 percent of the first \$55 million raised and 87.5 percent of all additional funds went to UIA.

FORGING UNITY

By the rules of organizational life, the people at the helm of the organization are responsible for its successes and failures. Between 1951 and 1954 that leadership role fell to Rudolf G. Sonnenborn, who served as National Campaign Chairman (1951-1953) and Jack D. Weiler, a national Chairman and for 25 years a member of UJA's Executive Committee. During the administration of Joseph Schwartz, both were staunch advocates of UJA's overseas advocacy role especially as it concerned Israel and sought a new relationship with the federations and between the constituencies of the UJA.

Much headway in this direction was made in the administration of Joseph Schwartz, Montor's successor as Executive Vice President. He was a "Jewish Jew" who could boast of having all of Montor's sense of commitment in addition to being a learned Jew. He was trained as a rabbi and a scholar. He had earned a Ph.D. in Semitic languages at Yale, which he followed by short teaching stints at the University of Cairo and Long Island University. Had more opportunity been available for academicians during the depression years of the thirties, he might have made his mark as a scholar. As it was he almost randomly drifted into social work for the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities. When the crisis struck he was recruited by "Joint" and by 1940 became Chairman of the European Executive Council of JDC. Probably no one in an official capacity knew more about what was actually happening to European Jewry. During that period Schwartz was tireless in his efforts and skillful at bending JDC's rules to support Jews where it remained possible to do so. He was particularly adept at keeping the JDC nonpolitical role inviolate at home while funneling money to proxy agencies abroad. In 1950 he became director general of the JDC but was there only one year tenure before he was recruited to head the parent agency, UJA.

The period was one of consolidation rather than confrontation and conflict. The problems of Israel during these early lean years impressed itself deeply on the lay leaders. Personalities formerly associated with general philanthropy such as those associated with the National Women's Division—Mrs. Alexander Brailove, Mrs. David M. Levy, Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman, Mrs. Albert Pilavia and Mrs. Felix M. Warburg—now gave highest priority in their giving to the needs of Israel.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

One can find a symmetry in the tenure of Herbert A. Friedman, Schwartz's successor to the helm of the UJA. Two years after he became Executive Vice Chairman in 1956 came the electrifying victory of the Sinai war and four years before his retirement came the remarkable feat of arms of the 1967 war. There is always a correlation between crisis and response in Jewish history but seldom does it become as apparent as in the field of fundraising. Wars, which are human catastrophes in their own right, ironically stimulate the raising of money. That, we have seen, is the way American Jewry responds to crisis. The UJA's mettle was tested by its ability to mobilize quickly during such crisis. In 1956 the agency was prepared. It quickly established a "survival fund," which required an "emergency campaign." Both became standard elements of subsequent campaigns.

By the mid-fifties a new native American Jew had made his debut. Only 17 percent of American Jewry was now foreign born. For the UJA a new type of giver was in the making. The descendants of

the *Our Crowd* generation, which had produced the Schiffs, the Guggenheims, the Warburgs, and dozens of prominent families, and for the UJA had produced a campaign chairman like Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Edward Warburg and William Rosenwald, were gradually being replaced, by natural attrition. At the grass roots level, the possessors of new fortunes linked to the federations were already making their weight felt. At the top level there were leaders and givers like Morris W. Berinstein, Samuel H. Daroff, Joseph Holtzman, Sol Luckman, Joseph M. Mazer, Samuel Rothberg, Michael A. Staritsley, Joseph I. Lubin, Jacob Sincoff and many others. Most important, they were usually indigenous home products, both in terms of their Americanism and by having spent some of their adult years in UJA/federation environment. They were a new breed, native born Jews, who had succeeded in business and brought to UJA managerial skills as well as devotion to Israel. One could speculate that the fifties and sixties corresponded roughly to the period when the new "arriviste" cohort of Jews, who made their fortunes during and immediately after the war, sought respectability. Many found it outside the Jewish arena but there were a surprising number who sought it through a Jewish conduit, especially through Jewish philanthropy.

The pace of social change had accelerated in the postwar decade and the process of Americanization was running its inexorable course. Friedman and the new cabinet were themselves a product of that change. Friedman was a Reform Rabbi, of east European stock, twenty-one years old when UJA was established in 1939. His early adult years were spent in active witness to the impact of the Holocaust. He was involved in *Aliya Beth*, and the illegal collection of arms for Hagganah. He had been one of the remarkable Jewish rabbis who involved themselves with Jewish DPs in the camps. Between 1948, he was a rabbi in Denver, a city whose Jewish community would grow astoundingly in the postwar period. He seemed always to be at the cutting edge of Jewish developments, whether it was involvement in the DP camps, or assuming a community leadership in the area where American Jewry was growing fastest, Denver. His reputation as an energetic organizer and impassioned speaker and skillful fund raiser came to the attention of Joseph Schwartz and Edward Warburg. They saw a man with a first-hand experience working in the communal nexus through which UJA conducted its campaigns. Friedman possessed a first-hand familiarity with the program of the federation and did not hesitate to lock horns with its leaders when he thought the interests of Israel were being overshadowed by the everpresent pressure to pour more resources into local endeavors. He seemed well suited to halt the erosion of fundraising generally and UJA's share of those funds particularly.

The techniques of fundraising were honed sharper and knowledge of group dynamics and sales psychology were added to the training of solicitors during these years. Also developed to a fine art were the mission and the training of young leadership and the strengthening of the liaison with the rabbinic establishment who were officially linked to UJA. Withal, it is difficult to say whether it was the honing sharp of old techniques and the addition of new ones, or the crisis represented by the Sinai campaign, that reversed the bleak fund-raising situation.

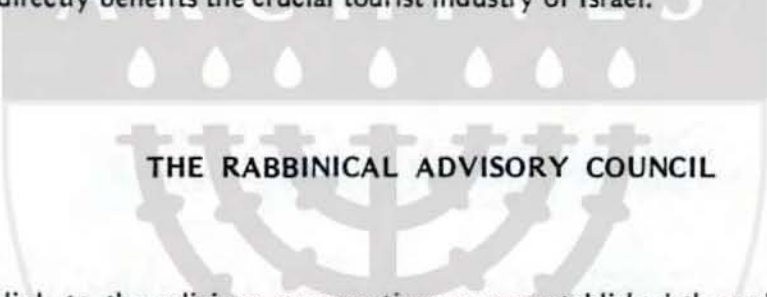
MISSIONS

Missions to Israel were well known in the UJA campaigning. They were tailored to the particular group and for fund-raising and educational purposes. The impact of both was reflected in enhanced giving. Undoubtedly, a psychologist would be able to explain the remarkable impact such missions often had on the participants. When a UJA organizer was asked to explain the phenomenon of what happens on such missions, he answered simply, "Life itself happens." For the fund raiser, compelled to "sell" an unseen product, the visibility of Israeli society, modern and confident and normal, could be of enor-

mous assistance. The potential giver saw a majoritarian Jewish society that served as an illustration of what Jewish enterprise could do. There was evidence of the role played by the help given by American Jewry. Somehow it brought residual pride to the surface. The mission participant felt part of it through his giving. The donation was made at some point during the mission to seal the commitment. Often the process was helped along by the atmosphere among the mission members. Their togetherness was intensified by a regional or professional or class commonality, which served the original organizing principle.

Sometimes the breakthrough was coincidental. One comparatively minor giver happened to be visiting a kibbutz in the Jordan Valley, which came under rocket attack. For three days the children of the kibbutz were confined to underground shelters. After the attack was over, the children once again went outdoors to play. But the mission participant was so emotionally moved he could not hold back his tears. He upgraded his gift and has remained a generous giver ever since. Of course, one cannot arrange a convenient rocket attack for all missions, but the atmosphere in which giving seems natural can be engineered, especially in Israel.

In recent years the mission program, which was originally designed for major givers, has been expanded to include givers on various levels. On the average 100 to 135 missions, including community missions, are dispatched to Israel every year. They include five to six thousand participants. For UJA the benefit goes beyond the enhancement of fundraising. It strengthens the overseas link that the UJA represents, and indirectly benefits the crucial tourist industry of Israel.



THE RABBINICAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

A crucial link to the religious congregations was reestablished through the organization of the Rabbinical Advisory Council in 1960. After the local federations, the network of religious congregations is the only other Jewish agency that reaches into the remotest corner of Jewish life in both the geographic and emotional sense. That remains true in a relentlessly secularizing American society because even for the most marginal Jews, certain primordial acts—birth, circumcision, confirmation, marriage and death—remain religious functions. Few Jews are so removed as to reject the presence of a rabbi at the wedding of a child. Rabbis remain important because they often serve as the only full-time culture carrier the American Jew has contact with. He also is the model Jews may feel they can no longer be. That was not the traditional role of the rabbi among Jews, but in a Protestant society, the Protestant model that views the pastor as spiritual and opinion leader in matters of group concern has been accepted. He is an important man to have on your side for the fund-raising enterprise.

The organization of the Rabbinical Advisory Council formally reestablished the link to the religious congregation, which we have noted existed in colonial times. It was natural that it should be so, since so much of the rationale for philanthropy was couched in religious terms. During the Yom Kippur war, for example, the religious pulpit was used to mobilize American Jewry with enormous effectiveness. The UJA might be the religious congregation in contemporary times, as Bernstein maintained, but surely those involved in the earthy business of fundraising could not be the rabbinate. The presence of rabbis helped spiritualize the mission of the UJA.

YOUNG LEADERSHIP

In retrospect, Friedman's most important contribution did not concern his streamlining of the UJA's fund-raising effort or even his strong defense of UJA's position in relation to the federations. The innovation that assured that UJA would be able to sustain itself was the establishment of a program for young leadership in 1962. When first organized, it was simply another fund-raising strategy to corral the sons of "big givers" who might otherwise have been lost to UJA. If such cultivation of descendants was not done, the older givers would die out with no one to replace them. But how to bring the sons to a realization of the need to carry forward a responsibility first assumed by the fathers?

To understand the problem fully, we must momentarily return to one of the changes in Jewish organizational life wrought in America. In the closed societies of Europe, Jewish organizations customarily established a *jugend* (youth) branch. Its function was to orient young people toward the ideology of the organization. It was possible in certain Zionist or Bundist organizations to spend one's entire life, from the cradle to the grave, in the bosom of such organizations. Rather than depending exclusively on recruitment of new members, organizations were able to assure their biological continuance by raising their own "cadres." With the minor exception of temple youth organizations and some Zionist organizations, that practice was not followed in America where life was more dynamic and the younger generation was allowed to be "free" to find its own way. Predictably, that absence of youth groups made for a one-generation phenomenon which has been noted in many movements in American Jewry. Despite the investment of effort, organizations were not distinctly successful in recruiting and indoctrinating new members. Mass membership organizations, like B'nai B'rith or Hadassah, are today faced with the prospect of an aging membership with all the implications for vitality and survival that implies.

Although not a membership organization, UJA's problem in the context of fundraising was not dissimilar. The practice of cultivating a new generation of adherents has become a model for the federations and other organized groups. If anything, the problems posed by rapid assimilation for fundraising would be more ominous. It was reasonable to assume that a weakened Jewish identity would inevitably be reflected in a decline in giving. The well would eventually run dry. That is in fact behind the rhetoric that speaks of "making Jews" through giving. But how precisely one re-Judaizes a marginally identified new generation, to the degree that it assumes a leadership role that entails sacrifice, remained a mystery. How does an organization like UJA produce Jacob Schiffs, when the social and ethical context that developed philanthropists devoted to the Jewish enterprise no longer exists?

UJA objectives in establishing the Young Leadership Cabinet were modest. Only after the Six-Day War did it take on a Judaizing dimension and become an experience of such intensity that the result was the remarkable phenomenon we witness today. The key to the successful incubation was the generation of a powerful elitism based partly on the privileged background of the participants and partly on a training for awareness that there was something in the rich Jewish tradition that warranted preserving. It was not sufficient to inform the first group of forty that they were earmarked for leadership roles in American Jewry. As seductive as such a "call" might be, it made little sense if the selected received no psychic income from such a tribute. Something was required to create an esprit de corps, a pride and self-consciousness in the role they were to assume. Such groups traditionally form among young men of fairly common background and professional achievements where "bonding" makes for primary loyalty to the group and the cause. There had to be a sense of élan. UJA's Young Leadership Cabinet became a kind of secular priesthood, or, as one member put it, the "Green Berets" of the Jewish community. To create a special sense of being élite, a charge with a special mission and some kind of "trial by fire" is required. That makes the whole process of membership psychically worthwhile. That is partly provided by the inordinate demands the Cabinet makes on the time and resources of the members. Those

First found
Cabinet
1963

who have been recruited (no one simply joins the Cabinet) travel, solicit, attend innumerable meetings, go on missions to Israel, all at their own expense, and sometimes at the expense of their personal lives. They are totally involved in the group. It furnished them with their personal relations and much of their life purpose. They become totally committed solicitor-givers. Their "trial by fire" consists not of doing battle, but of the ability to surrender a portion of their personal income for the cause. There is enormous pressure within the Cabinet to make a "good gift." As with all elite groups, whether you have met the test is determined by the group to whom the member had made "total disclosure" of his entire income. That is done at an annual retreat. There the gift is announced and the group affirms its approval. That in turn is based on an informal formula, five percent of the first \$25,000 and ten percent of the remainder.

No one knows precisely how such a necessary miracle happens or why people voluntarily surrender control of a part of their lives and some portion of their fortunes. It is a devotion reminiscent of the zeal brought to a cause by the convert. Indeed, some Cabinet members have become *Ba'alei T'shuva* (used here as returnees rather than repentees) and some have made *Aliyah*. The feeling of not wanting to leave the Cabinet, when the mandatory "retirement" of forty is reached, is widespread. But the Jewish mission undoubtedly gives us only part of the answer. For the remainder, we probably need to investigate the general popularity of outside support groups, which seem everywhere to have become more prevalent as the nuclear family has lost some of its hold. There is also a need, especially among young men from wealthy homes, to gain some distinction apart from an unearned status of patrimony. In general, in a leveled mass society with a fetish for equality, there may be a general need to be something more than merely a face in the crowd. Membership in an elitist super-fraternity may fulfill that need.

Whatever the case, Friedman's almost casual assemblage of about one hundred such young men from twenty-one communities, whose names he had almost casually copied down from time to time as "comers," became a profound innovation. It gave UJA a core of volunteers who placed the mission of the agency as a primary influence in their lives. It also furnished a pool of talent from which UJA could draw its voluntary and professional leadership. No organization on the American Jewish scene, with the possible exception of the *Chasidei Chabad*, could boast anything quite like it. A method had been developed to fill the vacuum left by the passing first generation of givers. It was possible not only to involve peripheral Jews in fundraising but, when properly managed, to develop a group ready enthusiastically to assume the burden of leadership. The remarkable process may hold one of the keys for Jewish survival in America.

400 names - 250 attended first conference Nov. 1960

DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH CJF

If the development of young leadership gave UJA some reason to face the future with confidence it could not assure the role the agency would play in American Jewish life. That was so not because of any inner failing of the agency, but because of the continued growth of the influence of the federations with which it worked in tandem. By Friedman's tenure, the federations' assumption of a governance function, best reflected in its long-range planning and the growing strength of the Jewish Community Relations Councils (JCRC), was manifest. It made necessary a rescrambling of all organizations in relation to the primacy of the federations. UJA's relationship to the federations, in its simplest form, was that of a service agency that helped manage the annual fundraising campaign, but its primary interest was to furnish funds for overseas needs, which required a separate advocacy role. In terms of organizational efficiency, it might seem that the next logical step would be to incorporate the UJA into

the federation apparatus. Indeed, there were those who argued for such an amalgamation, especially in those regions where the two agencies worked so closely together that many contributors were not able to distinguish between them.

But such an incorporation posed problems as well. There had always been a competitive relationship, a natural tension, between fulfilling purely domestic needs and those for overseas. Incorporation would inevitably preempt the needs of the latter, which required an independent advocate. The UJA, it could be argued, by advocating overseas needs from an outside position provided a safeguard against the parochialism inherent in the localism of the federations. It offered transcendence through the link it maintained with *K'lal Yisrael*. Without it American Jewry, much like America itself, was in danger of isolating itself and diminishing the entire Jewish enterprise. Yet arguing that federation really requires no reminder of the importance of Israel, some federation leaders maintain that the advocacy posture serves the interest neither of American nor of world Jewry. "It is not the UJA that makes Jews," one federation leader maintains, "but the quality of Jewish life in America." If the institutions that support Jewish life are neglected, then American Jewish life will continue to lose vitality. That too affects the welfare of Israel, which requires a strong American Jewry.

Behind the rhetoric there was the question of power. The governance function they had naturally assumed, links the federations firmly to the local communities. They naturally viewed the Jewish need through that prism just as the UJA's vision was focused exclusively on overseas needs. But CJF sat astride the fund-raising network, which was responsible for the collections. As early as 1945, Montor's threat to mount an independent UPA campaign fell flat, a portent of things to come. UJA's advocacy of Israel and its formidable skills in organizing fund-raising campaigns might increase the amounts collected, but the collection itself could no longer be done without the cooperation of the federations. The UJA found itself increasingly dependent on suasion. Montor fought hard for a higher allocation for UJA but his premature departure suggests that he may have waged the battle outside acceptable ground rules. His successors followed a conciliatory middle road. But all had become supplicants before the principal agency, the federations. The politics of the Jewish community have indeed become budget politics, and the inherent potential for damage has been controlled by the working out of long-range allocation agreements. The agreements take the form of Pre-Campaign Budgets based on the gross proceeds of the campaign. They are usually fashioned in a year-round process of consultation between UJA's National Allocations Department and the federations and can take many forms. Optimally they are long-range agreements, which may last as long as a decade, as in New York.

The pre-campaign budget strategy has worked well, but behind it, the sorting out process continues. A hierarchical arrangement, which places the federations at the apex of the pyramid, is replacing the chaotic lateral one. UJA has become the service agency for organizing what amounts to a massive voluntary collection effort under the federation umbrella. Its strenuous advocacy role could be viewed as a strategy for enhancing that effort much the way the Internal Revenue Service might speak about patriotism and the responsibilities of citizenship. The protection and nurturing of Israel is, in fact, the crucial centerpiece for being a citizen of world Jewry. Fortunately, that has become the sentiment of American Jewry too.

TAX EXEMPTIONS, AND RESTRUCTURING THE JEWISH AGENCY

The UJA's problematic relationship to the federations was complicated during the fifties by a dilemma that, if left unattended, could threaten the fund-raising process. It concerned the control of funds funneled to Israel. Israel's bureaucracy, like much of its culture, could not readily be separated

from politics. The controlling party offered not only an ideology, but housing, schools, and social insurance. The east European model of party organization followed by Israel meant that the Party acted as a government within a government. Moreover, ideology, what the party believed and propounded, was crucial in the political culture of Israel. That condition made the transmission of funds to Israel problematic. Funneled through the Jewish Agency, a sovereign nation received funds from the UJA and Keren Hayesod, which played a similar role in communities outside America. The control of funds inside Israel was problematic because a sovereign nation would not welcome such initiatives by an agency controlled from abroad and the Jewish Agency itself was linked to the Government by history and the pervasive politics of Israel. The Jewish Agency was the Jewish government of Palestine during the mandate period and was still in some measure controlled by the government of Israel, or more accurately the party that controlled that government.

Complaints regarding the use of funds collected from American Jews by the parent organization are as old as American Zionism itself. The charge of the misuse of funds was at the heart of the conflict between Weizmann and Brandeis in 1920. We have noted that one reason for the expansion of the Jewish Agency in 1929 was to attract Jewish givers by ostensibly giving them a stake in the Zionist enterprise. By 1932, it was clear that the scheme had failed. Non-Zionists were virtually inactive in the Jewish Agency and never gained a major voice. Many "big givers" preferred to earmark their gifts, aid to refugees, or special overseas projects, to make certain that they were not used for political Zionist causes. Such earmarking helped JDC keep fundraising alive during the Depression. At least one aspect of Montor's conflict with Silver concerned the disposition and collection of funds. Montor realized that much of Silver's power base stemmed from his control of UPA funds. He insisted on putting funds directly into the pipeline, bypassing Keren Hayesod and UPA. That could be done because the disbursement methods were not systematized.

The politicization of disbursements had legal as well as ideological implications. During the early fifties, for example, in order to stimulate *Aliyah*, the Ben Gurion government was funneling money back to America for that purpose, some of which undoubtedly had been raised in America. By 1967 \$18.5 million had been expended to settle approximately 10,000 Jews in Israel. A good percentage of them ultimately returned. For some the expenditure was questionable on ideological grounds—why should American Jewish money be used to promote an activity not directly related to any conceivable philanthropic goal? Others could complain of the sheer waste of money. How could one justify such Zionist publications as *Midstream* or Jewish Agency support for the Jewish Telegraph Agency? It was one thing supporting Palestinian Jewry but quite another to underwrite the Zionist effort in America. For militant Zionists the answer was obvious but we have seen that most American Jews had developed a "Zionism of convenience" which excluded the *Aliyah* component.

The cry for better regulation and control of American Jewish funds, heard among CJF officials, and later by American government officials, was predictable and ominous. In the case of the latter the concern was for proper adherence to section 501 e (s) of the Internal Revenue Code through which tax exemption could be claimed for contributions to UJA. The code required full and continuous management of such funds, which could be expended only for a nonpolitical purpose. In 1957, as part of the fallout of the 1956 war, Arab spokesmen called attention to the fact that through tax exemption and massive government-to-government aid, the American government was in effect underwriting Israel's "military aggression," which it, together with the Soviet Union, had just brought to a halt. Arab spokesmen argued that Washington was encouraging aggression on the one hand only to stop it with the other. That was the political context of a call for a review of UJA's tax exempt status by Senator Allen J. Ellender, a Democrat from Louisiana. In 1959 Senator Ralph Flanders similarly requested the Treasury to investigate UJA's compliance with 501 e (s). The investigation was eventually fought off by Jewish legislators, especially Senator Jacob Javits. But even a proposed plan for better control of funds in Israel did not put the issue to rest. In November 1959, a generous supporter of Jewish philanthropy publicly announced that he would no longer give to UJA because funds were being used for political purposes and the agency's administrative costs were extravagant. Again, four years later, Senator William Fullbright

requested the Treasury to examine the "charitable purposes" aspect of UJA's activities.

It is difficult to say with any precision how much the promise of tax exemption amplifies giving. A recent Yankelovich study suggests that many small givers are, in fact, unaware of the tax benefits. There are, moreover, Jewish communities in other nations like Venezuela where no such tax exemption exists, where Jewish giving is also extraordinarily generous. Yet small givers give a small portion of the funds raised. Lay and professional campaigners are aware that the generosity of American Jewry, especially among "big givers," is greatly enhanced by the tax exemption. That is true even though they are giving away money that might otherwise go to the tax collector or another charity. In one sense, it is the American people who are giving. In another, America permits its taxpayer a choice of charities before it takes its cut. But the complaint posed a threat to UJA, which related to real and imagined chicanery in Israel, not in the local use of federation funds. What an irony for UJA supporters: the very fulcrum of their effort—Israel—threatened to compromise them at home.

The complex details of how the problem was solved need not take much of our time. The arrangements with the Treasury were negotiated by UJA's tax consultant, Gottlieb Hammer, who was invited to Washington to meet with an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Much to the relief of UJA officials, it was soon determined that there was no administration policy to "get" UJA. The Treasury Department had, in fact, rejected several other requests for tax exemption, including one for the Winston Churchill Foundation, a new group organized to raise money for the newly established Churchill College at Oxford University. Noting that the foundation was merely acting as a conduit to channel money to that institution without even a pretense at maintaining control, the Department rejected the application for tax exemption.

The UIA was in a very similar position to that of the Winston Churchill Foundation. It ostensibly had little control in the Jewish Agency, which received its money. Some restructuring to satisfy the tax law and the Treasury, entailing the retention of control by the American agency, would have to be devised. Between 1959 and 1960, Maurice Bookstein conceived of such a device, clause 3A. It gave UIA the ample legal control of its funds required by law by the simple device of making the Jewish Agency in Israel the agent of the UIA rather than the reverse. At the same time, it was first planned to reorganize and rename UIA. In 1965, further alteration was made. UIA was reconstituted and merged with the Jewish Agency Incorporated under the name UIA Inc. All funds transferred by UJA for use in Israel are confined to: "Israel's internationally recognized borders and not in the areas occupied since the 1967 war—the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the West Bank," as defined by Alex Grass.

How much legal restructuring altered the actual power relationship between the American and Israeli agencies was an open question. It certainly did not put the matter to rest. Two years later, a new move to revamp the Jewish Agency was initiated by Max Fisher, who had exercised leadership in the UJA, the UIA and the CJF, and would ultimately become Chairman of the Jewish Agency's new Board of Governors. The process was begun at the Conference on Human Needs, convened in 1969. Required, both legally and from a practical point of view, was better functional control by UJA of the disbursement of funds in Israel. The heavily politicized World Zionist Organization was now separated from the operations of the Jewish Agency. The Jewish Agency would become self-governing by furnishing it with an Assembly composed of 340 members, who would be divided equally between Zionist delegates to be designated by the World Zionist Organization, and representatives of Diaspora Jewry, of whom UIA would designate 107 and Keren Hayesod would choose the other 63. Fully thirty percent of the delegates of the Assembly would, in one way or other, be American Jews. A similar parity would be established on the Board of Governors, which acted as the executive of the Jewish Agency. Each element, the UIA, the Keren Hayesod and the WZO, would be allowed 31 representatives, but the chairman of the Board would always be a Jewish leader from the Diaspora.

In theory that seemed like a practical solution; the commonality of Zionism was retained and at the same time a fuller representation to the community that was actually providing much of the revenue was created. The natural interest and influence of Israel could not be totally avoided since the Agency's programs were implemented in Israel, through the agencies of the Israeli government. More-

over, overseas interests had a way of waning, as they did in the early thirties, because they were not on the scene. To guard against that distancing phenomenon, the Diaspora contingent of the Assembly and Board of Governors could not send proxy delegates to substitute for them. They had to attend in person.

In 1980, the Jewish Agency, now receiving the greatest allocation of federation/UJA funds, underwent a further evaluation. The Cæsarea process would be ongoing and would include an examination of the goals of the Jewish Agency, its governance, its management and its fiscal procedures. We shall see how "project renewal," with its concept of linkage or twinning, partly solves the most outstanding problems of American input and control.

THE RADICALIZATION OF THE SEVENTIES AMERICAN JEWISH

The restructuring of Jewish Agency, in 1970, occurred simultaneously with the need for UJA and federation leadership to cope with an onslaught of radicalization, Jewish and non-Jewish. The enormous changes in American society that occurred in the late sixties and early seventies, and that impacted on Jews seemingly more than other subcultures, were triggered by two intractable problems. The first concerned what many Americans felt was an unsatisfactory solution to the war in Viet Nam, and the second was the inability to defuse a racial time bomb located beneath the surface of American society. After Viet Nam, a less confident America questioned all its special relationships overseas, including the one with Israel.

There was also a full-blown generational disjuncture, whose impact was especially strong in the Jewish community. Its youth seemed disproportionately drawn to the "counter-culture" and to challenging the Jewish "establishment." In its least disaffected form, it might lead to the picketing of the CJF Conference, in December 1971, to demand a "change in priorities." That was the demand of the 250 students who did so and later established the Institute for Jewish Life at Wellesley College. More radicalized elements did not bother to try to "reform" the Jewish "establishment" but simply "tuned out" and joined the world of communes and cults.

There was, moreover, a sense that Jewish radicalism was rooted in a failure of Jewish life in America. The new variety of radical seemed more interested in matters of style, how life should be lived, rather than substance. It was non-systemic, and more chemical than ideological. It proposed no alternative formula for the organization of humankind but suggested rather that there was too much organization. There was no brilliant critique of the existing order, which prior Jewish radicals had propounded. The new radicals were historical amnesiacs and unaware of their connection with a prior generation of Jewish radicals, which had produced men like Leon Trotsky or Isaac Deutscher. Rather than growing out of suppression it seemed to be rooted in the very affluence of the Jewish community. Some suspected that what was being witnessed was the reaction of the first downwardly mobile Jewish youth cohort. Its appearance reflected a process of secularization so extreme that it rationalized away all rules for how to live one's life, substituting nothing in its place. Marginal Jewish families produced children who live in a cultural vacuum without guidelines and a family support structure. If radical Jewish youth had anything in common it was the fact that they stemmed from affluent middle class but culturally confused and Jewishly barren homes.

Beyond that, the delicate balance between the American and Jewish components that marked Jewish identity in America had gone awry. The very openness of American society had eroded the Jewish component that differentiated them from other Americans. Their relatively secure economic position made American Jews, now barely different from other middle class Americans, acceptable as

Grants?

mates. One out of three married outside the fold. By acculturation and natural attrition Jewish cultural energy seemed to be waning. It was reflected in its demography, which showed that their proportion of the population, which had been 3.6 percent in 1935, had declined to 2.5 percent by the mid-seventies. It almost seemed as if Ben Gurion's dire predictions regarding the fate of Diaspora Jewry were coming to pass. American Jewry seemed to be drowning in a sea of perfume.

Yet on the surface American Jewry had the flush of good health. It boasted a high level of formal education and, important for a fund-raising agency, the highest per capita income. The statistics showed that Jewish men and women could even expect to live longer than their fellow Americans. Most important, if Jewish identity was waning it was not reflected in the fund-raising activity of the seventies, which was more successful than ever. It had achieved new highs during and after the '73 war. What a paradox! Statistically, one could easily account for it. It was actually a small group of "big givers" who overwhelmingly filled the coffers of the Jewish community every year and those weakly committed did not in any case give to the UJA. But identity erosion was occurring across the board and surely as much among affluent Jewish families as among those less so. Was it possible that one did not necessarily have to feel Jewish in a sustained way to give to Jewish causes? Or would the full impact of Jewish identity erosion first make itself felt in the eighties and nineties?

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

ISRAELISM, THIRD WORLD RHETORIC AND AMERICAN JEWRY

American Jewry maintains a greater interest in foreign affairs than all other hyphenates. Research indicates that they are better informed and more likely to express their opinions to their congressmen. Not surprisingly they were among the earliest groups to realize that the war in Viet Nam was a quagmire that could bring disaster if not concluded. They were conspicuous in the agitation to end the war. But the Johnson administration, unwilling to bear the burden of a lost war and sensing strong Jewish opposition, coupled its protective role in Viet Nam with the role it was playing in supporting Israel. How could American Jews support the one and deny the other? Johnson's argument startled American Jewry because they were being addressed as a collectivity, when officially there was no "Jewish" opinion on the war. There was in Johnson's question the implication that American Jewry evaluated American foreign affairs on the basis of Jewish self-interest rather than as Americans. If allowed to go unanswered it could disinter the vexing dual loyalties question that had torn American Jewry in the first decades of the century.

There would be more discomfort after an elusive peace was concluded in Viet Nam. The waning of American power seemed to stimulate militancy in the Third World, which assumed an anti-Zionist posture. In the case of the Palestinians, whose aspirations of destroying Israel and building in its place a secular state were not matched by power to realize them, terror became an acceptable option. PLO aspirations were abetted by the formidable propaganda apparatus of the Soviet bloc, which sought to delegitimize the Jewish state, and by the actual training of terrorists. The currency and images projected in the Soviet anti-Zionist campaign were familiar to holocaust survivors—they were in fact traditional anti-Semitic images. Whether in America or abroad, Israel, a relatively small state, was not able to remove itself from the razor's edge of history. It seemed always in the headlines. Since it was the same Israel that had become a tenet in American Jewry's new civil religion, it too was somehow drawn into the vortex. Israel, whose welfare was part of the fund-raising rhetoric of the UJA, was attracting lightning once reserved for each separate Jewish community. Would American Jewry come to terms with the exposed position its advocacy of Israel entailed?

In 1969 American Jewry had already experienced two decades of continual reminders of the

special needs of Israel. They responded generously. American Jews were buttressed spiritually by Israel's remarkable feat of arms. They preferred physical victories over the traditional Diaspora dependence on the income derived from victimization. Yet the victories seemed never to have the ring of finality. The problem of peace and beyond that the problem of acceptance in the region became more elusive with each war. For the irreconcilable Arab world, the Palestinian cause had come to encompass the integrity of the entire Arab nation. Sadat's courageous breaking of ranks was overshadowed by subsequent events. For a problem solving American Jewry, which seeks like all Americans a "light at the end of the tunnel," a stable peace and a normal membership in the family of nations, these seemed more unattainable than ever. Instead they saw a Jewish state as much the pariah among the nations as ever was a Jewish community in the Diaspora. After 36 years the nations of the world still argued Israel's right to exist while dozens of less politically and economically viable nations faced no such challenge. The Zionist promise of normality, which American Jews in particular cherished, seemed less realizable than ever. Was there an American Jewish tolerance threshold for problems that had no immediate solution? Does the discovery of urgent domestic needs, such as the 15.1 percent of the Jewish population who live below the poverty line, or the malaise in the Jewish family, indicate that they are approaching that threshold? Have they reached a saturation point beyond which every new crisis brings fewer fund-raising dividends? It seems to take more and more violent shaking of the tree of philanthropy to fill the coffers.

During the Six-Day War the mainline Protestant churches that had an important missionary interest in the area were eerily silent regarding the sudden surprise attack and have not mustered much sympathy for Israel since. Paradoxically the pro-Israel fundamentalist groups are unable to muster an affinity for Judaism (the religion) at home. Black activists, affected by a bitter struggle between an almost-all-Jewish teachers' union in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district of Brooklyn, joined by the New Left, unabashedly articulate the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the Third World. At the same time the assassination of John F. Kennedy finally sundered the remaining ties that held the liberal-urban-ethnic coalition fashioned during the Roosevelt administration. No longer able to find a place in that coalition, American Jews remain in a kind of political limbo. They are unable to amplify their political voice through coalition politics. In the background is the far more numerous black and Hispanic constituency with its own urgent political agenda. They do not include a continuance of massive government support for Israel.

A moderation of enthusiasm for Israel in government policy began in earnest during the Nixon years and was carried further during the years of the Carter administration. For some government strategists the prize in the Middle East is not a small Jewish state, but the oil-rich Arab world. Talk of the need for "even-handedness" and the requirements of the nation's "larger strategic interests" now could be heard together with the original rhetoric that viewed Israel as a valiant "island of democracy." What many American Jews fear most is that the continued development of general sentiments combined with a desire to simply wash their hands of a problem that seems insoluble may diminish American support for the state in the future. The possibility that American policy may veer in one direction and Jewish interest in another could be catastrophic for American Jewry. Undoubtedly most American Jews would find it necessary to support their government's policy. The result would be considerable erosion in the Zionist consensus, which is the mainstay of support for Israel and the source of UJA's success in fundraising for over thirty-six years.

What all this means is that while Israel will always occupy a special place in the spiritual realm its place in the temporal American Jewish mind-set is not assured and may in fact have experienced some erosion. UJA strategy may in the future be compelled to confront the fact that American Jewry may not only be over-Israel-saturated but has come to view the state in less idealized terms. The process of deidealization has accelerated in the last few years. UJA too has had to accommodate to the Begin regime. Since its establishment in 1939 it has dealt exclusively with representatives of the controlling Labor party. It was the "stars" of that party—Golda Meir, Moshe Dayan and others—who were brought here to work their magic during campaigns, and it was the leaders of the Labor Zionists whom big givers

met on their missions. The links to the opposition parties were almost totally neglected. The fashioning of the Likud coalition and Begin's victory in 1977 caught UJA by surprise, as it did most of organized American Jewry. It was necessary to create an entirely new nexus so that UJA could fit into the new Israeli scene. It is for that reason that "project renewal" has significance far beyond the philanthropic.

MANAGEMENT TEAM APPROACH

Irving Bernstein was 48 years old when he assumed the leadership of UJA in 1969. Much of his professional life was shaped within the agency as the successful director of the West Coast region. Between 1950 and 1961, the years of his tenure there, it was the fastest-growing region in terms of Jewish population and new wealth. The highly effective fund-raising apparatus he inherited from Herbert Friedman was, in some measure, partly his own creation. Some of the innovations introduced by Friedman had been developed first in the West.

The 1967 war served as a measure of how quickly and effectively the agency was able to mobilize its efforts. Spurred forward by the crisis the intake leaped from the \$136.5 million in 1966 to \$317 million in 1967. The Israel Emergency Fund alone brought in \$173 million, demonstrating the continued drawing power of Israel for the fund-raising enterprise. Moreover between 1968 and 1971 the UJA was able to sustain that high level of giving. It collected \$762 million, over half of which came from the Emergency Fund. The conviction of UJA's lay and professional leaders that it was the security and welfare of Israel that vastly enhanced fundraising was substantiated by hard statistics. It was a crucial point made in counteracting the persistent pressure by federation directors to increase allocations for local needs. For national leaders like Paul Zuckerman (1972-1974), Frank R. Lautenberg (1975-1977), Leonard R. Strelitz (1977-1978), and Irwin S. Field (1978-1980), all activist leaders, the answer to federation was to increase the total sums collected through a continued focus on Israel, which more than anything else loosened the American Jewish purse strings.

The demonstration of that continued centrality came again during the '73 war when \$175 million was raised during a ten-day period. Included in that sum were three "upgraded" gifts of \$5 million, several of \$2 million and 40 of one million dollars. The final total for 1973 of \$380 million seemed to be raised almost effortlessly. "The Jews simply gave," notes one researcher, "and the federations took." But behind the success was an experienced fund-raising apparatus able to exploit the crisis fully. The drawing power of the Israel Emergency Fund, moreover, was paralleled by an increase in the sale of Israel Bonds. Clearly it was Israel that called forth the best efforts of American Jewry. In New York City, the war finally catalyzed a movement for a unified UJA/federation campaign, the last community to do so. It was spurred by middle echelon officials of both agencies and confirmed by the top leadership over the opposition of the national leadership of UJA, loath to share control of the New York metropolitan area where it always had great strength. Not only could the crisis posed by war enhance fundraising, it generated the necessary heat to finally weld the two agencies together for fund-raising purposes.

A new emphasis on streamlining UJA's operations along modern management lines and a broadening of the decision-making apparatus to include a more prominent role for the lay leadership were also implemented. Field staffs and regional divisions were augmented, new departments created. Included were a national campaign cabinet composed of national leaders and professionals and a faculty advisory cabinet. In addition the role of the National Women's Division was strengthened and its responsibilities increased. The result was a more efficient agency fine tuned to provide better campaign services. By

personal inclination Bernstein was sensitive to the need of bringing more people into the actual campaign planning process. He sensed that the key to successful campaigning lay partly in the relationship between the professional and lay leadership. They were now enlisted not only as fund raisers but to help in making major policy decisions. That was a departure from the Friedman years when such decisions were made by a small inside group of key officers.

The "management team" approach, which featured lay leaders' participation on all operational levels, showed good results. The problem for the 1974 campaign was not unfamiliar to the leadership, who had seen a waning enthusiasm after the wars of 1956 and 1967. It was how to sustain the high level of giving generated by the crisis. In setting a goal of \$750 million and collecting \$660 million of it the problem seemed to have been solved. But the hidden factor of inflation was concealing a less hopeful situation.

The attention given to "big givers" continued so that in the 1978 campaign 7,000 of the \$10,000-plus givers contributed 45 percent of the \$474 million collected. Aware that research was the key not only to the all-important process of "upgrading" but also to the location of new givers, the research staff of UJA was strengthened. The Research Department developed profiles of potential donors from publicly available financial and business records. The information was frequently supplemented by community consultations, which also helped locate and rate potential donors. The new department also became involved in developmental programs, in particular, corporate giving and a breakthrough identification project at the major gifts level. Through the use of a Standard Industrial Classification code it now was possible to divide major gift contributors into business and professional categories in order to facilitate a national networking system for the purpose of improving the appointment-making and solicitation process. A practice was made of studying previous campaigns to locate weak spots and to maximize tactics that proved to be successful. Special attention was given to community campaigns, like those in New Orleans and Seattle, which were running into resistance, so that more agency resources could be brought to bear.

Even more remarkable was the professional development of the Creative and Educational Programs Department.

The effect of music, theater and the visual arts in establishing an atmosphere for giving and transmitting the urgency of the need had long been known to professional campaigners. In the decade of the thirties and forties huge dramatic productions, which included major "stars" like Edward G. Robinson, Eddie Cantor, Paul Muni and later David Niven, Charlton Heston and Paul Newman were employed with good effect. In the last eleven years the department produced some 200 dramatic productions and multimedia spectacles for the local communities who sponsored them. It was now possible to tailor such programs to the needs of the federated communities. The large audiences that viewed such productions left filled with Jewish pride and enthusiasm, which were reflected in enhanced giving. The UJA developed a first-ranked film producing capability, which frequently won awards in international film festivals.

If UJA now possessed a considerable capacity to impress its message on the American Jewish public, its visibility in Israel had now to be shared with other agencies. The full development of Israel's economy meant that it finally generated a respectable income. In raw numbers it seemed as if UJA's share of the budget was declining yearly. But in fact this was more apparent than real. The perpetual security crisis meant that Israel had to earmark as much as 30 percent of its budget for its inordinate security needs—a similar percentage for serving the debt. In fact, UJA's contribution had not only risen in absolute terms, it played the crucial part in the human services part of the budget, which Israel could not meet. For the new national leadership represented by Herschel W. Blumberg (1980-1982) and Robert E. Loup, currently Chairman of the Board of Trustees, the problem was partly related to finding a way to transmit this complex reality to the American Jewish public no less than to those who required the funds in Israel.

PROJECT RENEWAL

In October 1977 the new Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin, announced his urgent intention to rehabilitate 160 needy neighborhoods over a five-year period. The cost of the grandiose scheme was estimated at \$1.2 billion, far beyond the capacity of the economy of Israel, which, we have seen, faced inordinate expenses related to security and debt service. That dire circumstance served as the entrée for UJA with assistance for the policy. It held out a natural advantage for the agency. A good many of the legal, moral, and political problems faced by UJA would be solved by a brilliantly innovative plan that established a direct link between hundreds of poor neighborhoods in Israel and more affluent American Jewish communities. The purpose of Project Renewal was not so much social and economic amelioration, although that would certainly be the consequence, but helping these communities to discover means to become economically and socially viable. For the UJA leadership the attraction was that the plan called for a strong participatory grass-roots effort. It was Israel-centered and focused on a smoldering problem that threatened to destabilize Israeli society. At the same time it called for a personal and communal participation of American Jews in Israel, thereby strengthening the bond to Israel, which was being weakened by other circumstances. Project Renewal finally furnished the agency with a central role to focus its fundraising, which is specific and in keeping with the traditional practice of *Tzedakah*, which placed the helping of the poor in Israel on the very highest level. It fashioned a link to the Israeli government, which would match the American contribution of \$400 million for the planned five-year expenditure of \$1.2 billion. UJA was actually playing the same role in relation to the government of Israel as JDC had played in relation to the Soviet government in the twenties. All in all it was a worthy objective directed toward a condition that desperately needed attention.

Yet Project Renewal was slow in getting off the ground, after it was proposed in 1978. Predictably many CJF leaders were not nearly as smitten with the plan of what amounted to a "war on poverty" in Israel as were the ardent Zionists of the UJA. It would establish a claim on funds that could be used for equally urgent needs at home. The strategy and assumptions, even the terminology, behind "project renewal" were vaguely reminiscent of America's "war on poverty," which produced meager results. They requested safeguards, precise planning, resident neighborhood involvement, a pilot program to determine feasibility and an objective outside evaluation.

For supporters of the program in the federation and UJA the actual face-to-face contact inherent in the community twinning concept would have a greater impact than the tired campaign literature on the development of Israel. It would make its advocacy role come alive by creating space for actual involvement of contributors in the inner life of communities in Israel. Surely that would be an improvement over missions where the participants inevitably viewed Israeli society from the outside and met only officials. Something exciting seemed to happen when a dozen New Yorkers visit Hatikvah for a week of meetings with the locals to thrash out budgets concerning housing, programs for the aged and youth, and other facets of a social renewal strategy, and then are actually housed with the inhabitants of the community. "It was raucous and rude," observed one such participant, "appealing to the New Yorkers' sense of what grass-roots participation was all about."

In the initial period, however, only \$52.6 million of a projected \$85.3 million was raised and only 69 communities were involved. The plans had naturally to be administered through five Israeli government ministries, and the municipalities also had to have their say. It was a challenge to work through the viscous bureaucracy of Israel. Grass-roots programming proved to be as difficult and chaotic as the democratic process to which it belongs.

Project Renewal also posed a new kind of challenge to fundraising. Israeli governments, of

course, welcome the assistance such a program promises, no matter what party is in control. But the issue of how one counteracts poverty is intrinsically an ideological one. That is perhaps even truer in Israel than in the United States. Should it be handled through the expansion of the private sector or should the burden be carried by the state? The original conception of Project Renewal was that the program would be in effect for a specific period of years, after which the Israeli government would assume the considerable expense it entails. The Herut party would naturally favor the first approach. While a recent report of the Assembly of the Jewish Agency spoke of "excellent" working relations with the government there has in the past been a potential for something less than that.

Beyond that, Project Renewal has yet to completely capture the American Jewish imagination. It has little of the sense of crisis and the imminence of a war against a heartless enemy, which seeks to destroy the State. Poverty cannot be defeated in a single "winner-take-all" war. When successful at all, the process of revitalizing is slow, accretional and undramatic. Can Jewish communities that are faced with their own intractable problems be convinced to throw their limited resources into such a struggle? We have noted that successful fundraising is highly correlated with security crises signaled by wars in 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973. American Jews know that a war on poverty incites no such passions. Between 1979 and 1982 only \$125 million of the projected \$400 million had been pledged, and less delivered. It was planned to give it the highest priority by making it the focus of the 1984 campaign. Directions for operational planning for that campaign spoke of making up for the past short-falls and outline steps to "guarantee the fulfillment of cash commitments." It hopes to achieve that end by enhanced "in-community" programs, which would include "reverse missions" that bring neighborhood leaders to their twinned American community.

Project Renewal may well be a litmus test for UJA. "The question no longer is whether Project Renewal will work," observed Robert Russell, the late Chairman of UJA's National Project Renewal Committee. "The question is how well we will let it work." It marks the coming full-circle of American Jewish fundraising for Israel. Linking the poor of Israel, on a community-to-community basis, is after all what "messengers" like Carigal did in the early years of the Republic. It is how it all started. Moreover the program marks a return to community centeredness, which we have seen was the thrust of Jewish philanthropy in the pre-emancipation period and is what the federations are all about today. It seems that the more things change the more they remain the same. But it only seems that way, for everything has in fact changed. The Jewish community in America is not a holistic community in the original sense, the *Yishuv* is now a sovereign state with its own interests and politics and the modern fund raiser is not a saintly rabbi but a professional or volunteer. From one point of view Project Renewal can solve many of the problems faced by UJA but it leaves untouched those that will shape its future, relations with the federations, relations with Israel and relations with its own constituencies.

LOCAL NEEDS VS. OVERSEAS COMMITMENT

There is an inherent tension in Jewish philanthropy between local needs, represented by the federations, and overseas needs, represented by UJA. Alexander Grass, National Chairman, observed as much when he stated (on May 19, 1984) that "to retain our numbers, to encourage life-long active affiliation and involvement in Jewish life—we must pay attention to local needs. And yet we cannot do that at the expense of Jews overseas, because we understand the centrality of Israel and our family ties to world Jewry." The tension is reflected in the changing allocation formula in which the priority between local and overseas needs is expressed in percentages and dollars. The leadership of the UJA cannot help but be concerned that the Agency now receives barely half of the total gross dollars raised.

More worrisome, in the sixteen large budget cities, UJA receives only 38 percent of the gross intake. In these Jewish population centers containing 40,000 or more Jews, 75 percent of American Jewry, one often hears the claim that they do not require UJA assistance to run their campaigns. If true, UJA may become merely a supplicant at the federation table.

UJA provided the force that brings the entire community together because it is virtually alone in generating a passion concerning the Jewish condition generally. It is that, rather than concern for the local Jewish center, that federation capitalizes on in its fund-raising. UJA's strength lies in the fact that it resonates what American Jewry continues to feel. Thus far its position remains unchallenged. In 1945 when CJF pushed for national budgeting it merely reflected the view of the powerful Chicago federation. Montor, always in confrontation with local federations, beat the effort back at the annual conference. Similarly in 1978 when CJF advocated a restructuring that would have placed UJA in a purely service position it was again beaten back at the General Assembly held in San Francisco.

Lay and professional UJA leaders preferred not to confront CJF directly. There have been no recent attempts to withdraw UJA's franchise or threaten to mount independent campaigns, as Montor once did. Nor was there contemplated a division of territory as has been worked out with Israel Bonds. Such enterprises as Bonds or separate campaigns to save Soviet Jewry or the fund-raising efforts of Israel's universities barely compete with the scale of UJA's operation and raise only a small fraction of the total amount collected. Israel Bonds came to the fore in the early fifties when the Israeli government, in desperate need, was convinced that UJA could not raise sufficient funds for development. But the bonds were turned over so rapidly that they proved of little value to Israel despite their low interest rate. In 1970 it proved possible to work out an agreement to prevent overlap and competition between two agencies that had Israel's interest at heart. Israel Bonds would largely confine its fundraising through the synagogue and its campaign to December, after UJA's campaign had lifted off.

The relationship with the federations represented by CJF has no simple solution even when there is an identity in leadership as symbolized by men like Max Fisher. Contention between the agencies grows naturally out of their different missions. UJA is dependent upon local machinery to mobilize for its annual campaign. The pressure to fund local needs stems from that mission. Under the leadership of Frank Lautenberg an attempt was made during the year 1978 and 1979 to broaden the corporate structure of the agency so that it would better be able to disarm the conflict by absorbing key leaders of the federations into the governance of UJA. The governing board of UJA was accordingly restructured to include members of CJF. Under Lautenberg's leadership direct community leadership representation was introduced to key corporate bodies as Governance Audit, Budget and Finance, Management Policy and Practices and Personnel Committees.

Coordination between the two agencies improved noticeably but tensions could not be altogether alleviated. Daniel Shapiro, the newly elected President of Federation in New York, announced plans to strengthen Jewish institutions in New York's Jewish neighborhoods. He has never been on record as opposed to safeguarding Israel, but his position is dictated by his leadership of a local federation. "We can't be carried any longer by our enthusiasm for Israel," he feels. "We haven't abandoned Israel, but there's a resurgence of interest in our Jewish communities." Coincidentally, the New York federation projects for Jewish neighborhoods—facilities for Jewish education and the elderly, community centers, vocational advisements—sound similar to what can be read on a brochure promoting "Project Renewal." A more basic solution may be found in the "Maximum Campaign" proposed by Stanley Horowitz and Alexander Grass. It would meet the overseas commitments and provide simultaneously the necessary finances for the creation of a finer, stronger, Jewish environment at home."

LONG-RANGE PROBLEMS AND PLANNING

Tensions over allocation formulas are probably as old as Jewish philanthropy itself. "May I be among the collectors of communal funds and not among the allocators," reads a Talmud tractate (*Talmud Shabat* 18b). A unified campaign where several interest groups have a stake in the "pot" naturally intensifies these tensions. It is not only UJA that is an advocacy agency, the CJF is no less so. If either had its way completely the interest of American Jewry would not be served. An exclusive interest in overseas needs would denude American Jewry of needed communal institutions. Exclusive interest in communal needs would lead to inversion and localism. It would miss the transcendence that is derived from the tie to the universal Jewish interest. Ultimately the conflict is resolved not by the quality of the argument nor by the relative power of the agencies in relation to each other, but by a leadership that can go beyond purely organizational interest and seek out the commonalities on which a balanced solution can be based. The Lautenberg plan to broaden the governance of UJA serves as an illustration of such leadership. The recommendations of UJA's planning commission initiated by Herschel Blumberg in 1980 is another.

Before the planning committee commissioned three investigations to analyze the needs UJA would be called upon to meet in the future and to determine the best course for the UJA in the eighties, there was already an effort to create a better working relationship between the federations and the UJA. Interlocking linkages of members were established at all levels. The UJA budget was presented to the leaders of CJF and similarly UJA officials sit on the board and committees of CJF. That worked well but resolution of the long-range problems that would determine the position of the UJA in relation to federation awaited the report of the Long Range Planning Committee, which was presented on March 8, 1982.

That report began by taking candid note that since 1974 the funds received by UJA from the campaign have fallen short of its growing needs. The committee recommended that the importance of overseas needs must be impressed on federation leaders and their high priority reestablished. But within its "advocative" role it found that much could be done by UJA to serve as a catalyst, standard setter and "agent of change." That so broadened its service function as to create a role for UJA as a consciousness-raising agency.

That role, which UJA has traditionally viewed as inherent in the fund-raising process, requires an autonomous position, since it is difficult to act as a gadfly from within the federation. In return for continuing the tandem relationship, which gives CJF a role in the decision-making process of UJA, especially in campaign planning, UJA asked for "improved accessibility" to the communities. What is proposed is a frank acknowledgement by both organizations of their "interdependence" and "mutuality." The report speaks of the necessity for "improved communications," "openness," "mutual respect," and "constructive dialogue," which would lead to a "healthy and effective relationship."

Aside from its recommendations in relation to CJF and the relationship with its own constituent agencies, the Long Range Planning Committee report focused on the management aspect of the agency. Here the recommendations touch upon virtually every facet of UJA's far-flung activities from a re-evaluation of its administration and organizational structure to concluding that there is a need to improve the quality of lay leaders and professional staff by better recruitment and training. The impact of these recommendations is already discernible in an internal memorandum concerning operational planning for 1985.

On the face of it, the talk of managerial efficiency is "a consummation devoutly to be wished." What can be wrong with proposals that speak of more efficient use and better recruitment and training of personnel or one that speaks of achieving a "symmetry of resources and product"? No one will fault

a recommendation to involve national leaders in major substantive issues, designed to enhance the fund-raising process directly.

Yet one can wonder whether there is not less in these recommendations than meets the eye. The quest for solution of deep-seated problems, concerning role and power, by improving organizational efficiency, is typically American. It suggests that the current malaise is related to past inefficiency. Yet the professional talk of "product" and "personnel" somehow misses the heart and soul of Jewish philanthropy without which UJA's fundraising stands exposed as merely a series of financial transactions. It does not bear on the consciousness-raising role UJA assigns itself. Efficiency is always desirable but one ought to be certain whether it stems from better management or spiritual stimulation that inspires Jews everywhere to give. Clever marketing of the "product" would not by itself halt the decline referred to in the committee's report. The malaise is more in the condition of the American Jewish community than in the competence and structure of the UJA. Ironically the same disjuncture between organization and vitality can be observed on the larger American Jewish scene. Today American Jewry probably has the most elaborate and efficient organizational structure it has had since 1654 and yet that achievement occurred precisely at the juncture when the flush of health had left the cheeks of American Jewry. The Chassidic courts flout every tenet of professional management. They are essentially undemocratic and there is little focus on participation of the Rebbe's followers in decision making. But they have the spirit of life.

What the management approach brings us back to is the old debate among Zionists regarding what should receive priority, ideological work (*Gegenwartsarbeit*) or managerial efficiency. American Jewry has always opted for the latter and threatens to do so until it is totally absorbed by a benevolent host culture. From that view one can argue that the federations need the UJA, not only for the practical service it offers in the fund-raising campaign, services that can be purchased on the open market, but for what cannot be purchased: *Ruach*, the spirit of Jewishness, which is behind successful fundraising. That is really what the UJA "sells" and what makes it much more than merely a service agency for federation campaigns. It gives American Jewry something beyond their communal needs to strive for. An over-comfortable American Jewry is in desperate need of such a transcendent mission.

CAPACITY CAMPAIGNING

For many years the top lay leadership of UJA, men like Alexander Grass, the incumbent National Chairman, a member of long standing of UJA's Board of Trustees; Robert E. Loup, Chairman of the Board of Trustees; and Herschel Blumberg, former President of the Board; have been aware of the pressing need to create a stronger link between the federated communities and the UJA. The appointment of Stanley B. Horowitz to the new position of President in December 1983 may represent a movement in that direction. Traditionally the Executive Vice Presidents of the agency have been selected either from the constituent organizations or closely related ones. That precedent has now been broken. For the first time a leader has been chosen, equipped by prior experience to bridge the vast distance that has, over time, developed between those who operate on the level of national campaign planning and those who actually implement those plans on the community level. Horowitz was Executive Director of the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland between 1975 and 1983, which provided inspiration and a model for a well organized campaign that yielded the highest per capita giving in the nation. At the same Horowitz is a natural choice to strengthen the necessary tandem relationship between the federations and the UJA, two partners with different, sometimes conflicting missions, who are required by historical fate to work together for maximum efficiency and in a larger sense for the wellbeing of

the Jewish enterprise. Clearly a person with such a capacity, one who possessed the experience of bringing the disparate elements together on a local level, had become more important than one experienced in national planning and the handling of large sums of money. By dint of temperament and background Horowitz holds out the hope of bringing a new managerial vision and an ability to reach out to federations and all organizations that can help the UJA to fulfill its mission.

At the time of this writing it is too early to judge what the new leadership team will change in procedure and policy. But there are interesting portents. Horowitz is an activist who naturally places ideology on a low-flame back burner. That does not mean he has none. His Zionism has a strong American cast; that is to say, it is rooted in philanthropy and refugeism. The most dramatic testimony of the effectiveness of UJA's work, he declared in a speech to the UJA National Leadership Conference on May 18, 1984, is its success in its "primary mission—providing a home and a refuge for those of its people in need." His program for 1985 includes the immigration and absorption of 15,000 new immigrants in Israel, including 6,500 Ethiopian Jews as well as the strengthening of the Youth Aliyah program. It is more than merely a refuge that UJA aspires to help create in Israel. In furnishing funds for human services it desires to assure a high quality of life which is viewed as requisite for the thriving of a democratic society. It is a democracy like the one that has allowed American Jewry to achieve its full potential.

Horowitz gives little evidence of sharing the alarmist-survivalist vision of an American Jewry doomed to disappear. Where so many see crisis and decline he sees continued expansion and vitality. That optimism is also reflected in the campaign goal of 1985, which may be set at one billion dollars. Like Montor in 1946 he is convinced that the capacity of American Jewry for giving has hardly been fully tapped. What is required is that UJA penetrate deeper into the guts of American Jewry. That can be achieved by what Horowitz calls "capacity campaigning." One key to such campaigning is the earmarking and enlisting of the American Jewish leadership élite not yet fully involved in the Jewish community. They are leaders by dint of achievement, position, willingness to assume responsibility as well as the possession of wealth. That leadership identity is considerably broader than heretofore sought.

Like most operationalists, Horowitz prefers to focus on cohesiveness rather than on what divides Jews one from another. He sees UJA as important but recognizes that it is merely one component in the Jewish enterprise, which also contains synagogues, federations, fraternal and defense organizations—even country clubs. He speaks of a "propensity for confrontation" among Jews and their organizations, which generates divisiveness and when unchecked works to the detriment of both parties and the general Jewish interest. No natural conflict can conceivably be important enough so that it could not be conciliated in the interest of the Jewish collectivity. Within the UJA and its constituencies his favorite words are solidification, stabilization, and reinvigoration. Between UJA and federation the favorite words are cooperation and conciliation. It is the vision of a doer and manager. It will take considerable talent and energy to convert such aspirations to reality. Conflict and disunity in the Jewish community sometimes go beyond a "proclivity for confrontation." But some of it surely is rooted in habit and style. If Horowitz can instill a new "propensity for cooperation" he will have more than fulfilled the hope the national leaders who recruited him for the top position saw in him.

WHY THEY GIVE

In the end it is not a matter of a little more efficiency versus a little more soul. At the core is the unresolved question of why an increasingly deracinated, loosely identified Jewry continues to give at all. For some the development of Jewish "philanthropoids" offers little mystery. Jewish giving is correlated most directly with their remarkable affluence. They give more because they have more. There lies the secret of the "big giver." The commissioned Yankelovitch study indicates that it need not necessarily be for a Jewish cause. "The larger the gift to the UJA, the more likely the giver is to be giving to everything." American Jewry is in fact probably more generous to non-Jewish causes than it is to Jewish ones. That Jewish philanthropy is primarily a rich man's game is so palpable a reality that to deny it would endanger the amounts raised. All directors, even if they would like to expand the *Mitzvah* of giving to smaller donors are compelled to cultivate "big givers" through special Prime Minister Invitation missions and "stroking" programs like Hineini. One UJA trainer speaks of the importance of timing in soliciting and recommends keeping a careful eye on the Dow-Jones Industrial Average. He notes that even if a sudden downturn in the market has caused only minor paper losses that barely affect his estate, the giver is feeling "psychologically poor" and becomes a poor prospect for solicitation. That is also the reason why research is so crucial for this aspect of fundraising particularly. It not only identifies those who are able to give but can also tell the solicitor what amount is reasonable to expect.

Undoubtedly the various solicitation strategies, while they tell us little of why they give, are important in getting them to give and getting them to give more. Many of these strategies are drawn from sales psychology. When UJA solicitors were asked what they thought were the personality characteristics of a good fund raiser, some reverted back to the metaphor of salesmanship, "he needs to be aggressive," "he needs to know and believe in the product," "he is affirmative." Trainers use a kind of pop psychology to help solicitors to understand the power game behind solicitation. In one case an instruction sheet listed every conceivable "dodge" which a potential giver might use and then in a matching column a suggested response that might keep the game between solicitor and donor alive. There is a power game played in all solicitation and how skillfully one plays it is an important determinant of success. In fact some donors may actually welcome the game and feel slighted if it is not fully played out.

Central to the entire process is "stroking"—that is, the use of rewards and honors to satisfy the need in all for status and self-satisfaction. By acknowledging that the solicitor has such a power the donor gives him his entrée. But for some "stroking" is the most unpalatable aspect of professional Jewish fundraising. Halachically anonymity of the giver has the highest value. Yet most officials agree that if it were adhered to, if the perennial dinners and award-granting ceremonies were neglected, it would seriously cut into the amount raised. It entails the surrender of the solicitor's most important power, the ability to "stroke" the donor in the name of the Jewish community. A study that otherwise seems remote from the realities of the fund-raising game strongly recommends the need for follow-up by letter or phone call so that the giver may be primed for the next campaign.

But the extent to which the remarkable Jewish generosity we have witnessed is attributable to these solicitation techniques remains an unanswered question. Like the need for managerial efficiency, the skillful application of solicitation techniques bears only indirectly upon the ideological motivation that relates to Jewishness and sacredness. Managerial efficiency and application of known effective solicitation techniques are undoubtedly important but, in the Jewish context, do the parts equal the whole?

The issue is crystallized in the focus of professional fundraising on the "big giver." Many find this "catering to the rich" unseemly. That feeling may grow partly out of a general American obsession

with egalitarianism, which generates a love-hate sensibility regarding great wealth. But we have also noted that the feeding of egos, the "stroking" of "big givers," is not vouchsafed in the religious ethos. More important, if giving is sacred, a great *Mitzvah*, should not the majority of Jews be given the opportunity to perform it? Similarly, if giving to Jewish causes has an identity-building propensity, if it "makes Jews," then surely fund-raising campaigns should pay equal attention to the majority of Jews, who do not give at all.

Yet for the professional fund raiser the link between wealth and giving is an unavoidable truth. No one prevents the less affluent from giving and undoubtedly UJA solicitors would be gratified if they did. But while the agency may solicit them by mail and phone little energy is devoted to "stroking" the average giver. Ultimately the dilemma may solve itself as UJA adjusts to the new giver. The Yankelovich study reveals that he is probably less in need of such seductions and more in need of specific information about where is money is going and a more direct relationship with a specific project. He is better educated than his father or grandfather and more socially secure. The traditional sales "hype" might even backfire with such a donor. Some professionals interviewed have noted that, rather than being hungry for status, the new breed are rather "nice" unassuming people, who are often truly altruistic and eager to serve. The portrait emerging of the smaller giver (less than \$1,000) gives one pause for thought about our stereotypes concerning "big givers." Yankelovitch finds that he (or she) is not only less affluent but less identified with Jewishness. That is reflected in the fact that he is less informed about Jewish concerns and less concerned about Israel. If giving is a process, rather than a one-time act, then such finding has ominous implications. Ostensibly it becomes a matter of practical concern to "upgrade" him spiritually in order to ultimately "upgrade" his gift. But it is possible that the sequence is reversed in reality and that people who give tend to follow their money. They become interested and often begin to identify with UJA after they have given. The giving of money can generate an interest in Jewish welfare, it seems, as readily as the reverse sequence.

In practice the technology of fundraising and the ideology behind it are not nearly so far apart as assumed. It is when they are taken to an extreme that a problem is encountered. A professional approach based on the assumption that any "product" can be sold if the right sales technique is used misses the transcendence that stems from greater purpose. The most arm-twisting of "card calling" sessions would not be effective without the Jewish element. The operative factor is the esteem the donor desires from his Jewish peers. "The capital stock of Jewish philanthropy is Jewishness," concludes one recent study, which finds that even among the very rich, "committed Jews give and give more." Professionals may hone their techniques until they are razor sharp, but without a link to a greater Jewish need, an equally effective "pitch" can be made to give to the cancer fund or for the Negro College Fund. "The group [UJA] can no longer expect simply to ask and get it," comments a *Wall Street Journal* observer. That was probably never true but it may be closer to reality to observe that Jewish fundraising, not buttressed by transcendent purpose, ultimately loses direction and verve, which no amount of skill in the marketing of the "product" can replace.

The reason why that is so is partly related to the intense secularization process that American Jewry has undergone. One aspect of that process is internalization. Modern secular man develops internal controls by a complex psychological process of imbibing the authority of cultural surrogates, teachers and rabbis. If that is successfully achieved he does not have to be coerced to obey the law. He pays his taxes voluntarily and stops for a red light because his internal policeman tells him to do so. The same internalization process is at work in the religious and social sphere. Not only is the religious sensibility internalized but it no longer informs his entire life. He is not so much irreligious, in the sense of being immoral or unethical, but his autonomy and his quest for control make it difficult to imagine himself a speck of dust or part of a flock of sheep. Even if the holistic environment that trained a Jew to turn to the east wall three times daily as if by Pavlovian conditioning were available, his inability to surrender control would force him to reject such a practice. In a word he drives for autonomy and freeness and does for himself what community once did for him.

It does not require much astuteness to conclude that the assumptions of modern secular life, only

a small fragment of which have been mentioned here, are insufficient to regulate society or self. The former is out of control and has produced a phenomenon never before witnessed in history. The very industrial process that buttresses modern life has gone awry and consumed its own children. The chimneys of Auschwitz and the chimneys of the modern factory system, the very symbol of the industrial revolution, are related. And if a secular Jew really requires more evidence than the fact that the Holocaust was a phenomenon at the very heart of modern secularism then he can view his personal life as additional evidence of insufficiency. The assumptions of modern secular life, especially the emphasis on fulfillment of self, also threaten the process of community ongoing-ness. Autonomy taken to its extreme means the absence of community and extended family support structures and ultimately the loss of control in his personal life as well. Children become enslaved to drugs, businesses go bankrupt, marriages fail, health declines and the myriad defeats we witness, happen. If he is not totally alone and full of anxiety, then he is more unfulfilled and frequently anxious to "escape from freedom."

I do not want to suggest that all potential contributors to Jewish philanthropy suffer such agonies. But there are few who are not aware that, taken to their extreme, assumptions of modern secular life can lead to catastrophe. Few today are confident that being "modern" assures happiness and fulfillment. The dilemma is that achievement in any field requires self-confidence and a sense of control. It is the hubris at the source of modern achieving society and a modern achieving group such as American Jewry. To the extent that American Jewry is more avidly secular it is also more subject to its disorders, a sense of emptiness, loss of meaning and purpose. He may have a greater need to break out of the confining selfness which is the essence of modern lifestyles.

Modern secular life offers few opportunities for such transcendence. He retains only a vague connection with the rich Jewish cultural tradition, nor can he submerge himself in belief. He can no longer revere those things, deity, Torah, *Mitzvot*, which gave meaning to the lives of his ancestors. But often he does know, perhaps because he is familiar with the remarkable Jewish achievement in all endeavors, that there is something in the tradition worth preserving. In giving money, the most important symbol of modern secular life, he resacralizes and rediscovers something outside the self, the larger culture to which he vaguely belongs. Jewish philanthropy has become for many a form of transcendence and validation. It is not, to be sure, out of a wish to partake of the *Mitzvah* of *Tzedakah*. Most secular Jews are no longer familiar enough with the tradition to earn a psychic income from such motivation. In a strange way giving validates the life of the giver by parting with something that is precious. It is renewal through giving that is sought, and that the UJA can give, by taking. Many American Jews have such a need. It is far more complex than satisfying a status hunger. To abandon that larger purpose threatens the *raison d'être* of UJA and does a disservice to American Jewry, who require it.

A FINAL WORD

In its simplest terms UJA is a body of thousands of voluntarily associated lay leaders supported by a corps of several hundred professionals, which plans and conducts fundraising in Jewish communities throughout the nation. It is essentially a voluntary service agency whose importance stems not from membership, nor from political influence. Unlike the federations it can boast of no governance function. Its power stems from the millions of dollars it receives to distribute for Jewish overseas needs. How much it receives to redistribute to its constituent agencies is determined by "budgetary politics" within the local federations, especially the sixteen large-city budget conferences. A good deal of the distribution is today determined by long-range formulas, but even here the agency is dependent on persuasion to receive its "fair" share.

An agency born *in extremis* in 1939 faces its own life crisis today. A threat to its tax exempt status may conceivably surface again if the support of American public opinion is dissipated. The Jewish Agency to which it is linked is \$650 million in debt and looks to UJA for support. The charge of "politicization" of its activities in Israel and inadequate control of funds is still heard in the land. The "advocacy" of local needs by the federations is stronger than ever. Despite a hopeful report by Jerold Hoffberger, on the key role played by American delegates at the annual Assembly of the Jewish Agency, problems concerning the structure of that agency are by no means solved.

Meanwhile a study finds that a high number of small and medium givers interviewed cannot distinguish between federation and UJA and often do not know what they are giving to. More important, while UJA has credibility it also projects a "cold and distant" image so that few feel they have a personal stake in the agency. Even while it is omnipresent in American Jewish life the UJA has a visibility problem so that few are aware of the crucial role it plays. Its very omnipresence makes it seem an indistinguishable part of the landscape. Every year it returns with its urgent message but succeeds more in transmitting the basic truth, that Jewish overseas needs are endless and that the crisis is perpetual. The need each year to infuse a new urgency into the campaign so that last year's goal can be surpassed reaches a point of diminishing returns. It requires ever louder screaming merely to stay in place. The very effectiveness of prior campaigns whose goals must be bettered generates a kind of "combat fatigue" and makes UJA a prisoner of its own success. It can never be acknowledged that there is a point beyond which even the most refined fund-raising techniques coupled with the most urgent of crises, cannot reach.

In the wings wait other causes, which predictably produce their own advocacy groups, a rape center in Tel Aviv, a joint medical program in Haifa. Often they reflect not the actual need but the latest popular concern in America, abortion clinics, wife and child abuse centers, concern for the environment. They address urgent problems but are unlinked to a Jewish tradition no longer understood or practiced. They all learn quickly that support can be had in America. They take only a minute percentage of the philanthropy pie, but if the amount of American Jewish giving to secular causes in America is any indication, it need not remain that way.

At the same time UJA is not immune from the general malaise besetting all American fund-raising agencies. Their collections are failing to keep up with inflation and steadily dropping as a percentage of disposable income. Efficiency mandates unified campaigns conducted by a single umbrella agency, but now researchers inform us that the new giver is not happy with a "dehumanized" procedure. He requires to be nearer a specific goal and to personally see how his dollar is helping to solve a specific problem. Professional efficiency, which originally dictated the unified campaign, may soon require a reversion to smaller personalized campaigns, separately run by each agency.

The answer emanates ultimately from the litmus test that should be applied to all Jewish organizations, religious, fraternal, defense, and vocational. Do they enhance the survival potential of American Jewry? In the long run it will not matter if ORT trains more computer programmers or if UJA improves its efficiency, if American Jewry is moribund. A fair answer to that query regarding UJA is that it is crucial to survival and probably more so than most other organizations that purport to serve the Jewish community. Admittedly Jewish giving cannot buy survival and that remains true whether federation puts everything into Jewish schools or it all goes to Project Renewal. Survival will take more than money, but at the same time it cannot be done without it. Money is required to support the institutions that buttress the Jewish enterprise. That remains true especially of Israel, which remains the center of Jewish consciousness. Beyond that there is something in the act of giving to Jewish causes that differentiates it from "gastronomic" Judaism and the other forms of nostalgia that sprout like weeds on the grave of a once-vibrant religious civilization. There will be some who argue that what is being developed in America is merely another such type, call him a "check Jew," one who substitutes money for an actual commitment to the enterprise. But they are wrong. Writing a check is not an indulgence like eating bagels, and for many it involves considerable sacrifice. Moreover it is an act with transcendent purpose. It is through such acts that Judaism has always expressed itself. That it

involves money does not make it vulgar or unworthy. It is in fact what makes it sacred. In modern secular life money is much more than a medium of exchange. It stands for all that is crucial in life, power, love and health. When it is donated the solicitor is receiving the most important resource the giver possesses. The *Kavanah* alone is inherently holy and that remains true even when the giver is unaware of it. Secular man finds belief problematic. Money has become the most powerful cement Jews have available in an intensely secular society. It is the instrument that gives UJA special access to the consciousness of American Jewry. That is what it has done these forty-five years. It sits firmly astride the traditional link between philanthropy and Jewish identity.

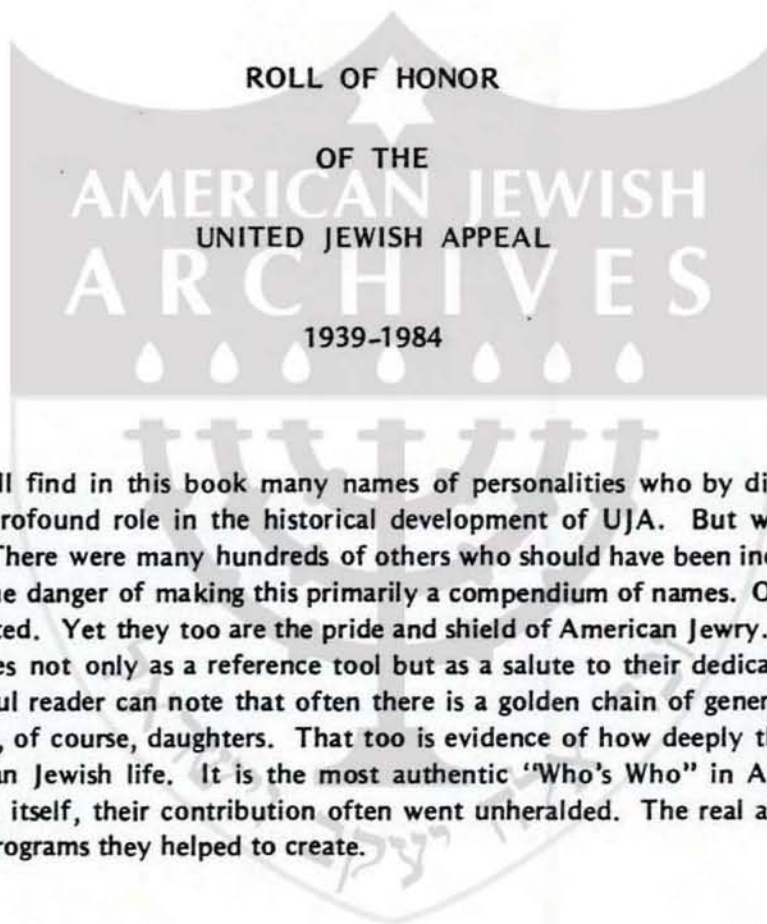
American Jewry will not go down in Jewish history for its great political power. During the most critical juncture in the contemporary period, the Holocaust, that power proved to be woefully insufficient. Nor will its remarkable contribution to commerce, culture and technology be especially noteworthy. These contributions were given to the world at large. Nor will it be known for its great piety and learning. These are but a pale shadow of what once was in eastern Europe. It is in its amazing generosity and its philanthropic apparatus that it has traditionally expressed its passion to be Jewish and it is through giving that it maintains its connection to *K'lal Yisrael*. UJA is at the heart of that transaction. Had we not had it, we would have had to invent it.





76. Kopeck, 1972

FOR JERUSALEM'S
SAKE I WILL
NOT BE STILL



The reader will find in this book many names of personalities who by dint of leadership and generosity played a profound role in the historical development of UJA. But we were able only to scratch the surface. There were many hundreds of others who should have been included but could not be without running the danger of making this primarily a compendium of names. Our space was limited and their names omitted. Yet they too are the pride and shield of American Jewry. We list them in this appendix, which serves not only as a reference tool but as a salute to their dedication, generosity and leadership. The careful reader can note that often there is a golden chain of generations, grandfathers, fathers, and sons and, of course, daughters. That too is evidence of how deeply the UJA enterprise is embedded in American Jewish life. It is the most authentic "Who's Who" in American Jewry even though, like the UJA itself, their contribution often went unheralded. The real achievement of those listed lives on in the programs they helped to create.



AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
SPACE FOR PHOTOS OF ALL UJA PRESIDENTS AND EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENTS

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל לא יאמא

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Israel Himelhoch
Marcel L. Hirsch
Mrs. Walter A. Hirsch
Alexander E. Holstein
I. E. Horwitz
Mose Hyman
Stanley M. Isaacs
Carlos L. Israels
Alexander Kahn
Milton Kahn
Jacob J. Kaplan
Pinches Karl
Jake Karotkin
Morris Katz
Nathan M. Katz
J. Benjamin Katzner
Oliver M. Kaufmann
Edward H. Kavinoky
Alexander S. Keller
I. H. Kempner
Samuel I. Kessler
Milton W. King
Sydney M. Kleeman
Jerome Kobacker
Joseph Kolodny
Bernard P. Kopkind
Robert J. Koshland
Henry L. Kotkins
- Julian H. Krolik
Lee W. Kuhn
Milton Kutz
A. I. Lack
Joseph G. Lampl
Alexander Landesco
G. Irving Latz
Jeffrey Lazarus
Simon Lazarus
S. Ralph Lazrus
Al Paul Lefton
Isidore Lehman
Leo Lehman
Samuel D. Leidesdorf
Benjamin Lencher
Joseph Leonard
George Levin
Theodore Levin
George L. Levison
Henry Levitt
Abraham Lieberman
Abraham L. Liebovitz
Harold F. Linder
Julius C. Livingston
Max Livingston
Benjamin M. Loeb
Alex Lowenthal
Arthur M. Lowenthal
Abraham Machinist
Nate Mack
Frederic R. Mann
Herbert Marcus
Harry Marks
Keeve Marks
Yoland D. Markson
Irving May
Joseph M. Mazer
Andre Meyer
Leopold Meyer
Sigmund O. Meyer
Phil Meyers
Harry A. Mier
Lewis I. Miller
Leon H. Mohill
Fred Monosson
Charles W. Morris
Samuel Mueller
Elkan R. Myers
Louis S. Myers
Joseph R. Narot
Ben E. Nickoll
Louis Nizer
George Nobil
William P. Nordlinger
Louis J. Novitsky
Donald Oberdorfer
Max Ogust
Frederic G. Oppenheimer
Max Orovitz
Max Osnos
Michael Pack
James L. Permutt
Jay Phillips
John Platoff
Abe Plough
- A. B. Polinsky
Lawrence S. Pollock
Jack Posner
Isaac Potts
Elmer E. Present
Joachim Prinz
Joseph M. Proskauer
Leo J. Rabinowitz
Barney Rapaport
Carl Rauh
Joseph Reinfeld
Sol M. Reiter
Irving G. Rhodes
Charles Rosenbaum
Abe Eugene Rosenberg
Lewis Rosenstiel
Harry Rosenzweig
Philip Roth
Samuel Rothberg
Jack H. Rubens
Hyman Rubin
Bernard G. Rudolph
Isadore Sabel
Simon Sakowitz
Louis H. Salvage
A. O. Samuels
Maurice Sanditen
Abraham I. Savin
Morris Schapiro
Julius Schepps
Albert Schiff
Isaac E. Schine
Samuel S. Schneierson
Samuel Schwartz
Ulysses S. Schwartz
William P. Schweitzer
Philip M. Segal
Morris Senderowitz
Nate S. Shapero
Ezra Z. Shapiro
Max Shapiro
S. O. Shapiro
Irving H. Sherman
Daniel Shiman
Jacob B. Shohan
Maurice B. Shwayder
Alfred Shyman
Julian M. Sieroty
Mendel B. Silberberg
Jay A. Silverberg
Jacob Silverblatt
Joel Silverton
Leonard N. Simons
Herbert M. Singer
William Singer
Eugene M. Solow
Alvin Sopkin
Mose I. Speert
Alfred Starr
Michael A. Stavitsky
Dewey D. Stone
Fred Strauss
Mark Sugarman
Edward A. Suisman
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Maurice S. Tabor
Louis Tobian
Jerome I. Udell
Julian B. Venezky
Abe D. Waldauer
Mrs. Eugene Warner

Harry M. Warner
David M. Watchmaker
Ralph Wechsler
Frank L. Weil
Lionel Weil
Millard K. Weiler
Harry Weinberg

Joe Weingarten
I. M. Weinstein
Samuel B. Weinstein
H. Hiram Weisberg
Herman L. Weisman
Aaron Weiss
Emanuel Weitz

Aaron M. Weitzenhoffer
Joseph Werthan
Maurice Wertheim
James L. White
Mortimer Wilk
Morris Wolf

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1947

General Chairman
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

National Chairmen
William Rosenwald

Rabbi Israel Goldstein

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise

Initial Gifts Chairman
Edmund I. Kaufmann

Trades and Industries Chairman
Rudolf G. Sonneborn

Advisory Committee Chairman
William S. Paley

National Women's Division Chairman
Mrs. David M. Levy

Regional Division Chairmen
Leslie L. Jacobs

Julian B. Venezky

I. Edwin Goldwasser

Co-Treasurers

Jacob Sincoff

Speakers Committee Chairman
Louis Nizer

Executive Vice-Chairmen

Isidor Coons

Henry Montor

Campaign Executive Committee

Herbert R. Abeles
Bernard Alexander
Paul Baerwald
Joseph E. Beck
James H. Becker
Hon. Maurice Bernon
Sol Brachman
Louis Broido
Mrs. Irving M. Engel
Leon Falk, Jr.
Isidor Fine
Mrs. Abraham N. Geller
Harold J. Goldenberg

Benjamin B. Goldman
Rabbi Israel Goldstein
I. Edwin Goldwasser
Monroe Goldwater
Abraham Goodman
Sylvan Gotshal
Moritz M. Gottlieb
Joel Gross
E. N. Grueskin
Samuel Hausman
Isaac S. Heller
Mrs. Walter A. Hirsch
Dr. Joseph C. Hyman
Carlos L. Israels

Alexander Kahn
Milton Kahn
J. Benjamin Katzner
Edmund I. Kaufmann
Jerome H. Kohn
Robert J. Koshland
Moses A. Leavitt
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman
Hon. Louis E. Levinthal
Isaac H. Levy
Abraham L. Liebovitz
Harold F. Linder
Boris Margolin
Joseph M. Mazer

Henry Montor
Louis S. Myers
Edwin Rosenberg
Hon. Morris Rothenberg
Erwin Schwarz
Jacob Sincoff
Rudolf G. Sonneborn
Abraham Srere
Mark Sugarman
Maurice S. Tabor
Edward M. M. Warburg
Herman L. Weisman
Mrs. Joseph M. Welt

1948

General Chairman
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

National Chairmen
William Rosenwald

Rabbi Israel Goldstein

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise

Advisory Committee Chairman
Edmund I. Kaufmann

Initial Gifts Chairman
Samuel Rothberg

Associate Chairman
Herman Gilman

National Women's Division
Honorary Chairman Mrs. David M. Levy
Chairman Mrs. Ernest G. Wadel

National Trades and Industries Chairman
 Rudolf G. Sonneborn

Regional Division Chairman
 Julian B. Venezky

Speakers Committee Chairman
 Mrs. Katharine S. Falk

Interim Committee Chairman
 Milton Kahn

National Co-Treasurers
 I. Edwin Goldwasser Jacob Sincoff

Executive Vice-Chairmen
 Isidor Coons Henry Montor

Campaign Executive Committee

Herbert R. Abeles	Benjamin B. Goldman	Milton Kahn	Edwin Rosenberg
Bernard Alexander	Rabbi Israel Goldstein	J. Benjamin Katzner	Samuel Rothberg
Paul Baerwald	I. Edwin Goldwasser	Edmund I. Kaufmann	Hon. Morris Rothenberg
Joseph E. Beck	Monroe Goldwater	Robert J. Koshland	Erwin Schwarz
James H. Becker	Abraham Goodman	Moses A. Leavitt	Jacob Sincoff
Hon. Maurice Bernon	Sylvan Gotshal	Hon. Herbert H. Lehman	Rudolf G. Sonneborn
Sol Brachman	Moritz M. Gottlieb	Hon. Louis E. Levinthal	Abraham Sere
Louis Broido	Joel Gross	Mrs. David M. Levy	Mark Sugarman
Mrs. Irving M. Engel	E. N. Grueskin	Abraham L. Liebovitz	Maurice S. Tabor
Leon Falk, Jr.	Isaac S. Heller	Harold F. Linder	Jerome I. Udell
Isidor Fine	Mrs. Walter A. Hirsch	Boris Margolin	Edward M. M. Warburg
Mrs. Abraham N. Geller	Dr. Joseph C. Hyman	Joseph M. Mazer	Herman L. Weisman
Harold J. Goldenberg	Carlos L. Israels	Louis S. Myers	Mrs. Joseph M. Welt
	Alexander Kahn	Charles Ress	

1949

General Chairman
 Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

Hon. Herbert H. Lehman

Honorary Chairmen
 Mrs. David M. Levy

Mrs. Felix Warburg

William Rosenwald

National Chairmen
 Morris Rothenberg

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise

Director
 Henry Montor

National Campaign Cabinet Chairman
 Harold J. Goldenberg

Initial Gifts Chairman
 Samuel Rothberg

Louis Berry

Initial Gifts Associate Chairmen
 Joseph Cherner

Samuel H. Daroff

Charles Fruchtmann

National Women's Division
Honorary Chairman Mrs. David M. Levy
Chairman Mrs. Ernest G. Wadel

National Trades and Industries Chairman
 Herman Gilman

Regional Division Chairman
 Julian B. Venezky

Mrs. Irving E. Blum Charles Brown *Co-Chairmen*
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 Rudolf G. Sonneborn

National Caravans Chairman
 Morris W. Berinstein

Metropolitan Cities Division Chairman
 Abraham Feinberg

National Co-Treasurers
 I. Edwin Goldwasser Jacob Sincoff

Campaign Executive Committee

Herbert R. Abeles	Benjamin B. Goldman	Milton Kahn	Edwin Rosenberg
Bernard Alexander	Rabbi Israel Goldstein	Edmund I. Kaufmann	Samuel Rothberg
Paul Baerwald	I. E. Goldstein	Robert J. Koshland	Hon. Morris Rothenberg
Joseph E. Beck	I. Edwin Goldwasser	Moses A. Leavitt	Erwin Schwarz
James H. Becker	Monroe Goldwater	Hon. Herbert H. Lehman	Mrs. David Sher
Morris W. Berinstein	Abraham Goodman	Hon. Louis E. Levinthal	Jacob Sincoff
Hon. Maurice Bernon	Sylvan Gotshal	Mrs. David M. Levy	Rudolf G. Sonneborn
Sol Brachman	Moritz M. Gottlieb	Abraham L. Liebovitz	Abraham Sreer
Louis Broido	Joel Gross	Harold F. Linder	Dewey D. Stone
Leon Falk, Jr.	Isaac S. Heller	Dr. Isador Lubin	Jerome I. Udell
Isidor Fine	Mrs. Walter A. Hirsch	Boris Margolin	Edward M. M. Warburg
Abraham N. Geller	Carlos L. Israels	Joseph M. Mazer	Herman L. Weisman
Harold J. Goldenberg	J. Benjamin Katzner	Louis S. Myers	Mrs. Joseph M. Welt
	Alexander Kahn	Charles Ress	

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 ARCHIVES
 1950

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 Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

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 Morris Rothenberg Rabbi Jonah B. Wise

National Co-Treasurers
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Director
 Henry Montor

*National Women's Division
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 Mrs. Felix M. Warburg Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman

Chairman
 Mrs. S. A. Brailove

National Christian Committee Chairman
 Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

*National Campaign Cabinet
 Chairman*
 Julian B. Venezky

Initial Gifts Division Chairman
 Samuel Rothberg

Trades and Industries Division Chairman
 Abraham Feinberg

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Metropolitan Division Chairman
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Louis Berry

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Joseph M. Mazer
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Rudolf G. Sonneborn

Speakers Division Chairman
Avis Shulman

1951

General Chairman
Edward M. M. Warburg

Honorary Chairman
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National Chairmen
William Rosenwald
Rudolf G. Sonneborn
Rabbi Jonah B. Wise

National Co-Treasurers
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Jacob Sincoff

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National Women's Division
Honorary Chairmen
Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman
Mrs. David M. Levy
Mrs. Felix M. Warburg

Chairman
Mrs. S. A. Brailove

National Campaign Cabinet
Chairman
Morris W. Berinstein

Chairman Trade and Industry Division
Herbert R. Abeles

Chairman Regional Division
Moritz M. Gottlieb

Chairman Speakers Division
Alex Lowenthal

Maurice Bernon
Louis Berry
Benjamin G. Browdy
Charles Brown
Eddie Cantor
Joseph Cherner
Samuel H. Daroff
Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel

Henry Feferman
Nolan Glazer
Harold A. Goldman
Rabbi Israel Goldstein
E. N. Grueskin
Joseph Holtzman
I. S. Joseph
Milton Kahn

Stanley J. Kahn
A. S. Kay
Hymen Lefcowitz
Julius Livingston
Phil W. Lown
Sol Luckman
Joseph Mazer
Barney Medintz

Joseph Meyerhoff
Louis S. Myers
Charles J. Rosenbloom
Samuel Rothberg
Joseph Shulman
Dewey D. Stone
Julian B. Venezky
Jack D. Weiler

1952

General Chairman
Edward M. M. Warburg

Honorary Chairman
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

National Chairmen
William Rosenwald Rudolf G. Sonneborn Rabbi-Jonah B. Wise

National Co-Treasurers
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Executive Vice-Chairman
Joseph J. Schwartz

National Women's Division
Honorary Chairmen
Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman Mrs. David M. Levy Mrs. Felix M. Warburg

Chairman
Mrs. S. A. Brailove

National Campaign Cabinet
Chairman
Morris W. Berinstein

Chairman Regional Division
Moritz M. Gottlieb

Chairman Trade and Industry Council
Joseph Schapiro

Chairman Speakers Division
Herbert A. Friedman

Herbert R. Abeles
Maurice Bernon
Louis Berry
Benjamin G. Browdy
Charles Brown
Eddie Cantor
Joseph Cherner
Samuel H. Daroff

National Campaign Cabinet
Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel Milton Kahn
Henry Feferman Abe Kasle
Nolan Glazer A. S. Kay
Harold A. Goldman Hymen Lefcowitz
Israel Goldstein Julius C. Livingston
E. N. Grueskin Alex Lowenthal
Joseph Holtzman Phil W. Lown
Marvin H. Itts Sol Luckman
I. S. Joseph Joseph Mazer

Barney Medintz
Joseph Meyerhoff
Irving S. Norry
Charles J. Rosenbloom
Samuel Rothberg
Joseph Shulman
Dewey D. Stone
Jack D. Weiler

1953

General Chairman
Edward M. M. Warburg

Honorary Chairman
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

National Chairmen Representing Agencies
Walter H. Bieringer, USNA Rudolf G. Sonneborn, UIA Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, JDC

National Campaign Chairmen
Morris W. Berinstein Joseph Holtzman Sol Luckman William Rosenwald Jack D. Weiler

National Co-Treasurers
I. Edwin Goldwasser Jacob Sincoff

Executive Vice-Chairman
Joseph J. Schwartz

National Women's Division

Honorary Chairmen

Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman

Mrs. David M. Levy

Mrs. Felix M. Warburg

Chairman

Mrs. Albert Pilavin

National Campaign Cabinet

Chairman

Samuel H. Daroff

Chairman Regional Division

Maurice Bernon

Chairman Trade and Industry Division

Robert W. Schiff

Chairman Speakers Division

Herbert A. Friedman

National Campaign Cabinet

Herbert R. Abeles
Louis Berry
Hyman Brand
Charles Brown
Eddie Cantor
Joseph Cherner
Eli A. Cohen
Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel
Simon H. Fabian
Henry Feferman
Reuben L. Freeman

Kalman S. Goldenberg
Harold A. Goldman
I. E. Goldstein
Rabbi Israel Goldstein
E. N. Grueskin
Marvin H. Itts
I. S. Joseph
Milton Kahn
Abe Kasle
Abe S. Kay
Adolph Kiesler

Julius C. Livingston
Phil W. Lown
Henry Maslansky
Joseph M. Mazer
Barney Medintz
Joseph Meyerhoff
Irving Miller
Edward D. Mitchell
Irving S. Norry
James L. Permutt
Barney Rapaport

Leonard Ratner
Charles J. Rosenbloom
Samuel Rothberg
Sol Satinsky
Morris Senderowitz, Jr.
Joseph Shulman
Dewey D. Stone
Benjamin H. Swig
Herman P. Taubman
Jacob M. Viener
Robert I. Wishnick

1954

General Chairman

Edward M. M. Warburg

National Chairmen Representing Agencies

Walter H. Beiringer, USNA

Rudolf G. Sonneborn, UIA

Jonah B. Wise, JDC

National Campaign Chairmen

Morris W. Berinstein

Joseph Holtzman

Sol Luckman

William Rosenwald

Jack D. Weiler

National Co-Treasurers

I. Edwin Goldwasser

Jacob Sincoff

Executive Vice-Chairman

Joseph J. Schwartz

National Women's Division

Honorary Chairmen

Mrs. S. Alexander Brailove

Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman

Mrs. David M. Levy

Mrs. Albert Pilavin

Mrs. Felix M. Warburg

Chairman

Mrs. Hal Horne

National Campaign Cabinet

Chairman

Samuel H. Daroff

Regional Division Chairman

Maurice Bernon

Trade and Industry Chairman

Robert W. Schiff

Speakers Division Chairman

Herbert A. Friedman

<i>National Campaign Cabinet</i>			
Herbert R. Abeles	Kalman S. Goldenberg	Phil W. Lown	Charles J. Rosenbloom
Louis Berry	Harold A. Goldman	Henry Maslansky	Samuel Rothberg
Hyman Brand	I. E. Goldstein	Joseph M. Mazer	Sol Satinsky
Charles Brown	Israel Goldstein	Barney Medintz	Morris Senderowitz, Jr.
Eddie Cantor	E. N. Grueskin	Joseph Meyerhoff	Joseph Shulman
Joseph Cherner	Marvin H. Itts	Irving Miller	Dewey D. Stone
Eli A. Cohen	Milton Kahn	Edward D. Mitchell	Benjamin H. Swig
Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel	Abe Kasle	Irving S. Norry	Herman P. Taubman
Simon H. Fabian	Abe S. Kay	James L. Permutt	Jacob M. Viener
Henry Feferman	Adolph Kiesler	Barney Rapaport	Robert I. Wishnick
Reuben L. Freeman	Julius C. Livingston	Leonard Ratner	

1955

<i>General Chairman</i> William Rosenwald			
<i>National Chairmen Representing Agencies</i>			
Dewey D. Stone, UIA		Jonah B. Wise, JDC	
<i>National Chairmen</i>			
Morris W. Berinstein	Joseph Holtzman	Sol Luckman	Jack D. Weiler
<i>National Co-Treasurers</i>			
I. Edwin Goldwasser		Jacob Sincoff	
<i>Executive Vice-Chairmen</i>			
<i>to April 1955</i>		<i>from May 1955</i>	
Joseph J. Schwartz		Herbert A. Friedman	
<i>National Women's Division</i>			
<i>Honorary Chairmen</i>			
Mrs. S. Alexander Brailove	Mrs. David M. Levy	Mrs. Albert Pilavin	
Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman		Mrs. Felix M. Warburg	
<i>Chairman</i>			
Mrs. Hal Horne			
<i>National Campaign Cabinet</i>			
<i>Chairman</i>			
Samuel H. Daroff			
<i>Chairman for Regions</i>		<i>Trade and Industry Chairman</i>	
Joseph Holtzman		Robert W. Schiff	
<i>Big Gifts Chairman</i>			
Benjamin H. Swig			
<i>Speakers Division Chairman</i>			
Louis Nizer			
<i>National Cabinet Members</i>			
Richard J. Abel	Abraham Feinberg	Albert A. Levin	James L. Permutt
Herbert R. Abeles	Fred Forman	Harry Levine	Barney Rapaport
Norman Berlin	Reuben L. Freeman	Julius Livingston	Leonard Ratner
Louis Berry	Norbert Friedman	Philip W. Lown	Edwin Rosenberg
Hyman Brand	Kalman S. Goldenberg	Henry Maslansky	Samuel Rothberg
Isadore Breslau	Harold A. Goldman	Joseph M. Mazer	Sol Satinsky
Charles Brown	I. E. Goldstein	Barney Medintz	Morris Senderowitz, Jr.
Eddie Cantor	Milton Kahn	Arthur C. Melamed	Joseph D. Shane
Joseph Cherner	Nathaniel P. Kann	Joseph Meyerhoff	William M. Shipley
Eli A. Cohen	Abe Kasle	Irving Miller	Joseph Shulman
Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel	Abe S. Kay	Edward D. Mitchell	Rudolf G. Sonneborn
Simon H. Fabian	Adolph Kiesler	Martin Nadelman	Jack Stern
Henry Feferman	Philip M. Klutznick	Iving S. Norry	Joseph Talamo
	Herman P. Taubman		

1957

General Chairman
William Rosenwald

Honorary General Chairman
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman

Honorary Chairman
Edward M. M. Warburg

President
Morris W. Berinstein

National Chairmen Representing Agencies
Dewey D. Stone, UIA Jonah B. Wise, JDC

National Chairmen
Samuel H. Daroff Joseph Holtzman Sol Luckman Jack D. Weiler

Emergency Rescue Fund Chairman
Samuel Rubin

Co-Chairman
Joseph M. Mazer

National Co-Treasurers
Joseph I. Lubin Jacob Sincoff

Executive Vice-Chairman
Herbert A. Friedman

National Women's Division Chairman
Mrs. Jack A. Goodman

National Campaign Cabinet
Chairman *Vice-Chairman*
Joseph Meyerhoff Fred Forman

Big Gifts Chairmen
Benjamin H. Swig Max M. Fisher

Allocations Chairman
Isadore Breslau

Chairmen for Regions
Albert A. Levin Joseph Shulman

Trade and Industry Chairman
Robert W. Schiff

Speakers Division Chairman
Milton Kahn

Cabinet Members

Herbert R. Abeles
Jacob M. Arvey
Louis Berry
David Borowitz
Hyman Brand
Max Bressler
Eddie Cantor
Joseph Cohan
Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel
Melvin Dubinsky
William P. Engel
Abraham Feinberg
I. D. Fink
Max Firestein

Kalman S. Goldenberg
Abraham Goodman
Lazure L. Goodman
Samuel Hausman
Jacob Hiatt
Abe Kasle
Label A. Katz
Abe S. Kay
Adolph Kiesler
Philip M. Klutznick
Harry Levine
Philip W. Lown
Joseph Markel
Benjamin J. Massell

Barney Medintz
Irving Miller
Edward D. Mitchell
Elkan R. Myers
Martin Nadelman
Norman C. Nobil
Irving S. Norry
James L. Permutt
A. B. Polinsky
Sidney R. Rabb
Barney Rapaport
Leonard Ratner
Samuel Rothberg
Bernard J. Sampson

Sol Satinsky
Joseph J. Schwartz
Morris Senderowitz, Jr.
Joseph D. Shane
William M. Shipley
Rudolf G. Sonneborn
Michael A. Stavitsky
Jack Stern
Harry S. Sylk
Joseph Talamo
Herman P. Taubman
Milton Taubman
Samuel A. Weiss

1958

General Chairman
Morris W. Berinstein

Honorary General Chairman
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman

Honorary Chairman
Edward M. M. Warburg

Honorary National Chairman
Rabbi Jonah B. Wise

Honorary Rescue Fund Chairman
Samuel Rubin

National Chairmen Representing Agencies
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Samuel H. Daroff

National Chairmen
Joseph Holtzman Sol Luckman Joseph Meyerhoff

Jack D. Weiler

Rescue Fund Chairman
Joseph M. Mazer

National Co-Treasurers
Joseph I. Lubin Jacob Sincoff

Executive Vice-Chairman
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National Women's Division Chairman
Mrs. Jack A. Goodman

*National Campaign Cabinet
Chairman*
Fred Forman

Big Gifts Chairmen
Max M. Fisher Benjamin H. Swig

Allocations Chairman
Isadore Breslau

Chairmen for Regions
Albert A. Levin Joseph Shulman

Trade and Industry Chairman
Robert W. Schiff

Speakers Division Chairman
Milton Kahn

Cabinet Members

Herbert R. Abeles
Jacob M. Arvey
Louis Berry
David Borowitz
Leon Brachman
Hyman Brand
Max Bressler
Eddie Cantor
Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel
Melvin Dubinsky
I. D. Fink
Max Firestein
Abraham Goodman

Lazure L. Goodman
Jacob Hiatt
Jerold C. Hoffberger
Abe Kasle
Label A. Katz
Abe S. Kay
Adolph Kiesler
Philip M. Klutznick
Harry Levine
Philip W. Lown
Joseph Markel
Benjamin J. Massell
Barney Medintz

Irving Miller
Edward D. Mitchell
Elkan R. Myers
Martin Nadelman
Norman C. Nobil
Irving S. Norry
James L. Permutt
A. B. Polinsky
Sidney R. Rabb
Barney Rapaport
Leonard Ratner
Samuel Rothberg
Bernard J. Sampson

Sol Satinsky
Joseph J. Schwartz
Morris Senderowitz, Jr.
Joseph D. Shane
Rudolf G. Sonneborn
Michael A. Stavitsky
Jack Stern
Harry S. Sylk
Joseph Talamo
Herman P. Taubman
Milton I. Taubman
Samuel A. Weiss

1959

General Chairman
Morris W. Berinstein

Honorary General Chairman
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman

Honorary Chairman
Edward M. M. Warburg

Honorary National Chairman
Joseph Holtzman

Honorary Special Fund Chairman
Samuel Rubin

National Chairmen Representing Agencies
William Rosenwald, JDC Dewey D. Stone, UIA

Samuel H. Daroff

National Chairmen
Albert A. Levin Sol Luckman Joseph Meyerhoff

Jack D. Weiler

Special Fund Chairmen
Max M. Fisher Joseph M. Mazer

National Co-Treasurers
Joseph I. Lubin Jacob Sincoff

Secretary
Moses A. Leavitt

Executive Vice-Chairman
Herbert A. Friedman

National Women's Division Chairman
Mrs. Jack A. Goodman

National Campaign Cabinet Chairman
Fred Forman

Big Gifts Chairmen
Robert W. Schiff Benjamin H. Swig

Allocations Chairman
Isadore Breslau

National Cash Chairman
Melvin Dubinsky

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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
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

1960

General Chairman
Morris W. Berinstein

Honorary General Chairman
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman

Honorary Chairman
Edward M. M. Warburg

Honorary National Chairmen
Joseph Holtzman Sol Luckman

Honorary Special Fund Chairman
Samuel Rubin

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EXCERPTS
FROM SELECTED UJA ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS*
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

In 1976, before most Jewish agencies thought of putting their histories on tape, the UJA, guided by the foresight of Professor Moshe Davis of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, embarked on its oral history project. It began to record the personal experiences of all whose lives and fortunes impinged on its general development and its constituent agencies. Dr. Menachem Kaufman, also of the Hebrew University, who did most of the interviewing, soon discovered that the UJA's oral history program represents a historical record whose value to UJA leaders in the present and the future, as well as to researchers, is incalculable.

The excerpts that follow are culled from these oral interviews, and are selected for the additional light they throw on those involved with the agency, and how they saw the consciousness-shaping role of the UJA.

* Including a few excerpts from selected speeches by UJA leaders.



Stanley Horowitz, President, UJA

The existence of Israel assures that Jews will not be *defenseless* again. Our small numbers are offset by having become a nation with a recognized land, by being a unified people, by insisting that our common beliefs and common cause far overshadow our differences, and by remaining committed to the work we must do—no matter how important or how mundane. We know that the accomplishments of recent decades are the result of our predecessors who enlisted for the long haul, and who responded to messages such as this with determination to do the little things as well as the big—to be there in normal times as well as times of emergencies. All we need do to underline the importance of a Jewish state and a unified people experienced in collective action, is to contrast our strength now, with the situation at the time of the Holocaust when, as a *New York Times* article put it recently, “Each Jew stood *alone* and helpless in despair, the six million like so many grains of sand, their numbers adding no strength against the tide of death.” (*Speaking at the UJA National Leadership Conference, Washington, D.C., May 18, 1984*)

Alexander Grass

The UJA is the principal marshalling point for American Jewry’s concern and support for the people of Israel. It educates a broad constituency, develops community and national leadership, and offers concrete, meaningful ways for us to help our people in Israel. It is the foremost major American Jewish organization to provide a basis for all Jews—of all areas, all political and social views, all religious inclinations—to meet on common ground. By stimulating and motivating annual campaigns, the UJA has helped build communities and strengthen federations. For 45 years, we have helped Jews in the United States grow closer to one another, assembling hundreds of federated and non-federated communities under a nation-spanning banner that proclaims to the world that *We Are One*. (*Speaking at the UJA National Leadership Conference, Washington, D.C., May 19, 1984*)

Ben Swig

I was born in a small city in Massachusetts; there were only eight Jewish families there. I was never bar mitzvah until I went to Jerusalem last year and I was made bar mitzvah when I was eighty-one years of age. I never learned to speak Hebrew; I know very few words in Yiddish, because my mother and father spoke Yiddish in our house when they didn’t want the children to understand. We had no synagogue and no temple there. But there’s something inside of you—I don’t know what it is—that makes you feel proud that you’re a Jew, and you want to do everything you can to help the Jews wherever they are. As I become older and better entrenched, I want to do more for the Jewish people, wherever they are. (*Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, March 17, 1976*)

Joseph Shane

I will always say about what the UJA in particular has done. We in America are an organized Jewry because of the United Jewish Appeal. I can pick up a telephone and I can reach a Jew in any city and in

any hamlet and in any community in this country, and raise the support of Jews from one end of the country to another like a forest fire, if there's any threat to the status of the Jew in America. This has come about because the United Jewish Appeal has brought the leadership of the Jewish community together and there was no other vehicle that could have done that. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, June 16, 1977)*

Morris Ginsberg

Meeting after meeting I was always for the joining of the federation and the UJA. I still think today this is the proper thing. To me, a Jew is a Jew, whether working for the federation or for the UJA. Eventually I think we'll be better organized and get more money from most people who have not given before because they thought of themselves as being more a federation person than of the UJA. Now we're united, and it's good. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman)*

Dr. Louis Greenwald

In 1948, I figured that rather than put money through the Zionist movement to Israel, I'd give it through the United Jewish Appeal directly. I felt that UJA was a better organization for the distribution of American money than any Zionist organization per se. I was never happy with the fragmentation of different groups; I don't know how many Zionist groups there are right now, but each one of them is collecting money. The thing that I feel bad about is that in my work with these organizations, I find, if nothing else, that each organization has to have some field workers, to maintain an office staff, and, of course, pay rent; it has to have mailings, and very often the biggest portion of a dollar is spent on administration locally rather than going to Israel. At least we know that if we send enough money directly to the United Jewish Appeal, it goes there; sometimes we're not happy about UJA's allocations, but at least we know the money goes to Israel entirely. *(Interviewed by Geoffrey Nizoder, December 13, 1978)*

Milton Handler

The knowledge that people have of Jewish history—their sense of kinship to their fellow Jews, the elimination of the ghetto which forced the association—all of that is gone. I think therefore that now it is important to enlist young people to work for a cause like UJA more than ever. *(Interviewed by Prof. A. Karp, February 20, 1981)*

Rabbi Isadore Breslau

The American Jewish community has been greatly affected by the UJA message and education. I have observed that many, many families who were far from Judaism or Jewish identity soon began to absorb Jewish identity and education in their homes through their involvement in organizations like Hadassah and the United Jewish Appeal. I really believe that to date the United Jewish Appeal is a greater factor in disseminating Jewish identity and intensifying it than any process presently in vogue in America and

American Jewish life. We owe a great deal to the United Jewish Appeal for that reason. Witness the fact that the War of '67 and '73 did more to draw Jews to Jewish identification and to Israel than anything else before. All the processes of the seminaries, the rabbinical schools and Jewish education, whether it was a day school, an afternoon school or a Sunday school, is insignificant compared to the impact of '67 and '73 through the particular instrumentality of the United Jewish Appeal. UJA has had a greater influence on American Jewish life than anything else. I observed and I've been active and involved in Jewish matters all my adult life. I have not been in the active rabbinate since 1933, but I've been a volunteer worker for fundraising both in the rabbinate and rabbinical circles. However, I've been more satisfied with my own effectiveness through UJA and Jewish organizational fundraising for the schools in Israel, like the Technion, American Hebrew University, The Weizmann Institute and the others. I've been more effective in this regard and more satisfied that I was providing an educational benefit. *(Interviewed by J. Hodes, September 9, 1975)*

Maurice Saltzman

When the people at the United Way ask me how you do it, I tell them there is a certain devotion that have to do what we are doing. "You know," I say, "when I come in each morning, if I have a job to do for the Jewish Community Federation or for any of its institutions, that is the first thing I'll look at." I say, "Now what do I have to do today? I do something for the Jewish Community Federation 365 days of the year. You people in the United Way, you somehow or other want to do it all in a period of two months, and it can't be done that way. It's got to be done with a certain love and affection and the belief that you are doing something, not that it is a compulsory thing to do. I get a feeling that the United Way is compulsory for you. It is not compulsory for us to give to the Jewish Community Federation, it is part of our life, everything we do is done on the basis that we want to do it." *(Interviewed by Arthur Ginsberg, June 13, 1979)*

Steve Broidy

I think that the UJA is doing a fantastic job. Sure, there is room for improvement—as there is for everything in life. Why should the UJA be any different? I think that the important thing that faces the UJA is keeping the youth of the country interested, so that when people like me pass on—which is a matter of a limited number of years—there is somebody not only to do the work but to give the money. The big, big donors are men of mature age, and if they don't stimulate the younger people to the same extent as to their responsibility on the same basis, the same equitable basis, regarding financial support, the cause is going to suffer at some given point. *(Interviewed by Lauren Deutsch, July 27, 1979)*

Walter Hillborn

The survival of Israel is a moral issue. The survival of the Jewish people as a whole is a religious issue. I think a Jew should be interested in the survival of Israel. I think it is important for Jews that Israel survives. For Jews in America, the fate of the Jews in Israel is important. What is important for me is the survival of Jews as private persons, not the survival of a Jewish state as a political entity. But in order to guarantee the survival of the Jew as a private person, I have to support Israel. And as long as the United Jewish Appeal supports the survival of Jews in Israel, I am supporting its campaign work as

my primary consideration. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, March 14, 1976)*

Major General Julius Klein

Let me give you a typical example of MacArthur's contribution to Israel. MacArthur cabled, at my request. I went to see him in Tokyo, about the UN vote on Israel. The Philippines' General Romulo, who was on the staff of MacArthur and who later became a Filipino, was still a Filipino, and then ambassador, and president of the United Nations—and now he is the president of the University of the Philippines. He had instruction from President Ruiz not to vote for a mandate for Israel—because there are millions of Moslems living in the Philippines. So when I found that out, and I wired General MacArthur requesting that he must immediately wire Ruiz, he agreed with me. I asked MacArthur to write to Ruiz, that I would return my Philippines Distinguished Service Medal, to the Philippines. If I fought for the Philippines, and we spent American blood for the freedom of the Philippines, and they don't recognize the country for which millions of Jews gave their lives indirectly, then I am ashamed to wear this medal. And MacArthur, when I spoke to him on the phone, said, "I'm going to do the same thing!" The next thing I remember is that Romulo called me up, tell me with great happiness that the Philippines are going to vote for the state of Israel. *(Interviewed by Arthur Ginsberg, June 14, 1979)*

Merrill Hassenfeld

I firmly believe, based on empirical experience in this organization and in the Jewish community, that every generation will produce its leadership. We are producing it, you know, in UJA; you've met many of the Young Leaders—dynamic, dedicated, hard-working, and many of them already beginning to head major campaigns in the country. I've been privileged to have the unique situation of having Sylvia as a National Chairman and in all the years before that, building up to it. I do not sell the role of women short in the top leadership of this country and in communities all over the country; they're a breed unto themselves; they have such guts and such innovativeness of how to bring out more and more people, and thus more and more money, that if I look ahead it would not surprise me to see some time in the future that leadership might be in the hands of women—either because they have the time (they combine the ability, the luxury of time) as well as the ability. *(Interviewed by S. Abramson, May 11, 1976)*

Hyman Lefkowitz

Fundraising has changed. I hate to judge whether it has changed for the better or for the worse because we're raising much more money today than we did in those days. But you could attribute the amount of money that's raised today to the greater affluence of the Jews now as compared to then. But in those days many, many people in our country made a commitment to help. As I say, the reasons were many and varied, but they committed themselves and dedicated themselves to raising the money that was needed to rehabilitate the Jews from Eastern Europe and from other parts of the world. Today, it seems to be more technical. In those days, we just did it. We didn't have the technique, we used individual methods. Each person went out into the field to solicit money—sometimes two, three, or four worked on one. We simply made it our business to tell Jewish members in our respective communities to give to the United Jewish Appeal. *(Interviewed by Arthur Ginsberg, December 2, 1979)*

Julius Ratner

As I moved up the ladder in the late 1940s, early 1950s, I recognized a problem that we were going to run into with federation and the campaign. There were a large number—relatively large number—of older men who had been born in Russia or Europe or wherever they came from: immigrants, they spoke Yiddish. They had a basic, simplistic, wonderful understanding of what *gevult* meant. They knew what Europe was. They knew what America was. It didn't have to be explained to them in any specific brochures. And they were the heart and soul of the leadership of the United Jewish Welfare Fund. I can tick off the names for you: Pincus Karl, Ben Solnick, Julius Fligelman, Ed Mitchell, Julius Goldman, down the line. A relatively large number of them in every industry. . . . As a result of my thinking I got hold of a couple of the younger men and I recognized something: that we did not do anything at all to get these younger men that were just coming out of the service—the late 1940s—involved in some kind of approach to basic things in the community. They might go on and not get involved. Their fathers did it; they didn't have to do it. And it had to be done through a process where fathers were not involved. *(Interviewed by Max Vorspan, July 15, 1980)*

Mathilda Brailove

It doesn't matter what kind of a Jew you are, it doesn't matter how you practice Judaism. UJA requires of a Jew that he feel the oneness of the Jewish people and make the contribution commensurate with his ability. But UJA has given that feeling of pride. And we've been very lucky by getting some awfully good leadership. *(Interviewed by Jeff Hodes, April 25, 1975)*

Lou Boyer

You know, we are our brothers' keepers. Who else raised the money? Did you ever look up and see when Ireland became a state? The wealth of the United States was Irish. They had a bond issue, too—a \$5 million bond issue. At the end of three years they cancelled it. Less than half the bonds were sold. The people didn't want to buy bonds; they were Americans. The Jews give more. Look at the Community Chest, which is a non-Jewish thing. It is non-anything; it isn't pro anything, makes no difference: black, white, Christian, Jew, even atheist. Everyone gives for your local whatever-you-call-it. I remember one year I was the biggest individual giver to the Community Chest in Los Angeles. They called me in. They wanted to make me part of the whatever-you-call-it. But I made a mistake. They asked me how can we get the same kind of money that you give to them and to others. I said, "You start here, right in this room: you people, set the examples. You set the examples and the rest will do it." So they sent me to another meeting. A politician has got to set an example. With teachers, it can't be "do as I say"; it must be "do as I do." *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, March 14, 1976)*

Paul Zuckerman

I could write a book on fundraising that nobody would believe, because you know that truth is stranger than fiction. I have gotten tremendous gifts out of men who had turned down everybody in their local communities—without asking for a penny. In other words, they knew why I came to them. They knew

I wanted more money. I was not going to say, "You don't give enough," because that is the best way to get thrown out on your ear—especially to degrade a man. And so I would talk about family, art, anything. [The importance of the relationship between the solicitor and the giver] does not diminish by any means the importance of Israel, but there is something about the solicitor that is very important to the solicitee. Each one is different. Each one has a different interest. Of course, the solicitees must have respect for the solicitor. They must say, "Where do you find the time to do this?" And so you tell them: that you gave up golf and you gave up tennis, gave up traveling and vacations, etc., and business. And pretty soon you hit their conscience; and, of course, they have to start talking so—to themselves. And that is the best thing. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, April 4, 1976)*

Bernard Schaenen

I think the leadership is there. When you go to these meetings you see leadership and you see the capacities, and you see strength, and to a large extent you've seen UJA and CJF men on both boards. I think that may be our saying grace—that more and more these leaders are realizing how important one is to the other, and they will have common meetings. And bring them together, instead of having separate meetings and treating them like strangers. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, March 16, 1976)*

Bram Goldsmith

The strength of a national chairman is really not representative of the size or what the organization should stand for. I think a lot of the strengths and weaknesses, really, of the national campaign cabinet, are due to the composition. It's a volunteer organization, and those who have the tenacity to stay—and if they are willing to spend the time and come to meetings whether they are contributing or not—are going to remain because they are active by virtue of being there, which again doesn't reflect on quality; that reflects on service. *(Interviewed by Lauren Deutsch, July 26, 1979)*

Joseph Meyerhoff

What they like about the Young Leadership group is they've got a group of peers who are successful lawyers or successful young businessmen or just fine fellows, and they like to be with that element. It was one of UJA's greatest ideas. So many of the younger men are now in leadership positions and among the chairmanships of big companies. That's what we're talking about. *(Interviewed by J. Hodes and S. Abramson, September 19, 1975)*

Philip Klutznick

The demands during the time of Maimonides for charity funds were essentially local, and the relationship between the giver and the receiver was intimate; therefore, anonymity was essential. But in these days of scientific salesmanship, worldwide problems and a multitude of organizational activities, a failure to systematize fundraising could be fatal. Until a different day comes, the choice between high-powered salesmanship, with some of the approaches we do not like, and the Maimonides approach, which I

endorse, could result in the failure of Jewish organizational and communal life. If we have to choose for the moment, I will take the sordid aspects of high-powered fundraising as against the decline and disappearance of essential institutions in our communal life. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, March 1976)*

Boris Smolar

The first UJA mission was not like the missions of today. It was a very small mission of about fifteen to twenty people, led by Eddie Warburg and Dr. Joseph Schwartz [UJA's second executive vice president]. He was the one who had to report on our first mission. Out of this mission the idea of sending missions to Israel every year developed. In order to ask people to go on missions to Israel, you had to make them aware of the actual situation in Israel and to interest the top people in the country, to tell them that they had to go. And with every year, more and more people attended the mission. Of course there was a limit. A giver who gave less than \$20,000 to UJA couldn't go on a mission. And within a few years, more and more people gave \$20,000 in order to be on the missions, and then being on a mission became a matter of status. . . . People increased their contributions in order to be included on the mission. At that time there was only one mission. Later it developed into many different missions under Herb Friedman. He realized that the yearly mission was very successful and that many people wanted to go on it. So he got the idea to also organize community missions from each city. . . . I suggested that any mission should not be lost; there should be a club formed of *mission alumni*. When you go on a mission, you really feel like part of a family and later a kind of family spirit developed. So in order to maintain this spirit after the mission, I suggested that they should have a club of mission members—even with a little pin or something like that. And once a year, they could have a dinner for these mission people—not to raise money, but just to add to their prestige and to encourage their interest in our work, and so on. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman and Lauren Deutsch, June 29, 1977)*

Israel Goldstein

I respected my clientele. I did not talk down to them; nor was I above their heads. My message was, I think, a dignified one, which always had in it a combination of spiritual and intellectual content. But beyond all that, I think it's essential that a person convey sincerity. You believe in something so devoutly that that belief becomes contagious. And I suppose it depends also on how you regard the person you're talking to. You have to respect him. And I respected people not necessarily for their education, but for their devotion as Jews. And they must have felt that respect, which always comes back to you, in double and treble measure. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman)*

William Rosenwald

[The Executive Committee] thought it would be a miracle if we raised seventy million. However, the situation in Europe was really desperate, with millions of Jews who'd lost everything: their health, their families, their assets, everything! Their relatives didn't know where they were. It was a terrible situation. So I said, "You must try for it." And it was passed at the executive by a vote of *one to nothing!* I voted for it, and nobody would vote against me. *(Interviewed by J. Hodes, March 13, 1975)*

Sam Miller

I made a pledge that as long as I lived there would be nothing that I would not do in any area or in any way, including giving my own life for our people. So consequently I used to be sent overseas and on many missions—mostly of a life-saving nature, mostly concerned with rescuing Jews. *(Interviewed by Arthur Ginsberg, May 16, 1979)*

Sam Rothberg

I am beginning to question the world we live in. When I came back, as much as I had sacrificed in 1946, I knew I couldn't give what I gave then. The \$50,000 that I gave in 1946 didn't come out of taxes; it didn't come out of income. Seventy percent of that money came out of capital. In 1947, I know I can't give what I gave in 1946; I wouldn't be able to live with myself. So in 1947 I am contributing \$100,000—and I'm not giving anything away. I'm not taking it out of capital, nor out of income. I'm taking money that I've set aside for those two little children. No, I'm not giving a single thing away. I'm making an investment. I'm making an investment in freedom so that my children will have an opportunity to grow up and live—as free people. *(Interviewer: T.V. Material, February 1947)*

Melvin Dubinsky

I believe in the cliché which has been said over and over again: that Israel is like a chair with three legs. And I think there are three ingredients that you need. You need private investment—badly. You need philanthropic funds; and you need the sale of investments. So in a sense what I'm saying is that you need the UJA and other philanthropic organizations, you need the Bonds, and you need private investment. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman and L. Deutsch)*

Rudolph Sonnenborn

I was one of the leaders of the UJA from the time it was born in 1939. . . . Before that, I recall, I was on the boards of two things: the JDC and the UPA, before they came together in 1939, thanks to the stalwart of stalwarts, Henry Montor. He was stupendous, beyond words, at fundraising in every way, shape and form. *(Interviewed by J. Hodes, March 2, 1975)*

Paulette Fink

So I became National Chairman in 1960 and held it for three years. Since then I have never found a way to stop doing it, because I believe that today the most important thing of all is to build the next generation. If we don't build the young leadership, and if we don't build the young generation of Jewish kids who have nothing to refer to, nobody to recall memories to them and no reasons to be involved, then we're lost. So I have to talk, I have to tell it. I cannot stop telling it because there are not that many left who can tell the story. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, March 16, 1976)*

Ed Warburg

We use a big word like humanitarianism, but I think beyond humanitarianism. It was Jews that were in trouble, whether it was in Europe or in Israel. And they were ready to go and say that it better be more than just Jews; it was because there were people in trouble. *(Interviewed by M. Davis, Dr. Menachem Kaufman, and H. Stone, April 14, 1975)*

Ed Ginsberg

Our aim was to articulate Israel's needs and make the people understand what the problems were so that they could clearly grasp the situation. . . . We really undertook to educate the American Jewish community and make it aware. . . . It was an ongoing process for showing that the [Israel] emergency fund would continue. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman and J. Hodes, March 9, 1976)*

Ralph Wechsler

I was chairman of the campaign and also vice president of the Community Council. I said that we would see how successful the campaign would be. He said: "How about guaranteeing a minimum amount?" "No," we told him, "We will not guarantee anything of the Essex [County] campaign." We wanted everybody to be loyal to the UJA, and not have people be able to say: "I favor local services, but I am not in favor of Israel." And this is a United Jewish Appeal. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, March 28, 1976)*

Elaine Winik

The UJA's function is fundraising and very often people will ask me why we don't do something against anti-Semitism, or something about public relations. You can't be all things to all men. We are a fundraising organization, and if we can raise funds and supply them to the Joint Distribution Committee and to the UJA and to Hias and Nyana, then we have done the job for which we are constituted. Our own PR is again geared to fundraising. We just can't do another type of job. *(Interviewed by Geoffrey Wigoder)*

Phillip Slomovitz

At that time [1945-1943] we had a nucleus of Jewish leadership that worked and labored, the women were active, and today fortunately we have a young leadership movement, which is creating a tremendous impact on the community. They may not be in the thousands, but when they're in the hundreds and they're active, it's very heartening. *(Interviewed by Arthur Ginsberg, February 26, 1980)*

Jacob Feldman

You have to start from the small givers and you have to educate them. I know that conditions are very cyclical and that they change, especially in our industry; you have to be attuned to the art of giving of your money and your time—which is even more important than your money. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman, March 17, 1976)*

Jack Weiler

This man comes to the meeting and I always call the cards. After I finished calling cards, I said, "I promised a dozen people here that I'm not going to call their cards. You've heard the contributions. Isn't there one of you who will volunteer your own gift without calling your name?" The first hand that went up was of this man who had pleaded with me not to call him; yet the first hand that went up was his. "Yes, I'm one of those whom you promised that you wouldn't call his name, and you kept your word. Because you kept your word, I want to make a \$10,000 contribution." He had never given more than \$1000 before. *(Interviewed by Dr. Menachem Kaufman)*

Robert E. Loup

The Jewish Agency has been and continues to be a developer and innovator of vast social, agricultural, educational and developmental programs—the latest and most imaginative of which is Project Renewal, one of the most impressive instruments for social justice, national cohesion and human self-determination anywhere in the world. . . . The Jewish Agency is a vigorous life force, responding compassionately and constructively to the needs of people. It is an enterprise in which American Jews can be proud to serve as equal partners. . . . It's an image, a vision of this agency that we ought to keep in mind at all times—while we're talking figures and management and process. Those are all vital issues, but I think we have to see them in the perspective of the historic significance and achievements of our partnership enterprise. *(Speaking at the Jewish Agency Assembly, June 10, 1983)*

Norman Winestine

The UJA has, in my opinion, kept many [Montana] Jews active. I think that philanthropy is certainly in many ways the number one symbol of Jewish life in Montana by itself. The other thing is, that the question of Israel today is, in my mind, one of the most important vital components of Jewish survival today. The problem is that Jewish contacts in Montana with the great Jewish world outside are too slim, too meager, and there UJA, of course, can make a great contribution to Jewish survival here. . . . The problem [of isolation] again is the famous story of the bundle of sticks. The one stick by itself is fragile and breaks easily. If you have a bundle and tie it together, you have strength. And I think that that is true of our Jewish population. If you can get 20,000 into Madison Square Garden for a program, then we each ignite the other, but when you take one or two families in their homes, miles apart in a little community like this, then there is no way to ignite them. I do think that one of our problems as far as Jews are concerned is that not enough of us ignite each other. *(Interviewed by Issachar Miron, February 19, 1981)*

Irving Bernstein

We are a small people, only 14 million out of 4 billion people. But we are a people of mercy, compassion and justice. And we know that as long as we stand together, we can stand up against any evil. . . . This is the reason why in the States all Jewish organizations have come together, Zionists and non-Zionists, for fundraising. All come together because of the realization that the problems of peace are far greater than the problems of war. War is simple, sharp, clear, clean. Nobody has to get up and speak about war. Everyone will respond. But the problems of peace are complex, and difficult, and complicated. . . . The issues of peace are not one, but four: The cost of peace, Project Renewal, migration, and inflation. (*Speaking in San Juan, March 22, 1980*)

Herbert A. Friedman

I became a rabbi not to try to tell anybody about God, because I don't know myself. I became a rabbi to try to do something for the Jewish people. I thought, maybe I can do something to wake up the Jews of America. I foresaw a long war (World War II) with bad trouble for the Jews, not just in Europe, but for the rest of the world. After the war and after all those years as a volunteer—with that belief inside me, about having to do something to make up for the guilt of what we did not do in the years of the *Shoa*, and confirmed and convinced in the belief that Israel is the center of the Jewish people—I became the UJA executive vice president. (*Interviewed by Rosalie Lurie and Menachem Kaufman*)

Dr. Joseph Schwartz

The past winter [1946] has resulted in a terrible setback all over Europe. Hunger and disease and cold have necessitated increased relief shipments by the JDC. I had completed an inspection survey of conditions in Romania prior to returning to European headquarters of the JDC in Paris. In more than a decade of overseas work, I have never seen hunger so widespread. The coming spring should see real progress in the construction of Jewish life, progress that has been held up by the severe winter. The emphasis in JDC programs on reconstructive tasks must be continued. (*UJA Press Release, March 5, 1947*)

Isidor Coons

Whatever I did, I did not forget for a moment that it was a great privilege for me to be in a position in helping to make possible the exodus of thousands of our fellow Jews from the hopelessness of Europe to an era of new life and dignity in Israel. (*UJA Press Release, February 17, 1949*)

Henry Montor

It is not always understood by non-fund raisers that the essence of fundraising is to do your job before there's any public meeting. If you don't do that adequately beforehand, the results are disastrous. So whenever a meeting is to be held, whether it's with twenty people or with five thousand people, if you

haven't got all the money in advance from the people you want to influence, the few who are undecided, then you're not doing fundraising. I think it's pertinent even today. To me, then, the only important issue in Jewish life and the only basis for huge fundraising was Israel. *(Interviewed by Menachem Kaufman)*

Menachem Kaufman

Over the last few years I have conducted approximately 150 interviews with people from the States and from Israel, covering the period of the 1940s to the present day. A substantial number of my questions were concerned not only with fundraising per se but also with attitude research into the American Jewish leadership. These interviews proved that the lack of superstructure for American Jewish organizations (the difficulties in creating it are well known) has meant that the task of unifying American Jewry, whenever such unity is necessary for the Jewish people and the State of Israel, has fallen to the United Jewish Appeal. I therefore reached the conclusion that the UJA provides a very, very reliable barometer of the life of American Jewry and of its attitudes in many fields of activity. *(June 6, 1984)*



EXCERPTS OF ORAL HISTORY ARE STILL NOT COMPLETED. SPACE FOR 7 OF THESE:
FRANK LICHT, ROBERT A. RIESMAN, BENJAMIN BRIER, ALEXANDER RUMPLER, MAX ALPERIN,
JOSEPH W. RESS, SELMA PILAVIN ROBINSON, AND POSSIBLY MORE.

