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Personal Letter

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

165 West 46 Street, New York 36, N. Y.

January 12, 1956

Dear Friend:

Many tremendous things are happening today which concern us very much.

It should be obvious to all by now, if it has not been clear up to now, that Israel is in the midst of a terribly dangerous period. For the past few weeks the press has been filled with talk of Arab-Israeli war. The Alsops wrote in the New York Herald Tribune on December 30, 1955: "It is then hard to see much reason for optimism about what has been happening in the Middle East. In point of fact, the highest State Department authorities are now privately admitting that the betting is even on a Middle East war breaking out within four months."

Whether or not one can agree with such precise predictions, there is no doubt that the months ahead are loaded with danger. No one knows whether Egypt will attack -- most moderate opinion seems to feel she will not. Mr. Ben Gurion feels, nevertheless, that this coming summer (5 or 6 months from now) represents the height of the crisis period through which Israel must pass.

This timetable of his is based on the simple calculation of how quickly the Soviet arms to Egypt can be put to effective use. Israel intelligence sources estimate that the deliveries have been substantially completed. This in itself is an amazing fact. It shows how hungry Egypt was and how willing the Soviet was to satisfy that appetite.

The training of manpower to use these arms is also progressing very rapidly. It is a mistake to assume the Egyptians do not know how to fly jets, operate tanks, understand radar. And what they might not know about the detailed intricacies of the equipment delivered, others are willing to teach them. Mr. George Allen, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, said very recently: "...There probably will be, and there probably are in Egypt right now, Soviet technicians or, at least, Communist technicians from Czechoslovakia."

The quantity of these arms is at last becoming widely known and widely published. The respected military expert of the New York Times, Hanson Baldwin, gave a rather full account on January 4: "A number of shiploads of Communist material already have been delivered at Alexandria, Egypt. The port has been closed off during the unloading. The material is assembled in the Suez Canal zone area," he wrote, adding:

"The Communist contract with Egypt is believed to provide for delivery of about 200 MIG-15 jet fighters, thirty IL-28 jet light bombers, about

150 to 200 Stalin III and T-34 tanks, and six to ten submarines. In addition, there will be almost 200 British Valentine tanks or self-propelled guns shipped from Belgium. The latter are chiefly important because of their seventeen pounder guns, but they have limited mobility."

It is equally obvious to all that Israel is re-arming, both for protection and also as a possible deterrent against attack. Israel is attempting to maintain the same policy toward Egypt that the U.S. has had for years vis-a-vis Russia -- namely, "a posture of strength" -- in the belief that if she keeps strong her opponent will be less tempted to start something. Israel's feeling is that if America has had success keeping Russia at bay with such a policy during all the long years of the Cold War, then such a policy would also be good to keep Egypt at bay.

At the same time, the people of Israel are confronted with the problem of North African immigration.

I feel certain you know the broad outlines of the Moroccan and Tunisian situations. Both countries have predominantly Arab populations with substantial Jewish minorities. The power of rule is shifting from the French to the Arabs themselves. The number of Jews desiring to emigrate has increased very, very rapidly during the past months. Various reasons are given, not the least of which is fear.

True, the responsible and moderate elements of the Arab political parties keep reassuring the Jewish populations that they will be granted equal rights which they do not now enjoy. True, there is one Jew in each cabinet -- Albert Bessis in Tunisia and Dr. Leon Benzaquen in Morocco. I know both men and they are respected,

Nevertheless, the masses of the Jews -- poverty-stricken, disenfranchised, living in a potentially hostile environment (for the Arab mobs do not always listen to the moderate words of their leaders) -- have a great fear that at some time in the future they may be cut off from the opportunity to emigrate. When a man fears that the door may be closed on him, trapping him and his family, he starts to push his way out as quickly as he can. Whether there is evidence one way or the other that his fear is correct or unjustified becomes unimportant. Flight becomes his greatest concern. Rescuing him becomes our first order of priority. It looks as though more than 50,000 Jews may be coming out this year.

Last year, Israel received 35,000 immigrants from North Africa and spent on this immigration somewhere between 31 and 34 million dollars. This was money that had to be allocated because we, the Jews of the western world, had not provided enough to pay for the increasing numbers of refugees coming from North Africa. The amount will be larger in 1956 because the number of immigrants is increasing.

Rearmament costs vast sums of money. Because of the necessity of raising money for defense, Israel's people are unable to contribute to the cost of immigration.

The rescue, absorption and rehabilitation of immigrants must therefore be our complete responsibility. If we fell short any year in the past and asked the people of Israel to pick up the bill for the difference -- let it be clearly understood that we cannot do this in 1956. We have no moral right to burden them with what is essentially a deficit in our treasury. If the UJA were to fall short and ask the people of Israel to assume the bills, as they have in the past, I think we would be guilty of moral collapse. For we would be forcing them to decide whether they should rescue Moroccan Jews or buy guns to defend themselves. What a horrible position into which to be forced and how lowly we would be if, in all our power and wealth, we forced them to that choice.

There is one clear solution:

Israel's people must finance the cost of re-armament.

Jews of North Africa must be helped to get out.

We must pay the entire bill on emigration!

* * *

I do not know if there will be war.

I do know that, if we fail to act in 1956 as we did in 1948, we shall be sinking to the lowest estate exactly at a time when the highest is required of us.

In the few months ahead, willingness to travel, eagerness to arouse others, maximum personal giving must become the pattern of conduct for you -- the leadership of American Jewry.

Sincerely,

Hubert A. Friedman

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

F. J. K. M.

Personal Letter

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

165 West 46 Street, New York 36, N. Y.

February 9, 1956

Dear Friends:

The crescendo is mounting.

Moslem religious leaders have solemnly declared a jihad (holy war) against Israel. The highest Moslem authority, a committee of scholars trained in law and religion, has issued a binding pronouncement. It is the duty of every loyal Moslem to die in defense of his property (Palestine) as a martyr -- the theory being that the creation of Israel was an "act of robbery" which must be met by an attack. Any peace with Israel that includes recognition of its existence as a state "is against faith." Moslems, "whatever their language, race or color, should all cooperate to restore this land to its people....They should help fighters in the jihad with weapons and various resources." The whole story, including a picture of the Supreme Moslem Committee, is to be found in the January 30 issue of TIME.

Thus, religious zeal and fanaticism are other ingredients now added to the recipe of Arab hatred and intransigence. Instead of the religious leaders preaching toleration and moderation, they are stirring up the deepest emotions of blood lust. There is nothing worse than a religious war, for it evokes the most passion. Men kill in the name of their God with more cruelty and zest than for any other reason.

* * *

The latest move in the Arab boycott of Israel is to consider any person who makes a contribution to the UJA subject to a blacklist. The N.Y. Times reported on January 26:

ARABS' BLACKLIST IN U.S. EXTENDED

"Saudi Arabia has expanded and intensified the blacklisting of companies dealing with Israel. The blacklist was originated by the Arab League three years ago.

"In some cases, the reason for blacklisting has gone far beyond the terms of the original boycott. New factors are... contribution to the UJA, as established by Arab research...The UJA is the major fund-raising effort in this country on behalf of Israel."

By a sort of reverse logic, this gives me, and should give you, a sense of pride. Apparently the UJA, is terribly important to the Arabs. Their efforts to destroy Israel economically are thwarted at least in part by

the UJA. If the UJA is that important to the Arabs, how important should it be to us?

* * *

A committee in Israel, headed by former Defense Minister Pinhas Lavon, has drawn up a report urging certain measures which must be taken to prepare for an emergency. The report has recommended: stripping the economy of all luxuries; setting up a National Defense Council; refusing exit visas from the country for persons of military age; levying a special Defense Tax of IL50 million; conscripting persons between 35 and 45 to work in frontier settlements most likely to bear the first brunt of an Arab attack. Whether or not all the recommendations are accepted, the report itself indicates that Israel is gearing for emergency action.

* * *

As far as Morocco is concerned, I have had two tremendously revealing conversations in recent days. One was with Mr. Zachariah Shuster, the European representative of the American Jewish Committee, and the other was with Mr. Sam Haber, the Director of the J.D.C. for Morocco.

Mr. Shuster reported that there was a genuine and strong urge on the part of substantial numbers of Jews for emigration, even in the face of the assurances of the new Moroccan government. And this urge is understandable, says he, because the long-term safety and equality of the Jewish population cannot be guaranteed to the extent that short-term fears are alleviated. The present fears are so strong as to stimulate emigration.

Mr. Haber, who is even closer to the picture, because he has actually lived in Casablanca for two years, speaks even more strongly. I need not remind you how careful, cautious and statesmanlike the J.D.C. and its officials are. The tradition of the organization and the calibre of its personnel run in the direction of understatement. Yet here are a few sentences from Mr. Haber's conversation with me upon his arrival in New York last week:

"...Over the week-end of August 20, 1955, you would find that 100 Jewish homes and stores were looted and burned and pillaged as if they belonged to nobody. The number of Jews killed was not many because they had fled in time. Anybody who tells you that some of these incidents were not premeditated, were not planned, is not telling you the complete truth. Some of them were not. Many of them were.

"In the cities of Mazagan, Safi, Ouezzan and a number of others, the fact is that Jews were killed and their stores burned and looted, and they suffered untold damages....

"When I left Casablanca yesterday morning (January 23) at nine o'clock, there were over 80,000 people who were registered, ready and willing to go to Israel. They know what is happening in Israel. They are not fooling themselves... But you see those children and you know that Morocco represents no future for them."

In my last letter, I hinted at the fact that we were afraid of the door being closed in Morocco. I asked Sam Haber about this -- and want to pass along his answer: "There isn't a thing under the sun which would make it impossible for the Moroccan government to say, 'No more Jews leave this country'. I believe it will happen. But it will happen cleverly. The Arabs will put up administrative regulations that will make it appear that everybody can go but that the Jews don't want to.... Therefore I say; time is running out for us, and the time is now if we are really going to save that very large remnant of world Jewry."

* * *

Last week I had a very interesting conference in my office with the correspondents of the Israeli press. Most of the large papers, as well as the Voice of Israel radio, have correspondents stationed in the U.S., mainly in New York and Washington. These journalists asked to see me, for they wanted to report to their readers at home the attitude of American Jews toward the present situation. These 8 or 10 men all asked the same question in different words: "Do American Jews truly realize how serious the moment is? Are they doing all they can to help? Our people at home want to feel you are behind us with all moral and material strength at this crucial time. Please tell us."

And in answering them, I was speaking for you. I told them the story of the magnificent response at the Lehman dinner on January 21 -- 11 million dollars in pledges for the regular fund, and 6 million for the Special Fund. I told them further of our plans for the Miami meeting on February 26, at which we hope to see a similar outpouring. And I told them I was writing to you, to encourage you to further action so that the Miami inaugural could be a great success. The best answer to their questioning, and the best message of hope and cheer we can send to beleaguered Israel, will be one written in large letters.....
MILLIONS FOR LIFE AND LIBERTY.

Please make your Special Fund gift in time for announcement at Miami, ask others to do the same, conduct small parlor meetings at your own initiative to mobilize your family and friends, do everything you can think of to help the February 26 meeting mark another milestone in our unflinching support of the land and people of Israel.

Sincerely,

Herbert A. Friedman

Personal Letter

HAF

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

165 West 46 Street, New York 36, N. Y.

March 6, 1956

Dear Friend:

You may remember that I wrote in my last letter of Sam Haber, the JDC Director for Morocco, who was in this country recently and with whom I had many long conversations regarding the future of the Jews in North Africa. Sam visited about twenty communities for the UJA, telling the story, and left a few days ago for Casablanca, where he resumes his selfless service.

Last Rosh Hashonah (October 1955), a target was set for the ensuing year of 45,000 Jews to be taken out to Israel. Here is where we stand at the moment with regard to the immigration figures: October, November, December and January saw a total of 17,000 immigrants brought to Israel -- an average of 4,200 per month -- of whom 15,500 were from North Africa. February was scheduled for 3,500 and March for 3,600 -- which will make a total of 24,000 for the first six months. This means that we are ahead of schedule -- even in the face of the present war danger. So far, 78 small villages of Jews in Morocco have been liquidated (i.e. their populations evacuated) and there are another 75 such isolated villages from which Jews have yet to be transferred. This pace continues because there is a very real feeling, which I have expressed in previous letters, that time may be running against us, and that there will come a day when we can no longer get Jews out.

There are some people who say that we should not take immigrants from North Africa now, regardless of how turbulent that area is, because in Israel they may become casualties in a war. I can only say that the facts of life in Israel are well known to Moroccan Jews. No one hides anything from them. And yet there are 80,000 registered to emigrate. Apparently, as far as they themselves are concerned, they would prefer to take their chances in a free Israel, however endangered, rather than remain as possible hostages in a hostile Arab country. It is not for us to decide for them. They are reading the handwriting on their own wall.

* * *

Dr. Giora Josephthal, Treasurer of the Jewish Agency and head of its Immigrant Absorption Department, departed for Jerusalem this week after a ten-day visit for conversations with our leaders regarding the present situation in Israel. He is one of the great figures in public life in Israel today. We invited him to speak at the Miami Inaugural Conference February 26, and these few sentences represent his evaluation:

"The message I bring you is one of extreme urgency and emergency, not comparable to any situation we in Israel have experienced since the 1948 War of Independence.... Everyone in Israel knows Nasser's announcement that Egypt will be ready to fight eight months after they have received Communist arms. Five months have passed since.... The Arabs will not occupy our country. We will fight for every dunam, for every inch of our precious pipeline. The Arabs may bomb us in sneak hit-and-run attacks, but they cannot invade Israel.... We in Israel are not panic-stricken; far from it. But there is a feeling of loneliness. Except for you, we are quite on our own. We turn to the Jews of the world who wanted Israel, just as we wanted Israel, and we are sure there will be a response."

Aside from this speech, which I shall mail you in its entirety under separate cover, and which was a really masterful statement, he told us many things privately, which I want to share with you. I have tried to keep you posted on confidential information, and this material is in that category.

He said there was a five-point program being put into operation in Israel, as an overall preparedness plan, in case war breaks out. The total cost of this program runs to something more than 50 million dollars. The five points are:

1. Accumulation of reserves of fuel, wheat and raw materials -- for at least a six-month stockpile -- in case the country is cut off from the outside world.
2. Construction of storage facilities for these reserves in a pattern of dispersal throughout Israel, so that various localities can be self-sufficient, in case the country is cut apart.
3. Construction and dispersal of electric power stations, in case the two main stations at Haifa and Tel Aviv are destroyed. Electricity is necessary not only for industrial and civilian use, but also for water distribution. The pumps which circulate water throughout the country require electricity. Therefore, there must be many small power plants in all parts of the country.
4. Building of air-raid shelters and slit trenches. At least some minimum protection must be provided against aerial bombardment.
5. Increasing production of Israeli-made weapons.

All this is in addition to the request which Israel made of the U.S. last November 11 for the purchase of a list of arms, largely interceptor fighter planes, which totals 50 million dollars.

* * *

You all know by now the results of the Miami meeting. At the end of this phase of the campaign, gifts made to the regular fund total 19.5 million,

and to the Special Survival Fund 9.5 million. At the same stage last year, when there was no Special Fund, gifts to the regular campaign totalled 16 million. So you can see how far ahead we are -- and yet the need is so very desperate that we can hardly comfort ourselves with this achievement to date.

The next two months of March and April are crucial for Israel -- and therefore for us in the U.S. who want to help keep Israel strong. The eighth birthday of the young State is April 16 -- which is called Independence Day. On that day, or over that week-end, we should assemble in a mass demonstration of love and solidarity. We are trying to work out a program of simultaneous meetings in every community -- perhaps a thousand meetings taking place at the same moment -- in which the Jews of America, through the U.J.A., will express to the Jews of Israel in very tangible terms that we stand with them in their hour of trial. As the plans for this huge effort develop, I will keep you informed.

* * *
AMERICAN JEWISH

Meanwhile, let me close by giving you another few words from Dr. Josephthal's inspiring message. Please let these words sink into your heart:

"In 1948, I doubt whether you really believed that we could beat the Arabs; 650,000 Jews against 40 million Arabs. It seemed fantastic at the time. Nevertheless, you gave us the benefit of the doubt. You stood with us and we were victorious. You must give us this chance again.

"Three months have passed since the Special Survival Fund was established. Since then the situation in Israel has deteriorated progressively. You have made a good start on this Special Fund drive but it has not kept pace with the ever-growing emergency.

"I have never pleaded. It is against our nature. Today I beg of you. Let the facts speak for themselves and you must be convinced that this is the greatest Jewish emergency since 1948. And then you must act accordingly. Together we will demonstrate to the world our capacity to survive in Freedom."

Sincerely,

Hubert A. Friedman

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Personal Letter

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

165 West 46 Street, New York 36, N. Y.

5th April, 1956

Dear Friend:

Watch for the date of 6 June, 1956. On that day, approximately 8 weeks from now, the last British troops will be leaving the soil of Egypt. This is the final phase of the planned withdrawal which started almost two years ago. When that day is reached, Egypt may feel free to engage in any adventure she chooses. I am not saying she will attack Israel on 7 June, but we dare not forget Nasser's statements that he will settle the Palestine question this summer, nor dare we ignore Ben-Gurion's warnings that late spring and early summer will be the most critical time for Israel.

There is no doubt that the Western powers are growing more alarmed. France has been complaining steadily that Nasser is an ambitious revolutionary, from whose Cairo Radio are emanating the propaganda broadcasts to Algeria and Morocco which have stirred up the native populations in those countries. England knows that broadcasts have been beamed southward into Africa, including some to the Mau Mau in Kenya, which were also designed to agitate and cause trouble. The United States is beginning to realize that Nasser is potentially dangerous, and State Department opinion is starting to crystallize in the direction of putting some curbs on him.

The British seem to be taking the lead in this switch of policy. There appeared within the last ten days two leading articles from London. The N. Y. Times reported:

BRITISH LEAN TO ARMS SALE
TO ISRAEL TO CHECK EGYPT
By Drew Middleton

London - March 23 - "The steady growth of Egypt's power is influencing British military thinking in favor of the sale of arms to Israel. The balance of power in the Middle East is being altered much faster and much more drastically than was anticipated, military sources said... Some officials suggest that if Egypt and the other Arab states continue to receive Soviet military aid and Israel receives no help, war will be begun by the confident Arab states."

The New York Post and the United Press reported on the same day:

BRITISH CHARGE RED ARMY IS TRAINING
EGYPTIANS AT SECRET BASE IN POLAND

"The Egyptians are being trained to use their newly acquired Communist arms, the British said. The British Foreign Office statement said:

'We know that large numbers of Egyptian military personnel are in the port town of Gdynia (Poland). Our reports show that they are under training from Soviet military instructors.' The London Daily Telegraph said the Egyptians were being instructed in the use of radar anti-aircraft artillery and submarines."

The British are more sensitive about this, perhaps, for they received the shock to their dignity and honor which the peremptory dismissal of Gen. Glubb involved. But the pattern of the recent months should be clear for all to see, not only the British.

1. Saudi Arabia and Egypt fought the Baghdad Pact, which was sponsored by the West.
2. They inspired riots in Jordan, to prevent that country from joining. These riots included the attack on the American Consulate and flag in Amman.
3. Egypt called a conference of Saudi Arabia and Syria, aimed at creating a unified command against Israel, but also aimed at establishing Egypt as the center of the Arab world, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.
4. Jordan and Syria signed an alliance saying that an attack against either one would be met by joint action of both. (This was aimed at any renewal by Israel of the Jordan River project, which Ambassador Johnston has been attempting vainly to persuade the Arabs to join for almost two years now.)
5. Nasser has made a deal with Communism (just as Hitler did) because it suits his purpose, thus destroying the Northern Tier by inviting Russia to leap-frog it.

Meanwhile, in Israel, the program I described to you in my last letter is going on: stockpiling of food and fuel, dispersal of storage facilities, additional electric generator stations, and the construction of trenches and air-raid shelters. Mr. Ben-Gurion himself, as well as General Moshe Dayan, the Chief of Staff, and other government and army officials, spent a whole day recently at a border settlement strengthening the defenses. Newsreel cameras all over the world showed Ben-Gurion stringing barbed wire on stakes for a perimeter defense system. Haifa had a full-scale air-raid drill two weeks ago, in which all traffic stopped, people took shelter, the wardens came out, and the civil defense apparatus was tested.

We can only watch and wait, but meanwhile our task should be more strikingly clear to us with each passing day. These are the facts of life in Israel today. While the people of Israel are faced with problems of defense they are unable to deal with mass immigration or other great humanitarian needs. We, the Jews of America, should take every possible step to raise as much money as we humanly can. Money can mean the reduction of suffering; the maintenance of new villages on the border; the quicker absorption of immigrants. Money can prevent break-down and can sustain courage.

The campaigns throughout the country are moving into high gear. Many communities are a month or two ahead of their normal schedules. The regular campaign is being maintained, by and large, without reduction. And the Special Survival Fund is meeting with a very good reception. People, I think, are aware of the situation much more so than they were in January and February.

But a word of caution is necessary. We have made a good start -- yet we cannot relax for a single instant. We have not attained anywhere near our maximum effort. More work, more attendance at meetings, more solicitations, more contributions must be the order of the day for the leadership. The people will follow, I am confident, if the leadership is vigorous, assertive, demanding. Let us never forget that Israel's very life may depend upon the events of the next few weeks.

Sincerely,

Hubert A. Friedman

P.S. I promised you that I would send you the complete text of Dr. Josephthal's speech at the Miami Conference. It should be read and widely distributed.

P.P.S. Am also enclosing extracts of a letter recently received from Mr. Ira Hirschmann, who has just returned from Morocco. It confirms previous fears and strengthens our determination to continue to assist with emigration.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF IRA HIRSCHMANN

INTERNATIONAL FESTIVALS INC.

654 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

8, RUE DE LA PAIX, PARIS 2EME, FRANCE

March 21, 1956

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

.....Even without the crisis which faces the remaining 200,000 Jews, most of them should be evacuated from their misery and degradation if at all feasible. The writer considers himself battle-scarred in rescue activities, but the tragedy and misery in which the Jewish population was observed, dwarfs any previous emotional experience. Their removal from this decay, aside from the danger to their lives, now would be a human blessing - if not a necessity.

1 of them want to leave. They need no urging from the outside. They are gripped by fear. It fills the air. The last two years have seen small pogroms; terror and reprisals have been accelerated in recent months. Tragic case after case could be cited; some even burnt to death in their straw huts. One can see a new brandishing of arrogance by the ragged Arabs on the day of their "liberation". If they exhibited this vengeful turn against their French aristocratic masters, what will they do to satisfy their long pent-up envy against their Jewish competitors?

While the Sultan and his leaders proclaim their intention of protecting the Jews and urge them to remain, the anarchy on lower levels must inevitably victimize the Jews. Without a police force (or even with one) where can the Jews look for help against the Muslim repeatedly-declared passion for revenge?

In an article from RI-EL-AM weekly (PDI liberal organ) of February 22, 1956, an open attack was made upon the Cadima transit camp of the Jewish Agency where the emigrants are prepared for movement to Israel. The article calls this movement "smuggling". The article is the straight vicious anti-semitic line ending with "the people of this institution and their directors are considered as enemies of Morocco, and it is the duty of Moroccan Jewry to energetically demand the closure of those institutions and the expulsion of all those people to their country of origin."

Here is the precursor of the policy that will find the justification for closing the camp and blocking emigration. One need not guess as to the Arab position. They have stated it in their own unmistakable terms. The gates will be closed, thus dooming the Jews to a helpless existence next to Arab sworn enemies now fully in power.

Today it must be emphasized that no outward panic exists; only full appreciation of what lies ahead. In the swift confluence of events I witnessed from day to day, one cannot know what will happen.

Sincerely yours,

Miles: VJA: Friedman, Herbert
Personal file

Personal Letter

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

165 West 46 Street, New York 36, N. Y.

11th May, 1956

Dear Friend:

I have not written to you in several weeks because the whole Middle Eastern situation has grown so complex and our campaigning has been so hectic that I have not had time to set pen to paper.

Let me say, first of all, that the response of American Jewry to the challenge of the hour has been most encouraging. The Special Survival Fund has reached 15.5 million dollars and the normal fund of the regular campaign continues at last year's level. Thus there is a high degree of extra giving this year. In addition, many communities have undertaken to renew their 1954 loans and to make new loans. There is every reason to hope that inside of the next 6 weeks, most of the cities will have completed this project. It will provide many millions of fresh dollars.

All of this has been possible, I think, because American Jewry is truly aware of the seriousness of the present moment. It is clear that four weeks ago, when Egypt sent the suicide raiders, called "fedayeen", deep into Israel territory, a war was almost provoked. The fact that the government of Israel acted with statesmanship was noted in the compliment paid by Hon. Edward Lawson, American Ambassador, who said publicly in Tel Aviv at the time: "I am certain that the world will know how to estimate properly the restraint you showed in the face of this terror. If there is a trait which represents a great nation, it surely is its stand in such a critical hour of trial." He went on to express the deep appreciation of the United States for the restraint displayed by the citizens of Israel in the face of the murderous acts perpetrated by the roving Egyptian bands.

Any nation faced with an actual invasion by an armed enemy who succeeded in killing its citizens could perhaps have justifiably announced that a state of war existed. Israel chose instead to exert every effort to maintain peace.

Two things have happened which might lead to the conclusion that tension has been lessened. One was the trip of Dag Hammarskjold to obtain a cease-fire, and the other was the statement of the Russian leaders that they were prepared to work through the UN toward a peaceful settlement. I cannot refrain from giving you my personal opinion that both moves are rather fragile reeds upon which to lean. Several Arab countries interjected conditions into their acceptance of the cease-fire. Syria, for instance, declared that any Israeli action toward resuming work on the Jordan River water project would be a cause for repudiating

the cease-fire.* And as for the Russian statement, after it was made in London, a report was published in the London Daily Telegraph that a new arms deal was made between Czechoslovakia and Syria involving 25 MIG aircraft, 100 tanks, 100 armored cars, 10,000 sub-machine guns, etc. Our State Department, by the way, confirms the fact that this deal was made by saying it was known to the Department a month ago.

All of this has led Mr. Sharett to characterize the present period as "the lull before the storm" and Mr. Eban to say that as a result of Mr. Hammarskjold's efforts the war danger is "postponed, not dispelled. The crisis may be renewed in sharper form within a few weeks when the Egyptian dictator has perfected his mastery of his new air and armored power." The N.Y. World Telegram (a Scripps-Howard paper) printed an editorial the other day entitled, "Prospects Still Grim!" in which it said: "The cease-fire agreements between Israel and her Arab neighbors offer the Middle East a brief breathing spell -- but no more. It would be foolhardy to believe anything more than a brief respite from strife has been won."

AMERICAN JEWISH

Senator Herbert Lehman summed it up when he spoke at the corner-stone laying ceremonies of the B'nai B'rith building in Washington on May 6. He said: "We all pray that the present cease-fire, brought about by the United Nations, will endure, and ripen into real peace. But unless it does -- and I fear it will not -- the danger of war will continue. The best interests of our own country require a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. But peace cannot be established by merely wishing for it. It must be sought by bold and courageous action. One part of such a course of action would be to furnish defensive arms to Israel now -- before it is too late. The policy of our Government has not seemed to those of us outside the Administrative Branch either bold or courageous. I trust and pray that that situation is going to be remedied. I will not cease to raise my voice in protest until it is remedied."

The danger is still acute. Nasser has just about completed his series of alliances, which now form a ring around Israel. For the first time he has something which the Arab world did not possess in 1948. He has a unified field command, which is as important in a war as tanks and planes. Whereas previously the Arab armies operated independently in their joint and several attack on Israel, today they are united under one command. Gen. Abdel Hakim Amer, Egypt's Minister of War and Commander in Chief, will command the armies of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria and Jordan. This fact is of crucial significance.

You might have heard of the very peculiar leak of an alleged Syrian battle plan which was first printed in a Spanish-language magazine called "Vision" about four weeks ago. This magazine, which I have seen, is on the style of Time and

* I am enclosing N.Y. Times editorial (3rd May) on the Jordan problem, because I think we will hear more about it in the future. The stand of the Times is clear.

enjoys a wide circulation in South America. They claim to have received from their Paris correspondent a 16-page document which is supposed to be a blueprint of Arab invasion plans. According to the document there is to be an aerial blitz on Tel Aviv, Lydda airport, Haifa refineries -- and no aerial attack on Jerusalem. Once the Arabs have attained supremacy over Israeli air space -- a matter of 24 hours according to the plan -- a three-pronged invasion is to be launched on the ground. The Egyptians will try to move toward Tel Aviv from their Gaza beachhead. Jordan's troops are to move westward, reaching the sea near Petach Tikva, cutting Israel in two. The Syrians are to drive southward toward Haifa. The blueprint stresses that the Egyptian paratroopers which have been trained by German officers for the past five years, are to play a major role in the invasion.

I cannot vouch for the authenticity of this alleged plan, nor can anyone else. The magazine claims their correspondent obtained a copy of it in Paris. So far no denial of it has been issued by any Arab government.

Meanwhile, emigration continues without any let-up from Morocco and Tunisia. In March 4,105 people entered Israel from North Africa, and in April the total was 3,435. One thing is clear. The Jews in both countries are still very much concerned about their future. The Arab League has been intensifying its anti-Israel propoganda in Tunisia. This certainly does not help to allay Jewish fears. The Tunisian Prime Minister, Mr. Habib Bourguiba, recently recalled how Tunisian volunteers had fought in the 1948 war against the Jews "in the name of Arab solidarity." Mr. Sadek Mokkadem, who recently toured the Middle East as an emissary of the Tunisian Government, is reported to have said at a press conference in Damascus: "Tunisia will join the Arab League and will side with the Arabs in the Palestine question." These statements cannot give much comfort to the Tunisian Jewish community.

And in Morocco much the same thing continues to happen. Last week, a leader of the nationalist Istiqlal party told a Jewish audience in Casablanca that there could be full equality of rights for Moroccan Jews, and at the same time said that the emigration to Israel was an "anti-national act".

I received a letter the other day which sums up the situation rather keenly:

"The speed of political developments in North Africa must be reckoned with, since it illustrates the dynamism of Arab nationalism which must not, and should not, be underestimated. As regards the Jewish population of Tunisia, as well as Morocco, the achievement of independence by these two countries implies a political shifting of power from France to new Arab governments. This means that all governmental functions pass into the hands of the Arabs, whether it be -- police, justice, customs, education, army or foreign affairs. Police powers and foreign affairs mean the right to issue exit visas, passports, as well as other travel documents. For the Jewish people this new factor increases their apprehensiveness and their insecurity, for they know full well that the Arabs do not look with indulgence upon their departure for Israel."

The present crisis is such that almost all funds raised in Israel must be devoted to the defense of the country; it is thus left to the Jews of the United States to provide the funds necessary to maintain those welfare programs in Israel previously maintained by the people there and for which local funds in Israel are no longer available. The American Jewish community must also provide the money necessary to build shelters for children as well as to cover other civilian requirements, such as the stock-piling of fuel and grain.

I said at the beginning of this letter that I was grateful for the response of American Jews who seemed to be truly aware of the seriousness of the moment. The fine response so far must be maintained with no slackening of effort. Every one of us must continue to work his hardest until the goal is reached.

We are convening a National Action Conference in New York on 9-10 June at the Hotel Roosevelt. The purposes of this conference are -- 1) to stimulate the pledges to the regular and Special Survival Fund campaigns, 2) to obtain as much cash as possible on the pledges already made, since cash is urgently needed, and 3) to mobilize as many community loans as can be renegotiated and completed.

Ben-Gurion says that this coming summer is crucial for Israel. If it is so for them, then it is so for us. I am confident we will work toward these immediate goals.

Sincerely,

Hubert A. Friedman



Personal Letter

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

CONFIDENTIAL
NOT FOR PUBLICATION

165 West 46 Street, New York 36, N. Y.

29th June, 1956

Dear Friend:

I wrote to you hurriedly last week, in order to give you whatever information we had about the swift and dramatic turn of events in Morocco. I would like to give you a little more of the detail now -- and to tell you that I am leaving for Morocco in a few days. After getting a completely detailed firsthand look at the situation, I shall write again -- probably from Paris. I would not want to write directly from Morocco. Let me stress that this information I share with you is purely personal and private. Nothing is intended for publication -- and we must exercise caution for we can endanger the situation of Jews over there by indiscretion. As leaders of the American Jewish community you must know these things -- but also as leaders you must appreciate the need for no publicity.

Mass emigration from North Africa has been handled by the Jewish Agency, which called itself Cadimah in Morocco. On June 11, Moroccan authorities, through the person of the Director of Internal Security, Mohammed Laghzaoui, ordered the Cadimah to suspend all its activities, close its offices, close its staging camp outside Casablanca, scatter its files. Furthermore, the Moroccans refused to renew the visas of twenty Israeli personnel, who were running the Cadimah organization, which meant that these officials would have to leave the country. This ban also applied to one Israeli citizen who was employed by the J.D.C.

It is quite clear that pressure for this decision has come from the Arab League as much as from within Morocco. The Arabs do not want Jews going to Israel which they repeatedly call their enemy. An admission of this fact was published in the Moroccan nationalist paper "El Alam", which wrote: "The decision to ban collective Jewish emigration was taken after lengthy investigation. Such emigration is a danger to the economy of the country and a threat to our brethren of the Arab countries who see important forces flowing toward their borders every day."

The Moroccans have said that emigration may be permitted on an individual basis. The best analysis of what this will mean was offered by Mr. Moses Leavitt, head of the JDC, who said this: "If you have to get passports for individual Jews, to get them to go to an Arab official, to get them to produce a birth certificate which they haven't got, and to go through all the legal red tape to get a passport and then an exit visa and then a transit visa, the slowdown in emigration will be very, very marked."

When the ban was applied, some 2,000 Jews were in the Casablanca camp, all prepared to leave. They had liquidated whatever meager property they possessed and were literally sitting on their baggage. They did not know whether they would be permitted to leave.

As a matter of fact, on Sunday, June 10th, a French ship which had already sailed with 1,100 Jewish emigrants, was radioed by the Moroccan police to return with the people. The ship was already outside Moroccan territorial waters, and the captain ignored the orders, continuing to steam toward Marseille where there is another camp which could receive the emigrants. The Moroccans were furious and issued orders to police at all ports and airfields forbidding any further mass departures. Police were instructed to turn back all Jews who tried to leave the country.

It is easy to understand how these events would communicate themselves into a mood mounting almost to panic. No one knew whether people in the camp would be allowed out, but certainly if one wanted to get out it would be better to be sitting in the camp than anywhere else. And so, for the past week or so, hundreds of Jews have been flocking to the camp each day. I must report to you that the camp population at this moment of writing is over 7,000, and this in an area designed to hold at most 2,500. They are sleeping out in the open, on the ground, and there are real problems of sanitation and feeding. The scene is reminiscent of the old DP camps in Germany. The JDC, which has always been so wonderfully ready and capable of handling human emergencies of this nature, has poured thousands of blankets and more than ten tons of food into the camp during the past few days. With great foresight these supplies had been stockpiled in Morocco some months ago.

We do not know what the future will hold. Obviously the people cannot remain in the camp very long. Equally obviously there is pressure from additional tens of thousands of Jews who are pushing to get out. Negotiations are in process at this moment as to what will be done. As always, it will be the financial help which we can make available that will determine, in some measure, at least, what the outcome will be.

One further word on North Africa. I have not written to you before about Algeria. It has always been Morocco and Tunisia. From now on, I think we had better keep a very close eye on Algeria. The conflict there between the French and Arabs is sharpening to such an extent, that the Jewish position is beginning to be affected. There have been several episodes, including the burning of a synagogue, the shooting of a rabbi, the throwing of a bomb into a Jewish cafe. Again, to quote Mr. Leavitt: "When you have the kind of unrest that exists in Algeria at the present time, it is not surprising that there are these anti-Semitic manifestations. They are anti-Jewish, they may be anti-foreign, they may be anti-European. They are anti-French. The Jews obviously are more pro-French than they are pro-Algerian, and therefore are cited as enemies of the Algerian people." I mention this only because I feel that Algeria may require more of our thought and attention in the future than we have been giving it in the past.

As far as Israel is concerned, there is no peace. There may be a cease-fire in the technical UN sense, but even this has been violated constantly. Last Sunday an Israeli patrol, walking through fields 12 miles northeast of Tel Aviv, was chopped down by Jordanian machine-gun fire, which killed two men and wounded a third. Following this the Jordanians then opened fire on nearby highway traffic and a train passing by.

The new Premier of Jordan told his Parliament last week that his government would never conclude peace with Israel. He also said that he would work for anti-Israel military alliances with other Arab nations. It has been hinted that Jordan will purchase arms from the Soviet bloc.

On June 19, Col. Nasser made an impassioned speech to a wildly cheering Egyptian crowd at ceremonies which marked the end of British occupation of the Suez Canal. The new Soviet Foreign Minister was present for all to see, and the Russian arms were paraded in a mighty demonstration of power. Nasser again incited his people with inflammatory words. He pleaded with them to build up Egypt's strength "so that we may be able to restore to the people of Palestine their rights of freedom and existence. We must strengthen ourselves to liberate all Arabs so that the lands of the Arabs may belong to them and so that the Palestine tragedy may not be repeated." This is certainly saber-rattling of the first order.

Israel has entered a formal complaint to the UN, charging that this speech violated the armistice agreement.

And while Israel seeks peace it must devote practically all monies raised within the country for its defense. This means that if the welfare programs are to be continued in Israel the Jews of the United States must provide the necessary funds.

We have worked hard in the UJA to keep pace with these swiftly-moving events of the past few months. We have sought to interpret the events and have asked the Jews of America to respond to the needs. There has been a great outpouring, in the regular campaign, the Special Survival Fund, and the renewal of community loans. The recent Conference of June 9-10 was exciting in tone, attendance and results. Yet all the efforts we have made up to now may simply be the prelude to an even greater demand which history may place upon us.

There is an old adage: "Uneasy is the head that wears the crown." We American Jews wear the crown of leadership. And we shall be uneasy until we discharge our responsibility. Exactly what this responsibility is for the immediate future, must be made clear for us.

Let me see what this trip uncovers. I shall let you know what I learn in North Africa and will try to write again from Israel.

Sincerely,

Herbert A. Friedman

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בתי מלון ארץ-ישראלים בק"מ
מלון המלך דוד
 ירושלים

July 14, 1956

Dear Mr. Friedman,

I have just returned to the hotel from a long visit with David Ben-Gurion. There had been another murder during last night by Arab infiltrators and his eyes were red from sleeplessness. He spoke about the wonderful morale of the people of Israel under this ceaseless harassment -- then asked about the morale of Jews in the United States. "I believe they are with us," he said -- and I assured him we were.

He wanted us to know that the policy of deterring Egyptian aggression through building Israeli strength was working. The Arabs have not attacked ~~us~~ because they know, among other things, that Israel becomes stronger each day as she acquires new means of defense. There is still a severe imbalance, and there will be tension in this land for months -- but Israeli preparedness increases.

Arab raids and infiltrations may very well continue. It is possible that these fedayeen attacks may provoke incidents which will get out of control. There may also be internal and/or external pressure on Nasser to overthrow logic and caution. It is impossible to predict what a dictator will do. But I seem to sense the feeling that the money which has been poured into armaments is doing the job for which it was intended -- namely, to prevent war. At least, that is the way it looks at the moment. Of course, anything could happen overnight.

I saw the new French jets in operation, talked with the pilots and ground crews, saw how hard they were working to master this equipment. The intensity of effort was remarkable and thrilling. Then came the paradox of watching a pilot who had just climbed out of this electronic marvel of a plane, stripped off his G-suit, and turned in his automatic film of the mission, walk out to the main road to hitchhike into town, because there were no jeeps on the base to give to the personnel. This sleek jet pilot became just another hitchhiker without any frills or privileges.

I revisited Lachish in the northern Negev -- having been there a year ago when the first immigrants were brought in. At that time they were housed in wooden huts. Today the huts are for tools and chickens. The people now live in two and-a-half room concrete houses, have learned some Hebrew, send their daughters to school, and are beginning to make a slow but sure adjustment to a free life in a modern society. Frankly, I cannot believe my eyes -- as I see the comparison with one year ago in Otzem, Noga, Kiriath Gat and so many other places. There is water, grass and electricity; cotton, gladioli and sorghum; schools, synagogues and work shops. Here too a victory is being won -- against unemployment, fear, newness. Settlement and integration are proceeding at a wonderful satisfying pace.

TELEGR.-ADDRESS: KINDOTEL JERUSALEM

PLEASE ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE MANAGER או להפנות את כל המכתבים למנהל

At the beginning of the year we told American Jewry two things: we said that we were racing against time in Morocco — and that Israel would be forced into rearmament to defend itself or hopefully to deter aggression. Let me take up both these points.

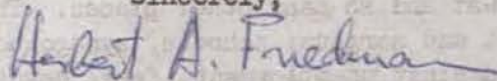
Organized mass immigration from Morocco was banned by order of 14 June. For a moment it looked as though that might be the last word; it is still impossible to tell whether it is. But as for getting Jews out, I can say to you in the strict confidence which these letters must always demand, that several thousand Jews have come into Israel from Africa, including Morocco, since 11 June. And in all likelihood there will continue to be an emigration whose numbers will be such that it will cost ever more money than last year. I do not want to spell out the details on paper, but I promise to tell you the whole story under circumstances of greater security than any letter can provide. Please believe me that ways and means have been found, other ways are under exploration, which will provide an escape hatch for Jews who wish to come to Israel. It is a story of heroism and courage which will require equally corageous action from us. There are overtones of the old DP movements from Germany; I am sure you understand the implications.

As for the second matter, that of Israel's security, I have seen the equipment and I have had long conversations with Levi Eshkol, the Minister of Finance, and David Horowitz, the Governor of the Bank of Israel. They have shown me the expenditures of the Government for security and the present dollar reserves. I can only tell you that the expenditures are enormous for a country like Israel and the reserve is perilously low. But all are convinced that the accumulation of effective military equipment represents the only path to safety. Avoidance of war is costly and undramatic. It may go on for a long time. Vigilance must be ceaseless. Our understanding of this must also be ceaseless.

I have some of the answers I sought. Immigrants are still coming — the total cost will increase. At the same time defense costs mount as Israel is enabled to buy more arms. The task ahead of us becomes clearer. Our duty remains as it was — to support the burden of immigration while they maintain the burden of defense. The only change is that the work must be intensified. The Special Fund answered many problems — we must carry forward successfully.

All here, from Ben-Gurion down, have asked me to transmit greetings and thanks for what has been done up to now — and to urge dedication and strength for the months ahead. Great things are at stake — history is in the balance.

Sincerely,



Herbert A. Friedman

KING DAVID HOTEL
JERUSALEM



מלון המלך דוד
ירושלים

October 28, 1956.

Confidential -
Not for Publication

The other morning the members of the UJA Study Mission went to Lydda Airport to witness the arrival of a plane from Vienna bringing 65 immigrants from behind the Iron Curtain -- mostly Polish and some Rumanian Jews. There were 15 young children among them. With all the words at my command, I could not begin to describe the scene. It was nine in the morning; the hot sun was beating down; people pressed through the crowd to watch those descending the ramp from the plane; a shout would arise when a relative was recognized; a quick surge and then kissing and hugging and crying.

Above the individual human dramas that morning there was the greater historic drama of a new period beginning in the life of Israel. The Iron Curtain was opening a chink. Privately one day, we learned a great deal about the life of Jews behind the Iron Curtain. We met with four men who had recently come from various countries in Eastern Europe. On their faces we could see the stamp of years of travail. They told us that anti-Semitism was rife in these countries. They told us that Israel was the goal of thousands upon thousands of Jews behind the Iron Curtain.

I believe that the year ahead will see the arrival in Israel of many thousands from Eastern Europe, notably from Poland. More thousands, impelled by an overwhelming desire to live in peace and dignity among their fellow-Jews, will come from Morocco and other lands of crisis. It seems clear that this coming year will see even more immigrants than came last year -- and the number last year was 51,000.

One evening we went to an agricultural school which has 400 youngsters. The assembly hall was gaily decorated, and the Americans were distributed throughout the room, sitting at tables with the youth. There was a supper and a program of rare beauty. The flute and timbrel, the flowing gowns and graceful ballet of these lovely children created a mood reminiscent of the Bible. At our table were four boys -- all aged 13. Two were from Iraq, one from Morocco, one from Rumania. The latter, red-headed, smiling, explained that this was the ingathering of the exiles, and that out of these four, typical of so many hundreds of thousands, would come a new Israel.

The strain of the big new immigration has been great. Levi Eshkol, the Minister of Finance, told us funds are so short that the Jewish Agency has been compelled to put immigrants in tin huts once again and that there were, at this moment, 15,000 of this year's newcomers living in tin huts. This is not as bad as the tents of earlier years, but is not as good as the concrete houses which were erected until security needs grew so heavy.

We had come to Israel to discuss immigration and immigrant absorption. Yet, in these days of continuing crisis, we could not help but comprehend how the security problem touched upon the immigration problem. Vast sums have been spent in foreign currency on arms to preserve the peace. Great additional sums in local currency have been spent on civilian defense preparations. The government, faced with this, has been forced constantly to reduce its expenditures on immigrants. Thus our responsibility in this direction has increased.

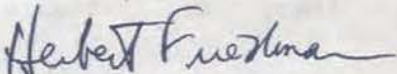
Late one afternoon David Ben-Gurion walked into our crowded conference room. He spoke to us frankly, straight from the shoulder, as is his way. Israel's fixed policy, he said, is to avoid war; the best prevention is a strong Israel. The Arabs have superiority in manpower and arms; Israel has the advantage of morale and incentive. While these two intangibles would enable Israel to win a war with the Arabs, still -- without sufficient arms -- the price of victory would be horribly high in terms of youth lost.

When speaking of the country's youth, his voice broke. And he said: "I cannot and do not tell you what you must do. If the worst comes to the worst, and we are unable to prevent war, the Jewish youth here will give the only thing they have -- themselves. They will do it without any hesitation -- with love".

The room was still.

We will convene an extraordinary meeting on Friday, November 30th, at 9.30 a.m. at the Waldorf-Astoria to speak about Israel's current situation and to decide what must be done in the year ahead. This will be a closed and confidential meeting. It is as clear as the sun that many lives can be saved if we act heroically.

Sincerely,


Herbert A. Friedman

Personal Letter

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

165 West 46 Street, New York 36, N. Y.

7th November, 1956.

Dear Friend:

Thinking as an American, a Jew, and a citizen of the world, what would it have meant to you if someone had stopped Hitler dead in his tracks in 1933 or '34 or '36? What incredible losses would have been mitigated for the world if some combination of democratic force had been applied long before the dreary road to Munich? What an outpouring of thanks future generations would have bestowed upon those who stood firm at a time when only a little firmness was required.

When Israel moved into the Sinai wilderness last Monday, and France and England followed with such breathtaking speed, they were dealing with Nasser in a manner and at a time which would undoubtedly save the world much heartache later on. Dictators are vulnerable at the beginning of their march toward power. They must be toppled early, when it can be done at the smallest cost of blood and treasure.

Israel understood it best, perhaps because she was the primary target. The story of Nasser's ceaseless belligerency and his bloody provocations toward Israel are too well known to be repeated. Ambassador Eban spelled out again last week, before the Security Council and the General Assembly, the long weary list of daily incidents. He recited the murders, lootings, infiltrations, bombings, mine-layings, sabotage, stealing, machine-gunnings conducted against unarmed civilians, workers, children at prayer, women, tractor drivers. To the murdering can be added the incendiary broadcasts from Cairo Radio calling constantly for the destruction of Israel; the economic boycott and blockade designed to bring Israel to her knees in bankruptcy; the ring of steel forged with other Arab states and high commands; the closing of the Suez to Israeli shipping for five long years in spite of the Security Council.

In the face of this record of murder, propaganda and encirclement, Israel's blood ran cold a year ago when Nasser finally put his hands on the Communist weapons which would enable him effectively to carry out his threats. The deadly race with time began. There was no bluff. There would be only one outcome.

The purpose of last Monday's move was to destroy the bases in Sinai and Gaza from which the murdering fedayeen raiders had come, to break the ring of encirclement, to force open the Red Sea route to Akaba -- but most of all to forestall a "Pearl Harbor" type of attack, from which Israel could never recover.

Let me speak frankly. I have noticed two types of reactions which can be called the dilemma of the American liberal and the dilemma of the moral Jew. As for the first, there is a kind of uneasiness on the part of some to whom the words "native independence" and "colonialism" carry certain connotations.

Behind these slogans there is a sympathy for a nation which tries to assert itself (i.e., nationalizes a waterway passing through its territory) and then is faced with the bombing planes of "colonial" powers (i.e., England and France) which try to re-establish a 19th century type of sovereignty in a 20th century whose hallmark is self-determination of small powers. There is a certain squeamishness on the part of the liberals as to the harshness of English and French methods.

Regarding the dilemma of the moral Jew, there is the feeling that the teachings of the Bible and ethics are inconsistent with night attacks, aggression, retaliation raids. Fighting in self defense might be one thing, but certainly taking the initiative in attack and slicing across an Egyptian border cannot be squared with the Ten Commandments.

Believe me, I am aware of these twin dilemmas, perhaps because my own training and disposition are exactly those of a liberal American and a moral Jew. I can feel the pinch of these arguments as well as anyone.

But in these very same two capacities I know one lesson of history which takes precedence over all else. Liberalism cannot thrive when evil is rampant in the world, and Judaism cannot survive when it fails to fight evil. The role and task of the liberal and the Jew in all human history have been happily synonymous -- to recognize evil, point out its dangers, refuse to compromise with it, and even at the risk of fighting it alone, to oppose it to the limit of capacity.

Israel's move the other night was in the best tradition of this function. Israel's very survival was at stake, for by every sign the day of the Pearl Harbor was soon at hand -- and to every nation there is the right and duty of self-preservation. But even above and beyond that, the people of Israel were once again challenging the existence of dictatorship in the world. I believe this was gallant, courageous and worthy of the gratitude of the world.

Why this rather lengthy soul-searching?

Because, in my judgment, this is a time when the people of Israel need more than anything else the continued support and warm encouragement of the American Jewish community. If there be questions and doubts, let them be aired, as I have frankly tried to do -- but then let firm resolution seize us once more so that we forge ahead on the path of providing the support and solidarity without which the humanitarian goals could not be achieved.

Immigrants still swarm daily to the eagerly-sought shores of the Promised Land; older arrivals of a year ago are still but shakily absorbed; "ancient" citizens of five and six years' residence still need that last bit of help to become self-sufficient. Faltering or wavering on our part now will be a blow to them not less serious than any Nasser might have rained upon them.

During the years of terror the Jews of America together with the Jews of Israel managed to rescue, build, absorb, colonize. Hundreds of thousands arrived from every corner of the globe, were rehabilitated, settled in homes and fields and villages and the land grew green, in spite of red blood which flowed under the ceaseless harassment.

If the years of terror are now hopefully coming to an end, how much more

exciting the future can be in terms of further rescue and building. Our greatest hopes yet lie ahead, for there wait in many countries countless scores of thousands whose Jewish and human destiny will take them to Israel. They are the objects of our love and concern -- and we must certainly make it as possible for them to come to Israel as we did for their predecessors.

Let me sum it up.

1. Israel was created to give home and dignity to Jews who chose it.
 2. Israel has been under attack by implacable enemies from the hour of its birth.
 3. In the face of this attack an incredible record of rescue has been written for 8 years.
 4. The attack rose to a crescendo when an Arab dictator was armed by a Russian dictator.
 5. Israel waited until the eleventh hour before replying, and then did so in a most limited manner, not bombing mass civilian centers, but destroying the enemy's weapons and war machine.
 6. The clamor of arms will die down, and the solid thrilling work of human rescue will go on, this time unhampered, we hope, for perhaps now the uneasy armistice will be replaced by firm peace.
 7. During all these years, the American Jew has held aloft a banner, writ large for men to see, containing the pledge of his heart, his soul and his treasure to the noble task of rescuing fellow-Jews and transplanting them to a free Israel. I know that the Jew of America will stand firm behind this same pledge now, as the moving finger of history continues to write its hopeful story.
-

If I read the signs aright, I believe that we stand at an hour of greatest opportunity. I cannot forget the history of our own American democracy -- born out of the strife and travail of a war of independence, fighting off foreign enemies, going on, as Lincoln declared, "to a new birth of freedom". Surely, this is the hour to make good a new birth of freedom for Israel -- an hour to enlarge the rescue operation of tens of thousands from lands whose doors we thought closed, but are not; an hour to develop, enlarge, produce, build and go forward, unhampered by fear, at a rate none of us dreamed possible a few short weeks ago.

Sincerely,

Hubert A. Friedman

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

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ABE KASLE
LABEL A. KATZ
ABE S. KAY
ADOLPH KIESLER
PHILIP M. KLUTZNIK
BENJAMIN LAZBUS
ALBERT A. LEVIN
HARRY LEVINE
JULIUS LIVINGSTON
PHILIP W. LOWN
HENRY MASLANSKY
BENJAMIN J. MASSELL
JOSEPH M. MAZER
BARNEY MEDINTZ
ARTHUR C. MELAMED
IRVING MILLER
EDWARD D. MITCHELL
MARTIN NADELMAN
NORMAN C. NOBRY
IRVING S. NOBRY
JAMES L. PERMUTT
BARNEY RAPAPORT
LEONARD RATNER
SAMUEL ROTHBERG
SOL SATINSKY
JOSEPH J. SCHWARTZ
MORRIS SENDEROWITZ, JR.
JOSEPH D. SHANE
WILLIAM M. SHIPLEY
RUDOLF G. SONNENBORN
MICHAEL A. STAVITSKY
JACK STERN
JOSEPH TALAMO
HERMAN P. TAUBMAN
SAMUEL A. WEISSNational Field Director
M. WILLIAM WEINBERGNational Allocations Director
EDWARD R. VAIDA

Dear Friend:

In preparing for the coming campaign - which promises to be the most momentous perhaps in all UJA history - I feel very strongly that we should be as up-to-date as possible in our activities, especially those which might otherwise tend to become routinized. I am referring now to the most effective use of UJA mailing pieces - and especially in this instance to the list of those who have been receiving my personal letter.

As you know, the personal letter is not designed as a campaign piece per se. It is meant rather to deal with the broad background of Jewish affairs affecting UJA programs, and is written from my own personal point of view. It has been sent to a carefully selected list of people in the country who can make the best use of it. The number of people on the mailing list has been kept small so that those who receive it will feel that they are part of a select group, and also to keep the letter from becoming a "publication".

It has been about a year now since I began to send out this series of letters. If you think there are ways to improve the letter to make a greater campaign impact, please let me know. Certainly it would be well to review the list of people receiving the letter. I think that all contributors of \$25,000 or more should be included on the list. There may well be those whose names should be removed, and others who have demonstrated unusual zeal and leadership who should be added.

Attached, you will find the original list of people in your community who receive the personal letter. I would appreciate it very much if you would examine it, re-evaluate it and send back your amended list as soon as possible.

This is a chore of course, but I know, as usual, I can count on your splendid cooperation.

Sincerely,

Herbert A. Friedman
Executive Vice-Chairman

HAF:ESS

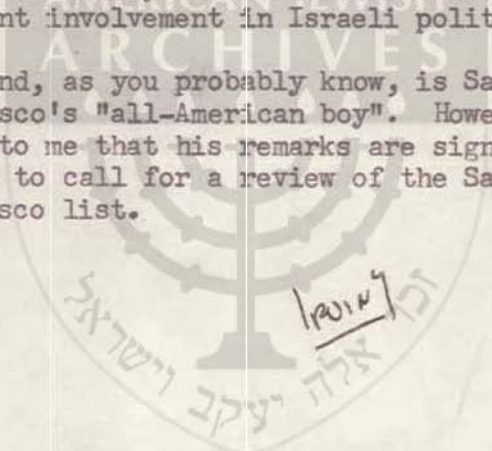
IRVING BERNSTEIN .

February 15, 1956

To: MSG

FR Ed Harris met with Robert Koshland in San Francisco yesterday regarding a regional problem. During their meeting, Koshland commented that HAF's personal letters "were losing friends for UJA in San Francisco due to the militancy of the letters and their apparent involvement in Israeli politics".

Koshland, as you probably know, is San Francisco's "all-American boy". However, it seems to me that his remarks are significant enough to call for a review of the San Francisco list.



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SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
JUSTICES' CHAMBERS
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

A. DAVID BENJAMIN
JUSTICE

November 9, 1956

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
Executive Vice-Chairman
United Jewish Appeal
165 West 46th Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

Your letter of November 7th marked "Personal Letter" but which comes out of the UJA office has come to my desk. It is well written and your right to express yourself as an individual is undoubted, nor do I suggest that in my private expression I might necessarily differ. Nevertheless, in my humble opinion, this letter should not have been written under these circumstances.

I do not envision it necessary for American Jewry to become an extension of the Israeli Embassy and apologists for its political position as a basis for our continued and intensified support of Israel's cultural and philanthropic needs. If indulgence in a political debate on this problem is a sine qua non for UJA participation, I for one will find it impossible to continue. This problem for me must be resolved since I am a citizen of the United States alone and not of the world.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

A. David Benjamin

November 14, 1956

Justice A. David Benjamin
Supreme Court of the State of New York
Justices' Chambers
Brooklyn, New York.

Dear Justice Benjamin:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of November 9th, and to express my thanks for frankly giving me your views about the contents of my letter of November 7th.

I do want you to know that the circulation of this personal letter was limited to a small group of Jewish leaders. It was written within hours after my return from Israel for the purpose of stating Israel's case as honestly and as fairly as I could. Bearing in mind the fact that these Jewish spokesmen - devoted Jews and loyal Americans - were being asked many searching questions, I sought to put together, in this letter, a chain of facts that would be helpful to them.

I want to assure you that your point is well taken, and again to convey my grateful appreciation.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Herbert A. Friedman
Executive Vice-Chairman.

HAF:HSS

This letter was
approved by Henry
Chernuskin 11/14/56



SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
JUSTICES' CHAMBERS
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

A. DAVID BENJAMIN
JUSTICE

November 16, 1956

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
Executive Vice-Chairman
United Jewish Appeal
165 West 46th Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

I appreciate more than I can say the honest frankness of your reply to my letter of November 9th. Only too often criticism, however well intentioned, meets only bellicose intransigence, which makes a happy understanding impossible.

It is so important that American Jewry find the path to aid Israel without at any time giving cause to our Gentile brethren to doubt our loyalty to this, our own land. It is so important too that we have the statesmanship to make possible the support of Israel's needs by Jews and others of all political beliefs.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

A. David Benjamin

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF IRA HIRSCHMANN

INTERNATIONAL FESTIVALS INC.

654 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

8, RUE DE LA PAIX, PARIS 2EME, FRANCE

March 21, 1956

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

.....Even without the crisis which faces the remaining 200,000 Jews, most of them should be evacuated from their misery and degradation if at all feasible. The writer considers himself battle-scarred in rescue activities, but the tragedy and misery in which the Jewish population was observed, dwarfs any previous emotional experience. Their removal from this decay, aside from the danger to their lives, now would be a human blessing - if not a necessity.

All of them want to leave. They need no urging from the outside. They are gripped by fear. It fills the air. The last two years have seen small pogroms; terror and reprisals have been accelerated in recent months. Tragic case after case could be cited; some even burnt to death in their straw huts. One can see a new brandishing of arrogance by the ragged Arabs on the day of their "liberation". If they exhibited this vengeful turn against their French aristocratic masters, what will they do to satisfy their long pent-up envy against their Jewish competitors?

While the Sultan and his leaders proclaim their intention of protecting the Jews and urge them to remain, the anarchy on lower levels must inevitably victimize the Jews. Without a police force (or even with one) where can the Jews look for help against the Muslim repeatedly-declared passion for revenge?

In an article from RI-EL-AM weekly (PDI liberal organ) of February 22, 1956, an open attack was made upon the Cadima transit camp of the Jewish Agency where the emigrants are prepared for movement to Israel. The article calls this movement "smuggling". The article is the straight vicious anti-semitic line ending with "the people of this institution and their directors are considered as enemies of Morocco, and it is the duty of Moroccan Jewry to energetically demand the closure of those institutions and the expulsion of all those people to their country of origin."

Here is the precursor of the policy that will find the justification for closing the camp and blocking emigration. One need not guess as to the Arab position. They have stated it in their own unmistakable terms. The gates will be closed, thus dooming the Jews to a helpless existence next to Arab sworn enemies now fully in power.

Today it must be emphasized that no outward panic exists; only full appreciation of what lies ahead. In the swift confluence of events I witnessed from day to day, one cannot know what will happen.

Sincerely yours,