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VI. Response to American Council for Judaism's criticism of UJA . 98

I. PROGRAMS IN, AND PROFILES ON, COMMUNITIES TO BE VISITED



## AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

LOS

## LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Sept. 13-15, 1957

Teammate: Janua Scheuer Juraile Jaugh Yoden Sermon at Temple Israel of Hollywood

Sept. 13 - Evening

Dinner

Dinner with Sherril Corwin, President of Congregation

Sept. 14 - Afternoon

Evening

Leaders of Women's Division

Dinner with the Pensicks and a few invited guests

Sept. 15 - Breakfast

Leaders of Campaign Committee - Beverly Hills Hotel





#### LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

#### A. FUND RAISING EXPERIENCE

YEAR	TOTAL RAISED	UJA ALLOTMENT	UJA% OF TOTAL RAISED
1957 Regular ERF	\$ 4,390,506 (INCOMPLETE)* 1,718,777 (Incomplete)*	1,718,777 (Incomp)	Lete)*
1956 Regular SSF	4,536,092 1,033,352	1,929,800 1,033,352	43
1955	4,706,238	2,001,223	43
1954	4,535,938	2,034,606	45
1953	4,833,714	2,159,756	45
1952	4,928,408	2,453,500	50
1951	5,579,442	2,602,500	47
1950	6,724,968	3,940,000	59
1949	7,605,141	4,000,000	53
1948	9,635,603	6,600,000	68
1947	6,067,226	4,000,000	66

#### B. 1957 CAMPAIGN OFFICERS

Samuel Pensick, Chairman Jack Karp )Co-Chairmen Steve Broidy) Ike Greenberg, Big Gifts Chairman Mrs. Edward Meltzer, Women's Division Chairman

#### C. WELFARE FUND OFFICERS 1957

Judge Stanley Mosk, President Max Firestein, 1st Vice President Irving Hill, 2nd Vice President Mrs. Morton Garbus, 3rd Vice President Aaron Riche, Secretary Joseph D. Shane, Treasurer

Julius Bisno, Executive Secretary Charles Zibbell, Assistant Executive Secretary

### LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA BACKGROUND SUMMARY

Los Angeles is the third largest city in the United States and, with a population of 400,000 Jews, is outranked only by New York City in size as a Jewish community.

Los Angeles has not only registered a tremendous population growth since World War II, but an industrial expansion as well. Within its 450 square miles are factories and industrial plants which are major producers of iron and steel, rubber, tires, automobiles, meat products, furniture, food canneries and women's dresses.

#### Jewish Community Organization

There are two basic community structures in Los Angeles:

- 1. The Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, founded in 1934, which sponsors the annual United Jewish Welfare Fund Campaigns for local, national and overseas needs, and
- The Los Angeles Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations, founded in 1911, which is the fund-disbursing and planning-coordinating body for twenty-two local Jewish health and welfare agencies.

#### UJA Allocations

The largest sum ever contributed by Los Angeles to the United Jewish Appeal was in 1948. Out of \$9,635,603 raised by the UJWF, the sum of \$6,600,000, representing a percentage of 68%, was allocated to UJA.

By 1955, this percentage had been reduced to 42.5 (\$2,001,223 out of \$4,706,238 raised). In 1956 there was a slight pickup, percentage-wise, 42.6 - and a greater one in total funds, due to the Special Survival Fund campaign (\$1,929,800 Regular; \$1,033,048 ERF).

At last report (June, 1957) Los Angeles campaign had raised \$3,836,330, plus \$1,651,414 ERF (both incompleted). The allocations agreement for this year's campaign is as follows: Of the first \$4,550,000 raised, the overseas agencies are to receive 55%, less campaign expense, shrinkage, and a deduction of \$155,000 for local and national agencies. All Emergency Rescue Fund monies are to go exclusively to UJA, less nominal campaign expenses. Allocation of funds raised above \$4,550,000 and up to \$5,000,000 are to be subject to further review. (Overseas agencies are the United Jewish Appeal, United Hias - now included in the ERF - American Fund for Israel Institutions, Hebrew University-Technion Joint Maintenance Appeal and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency).

#### UJA Loan Fund Project

1954-Los Angeles borrowed \$2,500,000, although UJA requested \$3,500,000. 1955-Los Angeles reborrowed \$1,800,000 against a UJA request of \$2,000,000. 1956- (a) Re-borrowed \$1,500,000 as against UJA request of \$3,000,000.

> (b) Borrowed additional \$1,400,000 which was repaid out of Special Survival Fund collections locally. Subsequent collections created a balance of \$643,645.56 between cash actually received on the Special Survival Fund and the full amount of the loan, which has been credited to the 1957 campaign.

#### Local Problems

The major campaign problem arises from the vacuum created in top leadership bracket when the old leadership withdrew in favor of the Bond organization. The loss of the services of those rated highest in capacity to give, to influence giving and to serve as General Chairman, Big Gifts chairmen and members of the campaign cabinet has forced the UJWF to settle for less qualified leadership. Fortunately, the quality of leadership on the sectional and trade levels is much better, and it is this leadership which, in actual fact, plans and conducts the campaign.

On the allocations level, the decline in UJA percentages over the past ten years can be attributed to the fact that the largest bloc of board members in the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council are "Federation" and "civic-defense" minded. Although 11 of these Federation agencies will be wholly supported by the Community Chest by 1959, the very rapid increase in the Jewish population, and the large movement into the suburbs are creating increased needs for Jewish centers, family, youth, health and welfare services which call for the expansion of existing facilities and the creation of additional ones. As most of the influential members are B'nai B'rithites (the Board is sometimes facetiously called the Los Angeles Branch of the B'nai B'rith) inordinately large sums annually are allocated to the national budgets of the civic-defense agencies (1956 allocations; Joint Defense Appeal of the Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and American Jewish Committee, \$115,000; American Jewish Congress, \$27,500; Jewish Labor Committee, \$11,500; NCRAC, \$7,300; and LA Community Relations Committee \$58,300, etc.)

Following are brief sketches of some of Los Angeles top leaders:

- - - - - -

Samuel Pensick

1957 Regular \$10,000 ERF 10,000 High Year - 1957

Prominent local businessman (Pensick & Gordon, notions and toys). Serving as chairman 1957 Los Angeles United Jewish Welfare Fund campaign. Will require special attention because he is still sensitive about the fact that as the only layman from Los Angeles attending 1956 UJA national conference, he was not selected to serve on Resolutions Committee.

Joseph D. Shane Attorney 1957 Regular \$10,000 ERF 10,000 High Year - 1957

Mr. Shane is a member of the UJA national campaign cabinet, and a vigorous spokesman for the UJA in Los Angeles and in the West Coast communities where he is highly regarded and, to a greater degree, more influential than he is in his home community. Mr. Shane was chairman of the Los Angeles United Jewish Welfare Fund's 1954 campaign.

Emil Brown Builder 
 1957 Regular
 \$25,000

 ERF
 -0 

 High Year - 1950
 26,250

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Mr. Brown is the head of Emil Brown & Company which supplies structural metals for the construction industry. A native of Russia who came to this country in 1904 at the age of 7, Mr. Brown is active in a wide variety of philanthropic and communal interests both in the Jewish and non-Jewish community. He has been associated with the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Israel Bond Drive and Brandeis University;

#### (Emil Brown-cont'd)

Charles Brown

he is the honorary life treasurer of the United Jewish Welfare Fund, treasurer of Los Angeles Mt. Sinai Hospital and is also active with the Jewish Home for the Aged, the Jewish Center Association and many other organizations. Among his non-Jewish interests are the Boy Scouts of America, YMCA, Red Cross, Chamber of Commerce, Elks and National Conference for Christians and Jews.

1957	Regular	\$6,000 4,000
High	Year - 1957	

Former member of UJA national campaign cabinet; currently member of UJA National Campaign Committee. Although not active for reasons of health, Mr. Brown has given yeoman service to UJA and to the Los Angeles community in the past where he served as chairman of the Los Angeles Welfare Fund drive. He is a member of the Board of the Los Angeles Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations, a former state chairman of the UJA and the UPA. An ardent Zionist, he is a member of the ZOA, League for Labor Zionist, and was active for the Jewish National Fund. He is the owner of Brown's Men's and Women's Apparel Stores.

Edward D. Mitchell

1957 Regular \$25,000 ERF 25,000 High Year - 1957

Chairman of the Board of Beneficial Standard Life Insurance Company, past chairman Special Gifts; treasurer 1953 Los Angeles Welfare Fund campaign and member of the board of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council. He is identified with the JDC (member, National Council); Weizman Institute of Science; Ampal-American Palestine Trading Corporation; Bonds for Israel government. Also has large private investments in Israel. This year, a \$250,000 medical center to which he contributed all the funds was dedicated in Tel Aviv, named in his and Mrs. Mitchell's honor.

Joseph D. Shulman Midland Properties 
 1957 Regular
 \$ 5,000

 ERF
 1,000

 High Year - 1948
 20,000

Prominent real estate developer and builder, operating under the name of Midland Properties. He and Mrs. Shulman were members of the 1956 UJA Study Tour to Israel. Mr. Shulman has been active in the leadership of the Los Angeles campaign. His other interests are the University of Judaism and Brandeis Camp Institute.

William Bruck

 1957 Regular
 \$5,000

 ERF
 -0 

 High Year - 1956
 5,000 Regular

 5,000 Spec. Fund

1956 UJWF Campaign Chairman, past chairman of the Allocations Committee, active in Brandeis Camp Institute and the Jewish Centers Association.

Robert Rosenson

1957		No Record
1956	Regular	\$10,000
	Spec. Fund	3,000
High	Year - 1948	20,000

1955 chairman of the UJWF's Allocations Committee; chairman, Greater Los Angeles area campaign of the UJWF in 1956.

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Max Firestein

1957 \$68,000 High Year - 1947 80,000

Gift is made in name of Max Factor Memorial Fund (cosmetics industry) and includes firm and officers. Mr. Firestein is vice-president of the company. He served as 1944-45 chairman of the Los Angeles Welfare Fund campaign. Currently he is chairman of the UJWF Allocations Committee and once president of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council.

Julius Fligelman

1957 \$23,000 High Year - 1948 50,000

The Fligelman gift includes the Los Angeles Period Furniture Company and individuals. Mr. Fligelman was chairman of the 1948 UJWF campaign for \$10,000,000. He is chairman of the UJWF Standing Committee of the Jewish Community Council. Active in the Jewish National Fund and the University of Judaism.

Jack L. Warner

1957	No Record
1956 Regular	\$27,500 (Jack L. Warner)
Spec. Fund	12,500 (" " )
1956 Regular	25,000 (Harry M. Warner)
Spec. Fund	15,000 (" " )
High Year - 1949	323,559 (with others)

Jack I. Warner is vice-president of the Warner Bros. Studios and the leader in the Motion Picture Division of the Los Angeles Welfare Fund for the past ten years.

Samuel Goldwyn

1957		No record
1956	Regular	\$25,000
	Spec. Fund	-0-
High	Year - 1948	105,000

Headed the UJWF in 1947 and 1948. Takes no leadership at present in Welfare Fund drive. He is a member of the National Board of State of Israel Bonds. Also honorary life member Permanent Charities Committee of the Motion Picture industry.

Yoland D. Markson

1957 High Year - 1948 \$114,750(includes Boston gift) 182,100

Mr. Markson operates Markson Bros., a department store in Los Angeles and a large jewelry establishment in Boston. He is identified as a giver rather than an active campaigner. He is a member of the Brandeis Camp Institute.

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## SFRING

## Among the \$10,000 and over gifts reported were the following:

HIGE YEAR		1956 Regular	SSF	1957 Regular	ERF
49- 31,000	Jack Benny Motion Pictures	15,000		15,000	5,000
57-	Michael C. Birnkrant Retired	10,000 HI		10,000 S	2,000
50- 16,000	Harry H. Borun Robert Borun Norman Levin Thrifty Drug Store Co., Inc.	12,000	500	11,000	1,500
50-177,375	Louis H. Boyar Aetna Construction Co. & G. Harry Rothberg Lakewood Park Homes & Ben Weingart Aetna Foundation & Mark Boyar & Sons Long Beach, Calif. Construction	95,698	802	32,500	58,800

-2-

		-2-			
HIGH YEAR		Regular 195	6 SSF	1957 Regular	ERF
60- 26,250	Emil Brown Emil Brown & Co. Metal	25.500		25,500	
	ALEX DEUTSCH	SEE AT BOTT	OM OF PAGE		
557 57	Richard S. Diller Diller-Kalsman Corp. Beverly Hills, Calif. Construction	15,600 CAN JE	200 WISH	15,500	500
47- 80,000	Davis Factor Don L. Factor Louis Factor Max Factor, Jr. Sidney Factor Jack Abrams Max Firestein A. Bernard Shore Robert Silverstein Max Factor & Co. Cosmetics	33,000	16,400	34,000	34,000
48- 52,000	George Familian Familian Pipe & Supply South Gate, Calif. & Isador Familian Price-Pfeister Mfg. Co. Los Angeles, Calif. Plumbing	~	10,600	22,000	
57-	Alex Deutsch Eleanor Deutsch Herman Deutsch Lester Deutsch The Deutsch Co. Machinery	25,000		27,000	1,000

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HIGH YEAR		19 Regular	56 SSF	1957 Regular	ERF
49-10,330- 57	Lester M. Finkelstein Ruben Finkelstein Metal	10,000	5,000	10,000	7,500
50- 25,000	Morris Friedman Samuel Friedman Solman Friedman Friedman Bag Co., Inc. Waste	can Je	1,400 WISH VES	4,800	1,700
48-105,000	Samuel Goldwyn Samuel Goldwyn Studios	25,000	ij	25,000	
55- 17,500	Dan Greenberg Ike Greenberg Joseph B. Greenberg Universal Enterprises & Standard Brand Paints Torrance, Calif.	12,500 Co.	1,000	12,500	5,000
54 38,250	Homer M. Harvey Lawrence A. Harvey Leo M. Harvey Harvey Machinery Co., & Harvey Aluminum Co. Torrance, Calif.	28,750 Inc.	1,500	3,750	1,000

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HIGH YEAR

## 1956 1957 Regular SSF Regular ERF

51-18,500 Hollywood Turf Club 10,000 Associated Charities (NON JEWISH)

48- 48,000 Harold S. Jacobs 9,000 7,500 Mrs. Jay B. Jacobs N. Engman-NON JEW (Deceased 56) Ben B. Hirsch Simon-Levi Co. Liquor

48-105,700 Harry Karl 19,000 50,500 18,100 60,000 Mrs. Pinches Karl Cyril S. Lichtmann Saul Pollack Karl's Shoe Stores, Ltd.

57-

Jack Kessler 11,000 3,500 11,000 11,000 Rose-Marie Reid of California Women's Apparel

20,000

57-

Sam A. Lerner William E. Lerner Lerner Shops Women's Apparel & Raymond E. Lee Forty-Seven Eleven Ltd. Drugs & Cosmetics



## -5-

HIGH YEAR		1956		1957	
1.1.1		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF
56 11,000	Joseph C. Lioman Ben R. Meyer-Decease Union Bank & Trust C		1,000	10,250	25.

50- 48,600	Joe Lowe M. S. Jerry Levy	10,100	5,000
	Harold W. Price		
	Louis Price		
	Sidney Somer	CANI	FW/ICH
	Joe Lowe Corp.		
	Los Angeles & NYC		
	Grocery		
	Los Angeles & NYC		

48- 20,000	Alfred Lushing	12,500	1,500	10,000	1,000
	Sidney Lushing Joseph D. Schulman				
	Midland Properties				
	å				
	L. M. Halper		-		
	Herbert M. Zandmer		2		
	Halper Construction (	Corp.	~		
	&				
	Harry S. Robbin		sat /		
	I. E. Robbin		all.		
	Sam Robbin	Same 1	1		
	Robbin & Robbin Amuse	ment			
	Enterpris	The Course of Co			
	Venice, Calif.				

55-12,000 Bernard N. Maltz 7,500 10,000 10,000 10,000 57 Liquor -6-

		-0-			
HIGH YEAR		Regular	.956 SSF	Regular	.957 ERF
48-182,100	Yoland D. Markson Markson Bros. Dept. Store & Robert Markson Markson Bros. Boston, Mass. Jewelry	25,000	50,000	33,750	98,500
48- 55,000	Tom May May Co. Women's Apparel	42,500	IEWISI	42,500	
55- 10,000	Adolph Miller Benjamin Miller Nathan Miller Robert Miller Jack Good Union Packing Co. Vernon, Calif.	HI			
53- 13,000	Mrs. Anna Miller Elias Miller George Miller-Deceased Paul Miller Menlo Realty Co.	4,000	1,000	4,000	1,000
50- 85,000	Edward D. Mitchell Joseph N. Mitchell Oscar Pattiz Beneficial Standard Lif Insurance Co.	31,200 fe	25,450	26,100	27,000
<del>51-12,500</del> 37	Barney R. Morris Edward K. Zuckerman Theodore E. Zuckerman Grandview Building Co. & Sepulveda Fark Apts.	12,000	3,000	12,000	4,500
	NATIONAL CONTAINER CORP	P	SEE ADDEN	DUM	

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		-/-			
HIGH YEAR		Regular 19	SSF	Regular	1957 ERF
48- 26,000	Jay Paley 20th Century-Fox	10,000	2,000	10,000	5,000
<del>50- 15,000</del> 57	Samuel Pensick Ben Blue Albert P. Gordon Pensick & Gordon Notions & Toys	10,600 ICAN J	2,900 EWISI VE	10,700	17,000
48- 20,000	Robert Rosenson Theodore Rosenson Kay's Dept. Store	10,000	3,000	8,000	
50-12,762	Sanford B. Schulhofer Philip S. Eisendrath Hillcrest Properties, Beverly Hills, Calif. Real Estate		2,200	10,600	2,000
54-15,522 37	Joseph D. Shane Attorney	10,000	5,000	10,000	10,000
48- 21,516	Mrs. Meyer Simon Norton Simon California Sea Foods	18,287 Corp.	250	1,500	500

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HIGH YEAR		Regular	SSF	Regular	1957 ERF
49- 25:000	Leo Spitz - Deceased - 1956 Universal Pictures Co., Universal City, Calif.			3,000	
48- 93,557	Jules C. Stein Lew Wasserman Music Corp. of America	30,000	10,000 EWISH	30,000	
52- 41,000	Charles H. Strub- (NON-JEW) Los Angeles Turf Club & Santa Anita Fark Arcadia, Calif.	26,000	いり、	1,000	
50- 72,500	Mark Taper Biltmore Homes, Inc. Beverly Hills, Calif.	11,000	2,100		
49-323,559	Albert W. Warner(Major)				

49-323.559 Albert W. Warner (Major) Harry M. Warner 52,500 27,500 38,500 23,500 Jack L. Warner Warner Bros. Studios Burbank, Calif.

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HT	GH	YEAF	2
	1.1.4.4	and the second second	÷.

<u>-50- 48,500</u> 56

	1956		1957	
	Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF
Robert I. Wishnick Witco-Chemical Co. New York City	45,000	25,000	3,850	3,150

& Joseph J. Tumpeer Julius Tumpeer Witco Chemical Co. Chicago, Ill.

## AMERICAN JEWISH

54- 20,000 Willard Woodrow Donald Metz-Deceased 1956 Ira H. Oberndorfer Aldon Construction Co. Bellflower, Calif.

49-26,500 Benjamin Zukor Zukor's Dress Shop 15,000

7000

15,000

10,000

July, 1957

NATIONAL CONTAINER CORP.

HIGH YEAR 1955 1956 1957 48-210,000 Harry Ginsberg 150,000 F 150.000 F 150,000 F \*Samuel Kipnis 50,000-SPEC. FUND 50,000-ERF 56 \*\*Jerry L. Kipnis Long Island City Includes Includes New York City 8 \*\*\*Fredric R. Maan Philadelphia, Pa. 14,000 F Los Angeles, Calif. 14,000 F 5,000-SPEC. FUND (George J. Schneider) \*-Samuel Kipnis formerly of Jacksonville, Fla. Now resides in Miami, Fla. \*\*-Jerry L. Kipnis of Jacksonville, Fla. \*\*\*-Fredric R. Mann--Seaboard Container Corp. & National Container merged in 1955. \*\*\*\*-National Container Corp. now owned by the Libby-Owen Glass Co. \*\*\*\*\*-Personal ERF pledge of Samuel Kipnis

NOTE:

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		NATIONAL CONTAINER	CORP.	
		- 2 -		
HIGH YEAR		1955	1956	<u>1957</u>
	Oakland, Calif.	2,000 F (George J.	2,000 F Schneider)	
	San Francisco, Calif.	AMI,000 FCAN	JEW 1,000 F	
	Jacksonville, Fla.	16,000 F Pledge of Sam	16,000 F 5,000-SPEC. FUND uel Kipnis	*****20,000-ERF
	Miami, Fla.	10,000 F	10,000 F	20,000-ERF
		13	5	
	Atlanta, Ga.	2,000 F	2,000 F 200-SPEC. FUND	
		275	5	
	Chicago, Ill.	5,000 F	5,000 F	

## NATIONAL CONTAINER CORP.

- 3 -

1955

6,000 F

HIGH YEAR

T

Newark, N. J.

Bredford, Pa.

Philadelphia, Pa.

New York City

60,000 F 4 15,000 F-Special Gift

25,000 F

6,000 F 5,000-SPEC. FUND

1956

ES 25 DOU F

500 F

25,000 F 10,000-SPEC. FUND

60,000 F 25,000-SPEC. FUND 1957

# AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

DAKLAND

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA September 16, 1957

Teanmate: James Scheuen Israell: Joseph Jadin

Luncheon meeting for expanded Board

Dinner meeting for small group of top leaders

Community-wide meeting in the evening.

#### OAKLAND, CALIF.



## A. FUND RAISING EXPERIENCE

YEAR	MUTIO INTINI	TOTAL RAISED	UJA ALLOTMENT	UJA% OF TOTAL RAISED
	Regular \$ ERF	275,882 (Incomplete)* 90,509 (Incomplete)*	110,000 Minimum 90,509 (Incomplete)*	
	Regular SSF	271,789 23,528	110,000 23,528	40
1955		263,995	108,000	41
1954		254,683	107,000	42
1953		279,060	121,000	43
1952	A	299,344 RICAN JE	120,000	40
1951		322,746	140,000	43
1950		338,700	160,000	47
1949		383,331	200,000	52
1948		476,687	290,000	61

## B. 1957 CAMPAIGN OFFICERS

Sam Clar, Acting Chairman Moses Lesser, Big Gifts Chairman Joseph Altman, Co-C hairman

## C. 1957 WELFARE FUND OFFICERS

Sam Clar, President

Executive Director, Harry Sapper

\*Information as of August 1, 1957.

#### OAKLAND

#### Community Survey - Bio Briefs

Oakland is the third largest city in California. In 1940 its Jewish population was 7,500; today it is between 15,000 and 20,000. But estimate includes Alameda County, of which Oakland is the county seat, and the county of Contra Costa, related to Oakland much as Long Island is to New York.

Charitable work in Oakland dates back to 1876 when the Daughters of Israel Relief Society was organized. Synagogues came into existence first in 1874, then in 1893 and in 1907.

In 1918 the Jewish Relief Society of Alameda County was organized, combining the work of three organizations. In 1922 this society was reincorporated under the name of the Oakland Jewish Federation and became one of the first functional Jewish federations in the United States. In 1925 Oakland had the distinction of organizing the first federated technique for supporting national and foreign organizations, called the United Jewish Welfare Federation of Oakland. A Jewish Community Center was erected in 1924.

Despite such a remarkable background in Jewish philanthropy, Oakland has become a difficult community for UJA. Two reasons have been attributed to this: (1) over-absorption by leadership in local needs to the exclusion of overseas needs, and (2) campaign organization conducted year after year on same methods among same people with none of the added pep and extra drive which novelty and new enthusiasm gives.

Leadership incentives have not been nurtured and developed. As a result, smaller contributors whose basic interests are local needs have an inordinate degree of power and influence in the community. Many larger contributors have found little incentive to participate beyond token increases, which have been too eagerly accepted. Overseas partisans have therefore found themselves in the minority of the Welfare Fund Board and have been on the defensive instead of on the aggressive.

Practically the entire Jewish population are of middle-income bracket, and accordingly there have been no outstanding contributions. Only four have exceeded the \$10,000 mark, and most of the BG's are around \$5,000.

The key leaders, Sam Shapero, Sam Clar and Irving Malnick are not among the largest givers. Lewis Milenbach could accomplish a great deal if induced to undertake campaign responsibility.

Sam Shapero was campaign Co-Chairman in 1955 and 1956, and Chairman of the Campaign coordinating committee in 1957. In 1956 he was also BG Chairman. He is the a man who can be called upon at any time for service to the Jewish community. He is a prominent realtor, a member of the Jewish Welfare Federation, and a director of the Home for Jewish Aged in Oakland. He was a member of the UJA Study Mission in 1956. With the exception of 1948 when he gave \$3,000 his annual gift has generally been between \$1,250 and \$1,500.

Sam Clar, 1957 President of the Jewish Welfare Fund of Oakland and Chairman of the campaign in 1957, is on the fence between the extremists for local funds and those for overseas needs. He is nevertheless a hard worker for anything pertaining to Israel. He is equally active in Israel Bonds as Campaign Chairman. He was Co-Chairman with Mr. Shapero of the campaigns in 1955 and 1956. He is head of the Sam Clar Machinery Company, manufacturers of machinery and tools. His gifts have been between \$2,000 and \$3,000.

Irving Malnick gave \$5,000 in 1957 against \$4,500 in 1956. Irving is in business with his brother, Morris, in running the I. Malnick Fruitvale Toggery, women's specialty shop.

Juir Out

August 1957

## BIG GIFTS - OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

· · · ·

SPRING

HIGH YEAR		195	6	195	7
		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF
51-2,500	Irving W. Alkus Smiths & Money-Back Smith Men's Apparel	2,250			
	AMERICAN	JEWI			
48-3,500	Sam Clar Used Machinery	2,000	500	2,250	1,000
57	Harold Edelstein	1,400	300	2,400	1,000
51-2,500	Herman Hertz Paul Hertz Hertz Shoe Clinic, Inc. San Francisco, Calif. Shoe Repair	2,250	5/	2,250	500
57	Jacob Hoorwitz Motion Pictures	2,000		2,200	200
49-5,500	Mayhelt Jacobs Pacific Pipe Co.	2,000			

## BIG GIFTS - OAKLAND. CALIFORNIA

### - 2 -

HIGH YEAR		1956 Regular SSF	1957 Regular ERF
57	Charles Kushins Kushins Shoe Co. Retired	2,000	2,000 250
57	Max M. Learner Paul W. Learner Learner Co. Waste	JE2,500 ISH	5,000 5,000
57	Jacob Leson	1,000 500	1,000 2,025
47-12,000	Mrs. Fannie Malnick Irving Malnick Morris Malnick Fruitvale Toggery Women's Apparel	3,500 1,000	3,500 2,500
51-5,000	Louis Milenbach Ben Shane Milen's Jewelers	3,000	

## BIG GIFTS - OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

- 3 -

HIGH YEAR		<u>1956</u> Regular SSF	1957 Regular ERF
	National Container Cor	o. SEE ADDEN	IDUM
57	Pacific Pipe Co. AMERICAN	2,000 JEWISH	3,000
57	Sol Scherman Construction	5,000	5,000 1,143
57	Harry Schuster	725 275	1,000 3,000
57	Smith Foundation	2,250	2,250
48-10,000	Harold B. Smith Jesse Smith Money Back Smith Co. Men's Apparel	2,250	
48-5,000	William Spivock Spivock & Spivock Construction (Builders)	5,200	

July, 1957

		NATIONAL CONTAINER	CORP.	
HIGH YEAR		1955	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>
48-210,000	Harry Ginsberg *Samuel Kipnis **Jerry L. Kipnis	150,000 F	150.000 F 50.000-SPEC. FUND	150,000 F 50,000-ERF
	Long Island City New York City & ***Fredric R. Maan Philadelphia, Pa.	AMERICINclude ARCH	IVES	ludes
	Los Angeles, Calif.	14,000 F (George	14,000 F 5,000-SFEC. FUND J. Schneider)	14,0007 5,000 ERT. See J. Schneider
	*-Samuel Kipnis formerly of **-Jerry L. Kipnis of Jackson ***-Fredric R. MannSeaboard ****-National Container Corp. r ****-Personal ERF pledge of Sam	ville, Fla. Container Corp. & Natio now owned by the Libby-O	nal Container merged in 1955	

NOTE:

T.....PERSONAL

## NATIONAL CONTAINER CORP.

- 2 -

HIGH YEAR		1955	1956	<u>1957</u>
	Oakland, Calif.	2,000 F (George J.	2,000 7	
	San Francisco, Calif.	AMI,000 FAN J	EV 1,000 F	1,000 7
	Jacksonville, Fla.	16,000 F Pledge of Samu	16,000 F 5,000-SPEC. FUND tel Kipnis	16,000 7 *****20,000-ERF - Kipnis 5,000 ER7
	Miami, Fla.	10,000 F	10,000 F	15,000 7 20,000-ERF 5,000-ERF 5,000-ERF
	Atlanta, Ga.	2,000 F	2,000 F 200-SPEC. FUND	20007 500 CR7
	Chicago, Ill.	5,000 F	5,000 F	5,0007

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## NATIONAL CONTAINER CORP.

- 3 -

HIGH YEAR		1955	1956	<u>1957</u>
	Newark, N. J.	6,000 F	6,000 F 5,000-SPEC. FUND	6,0007 5,000 ER7
	Bradford, Pa.	AMERICAN J	EWISCOF VES	500 ¥
	Philadelphia, Pa.	25,000 F	25,000 F 10,000SPEC. FUND	25,000 7 10,000CR7
	New York City	60,000 F + 15,000 F- Special Gift	60,000 F 25,000-SPEC. FUND	60,0007 25,000 ERZ
1		, share		

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## AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

PORTLAND

PORTLAND, OREGON September 18, 1957

Teamate: James Scheuer Israele Jory Jacin

Place

Estimated Attendance

50

Afternoon

Calls upon individuals

Dinner Mtg.

Dinner for top leaders and givers

## •

### A. FUND RAISING EXPERIENCE

YEAR	TOTAL RAISED	UJA ALLOTMENT	UJAS OF TOTAL RAISED
1957 Regular ERF	<pre>\$ 180,000 (Incomplete)*</pre>	25,000(Incomplete)*	
1956 Regular SSF	228,202 11,600	130,000 11,600	57
1955	225,000	129,975	58
1954	263,000	160,000	61
1953	316,077	200,000	63
1952	A 315,000 CAN J	225,000	71
1951	374,708	271,000	72
1950	365,000	255,000	70
1949	410,000	300,000	73
1948	533,471	405,000	76

### B. 1957 CAMPAIGN OFFICERS

Julius S. Zell Harry A. Herzog Dr. Sanford Wolling Rabbi Julius Model Frank M. Fink	Alfred J. Davis ) Harry C. Arneberg) Arthur Goldsmith ) )	Chairmen - C	Xommittee -
Women's Division Chai Mrs. L. Lublinger) Mrs. G. Schnitzer)	irman,		

#### C. 1957 WELFARE FUND OFFICERS

Arthur A. Goldsmith, President Miss Celia H. Lesman ) Vice Presidents Jack W. Olds ) Frank M. Fink, Secretary Alfred J. Davis, Treasurer Gilbert Schnitzer, Assistant Treasurer

Milton D. Goldsmith, Executive Director

#### PORTLAND, OREGON

#### Background Summary

Portland, Oregon, a major Pacific coast port, is the commercial and shipping center for Oregon and Southern Washington. Its principal industries are lumber and wood products, metals, food, textiles and wearing apparel, paper and allied products. The Jewish population is 7,500 as against a general population of 465,000.

Portland's business is gradually recuperating from a prolonged lumber strike which was serious enough for the U.S. government to grade Oregon as a disaster area in 1956, and which resulted in lengthy unemployment, and forced retailers to reduce their inventories at a loss. This resulted in reductions in giving to the United Jewish Appeal as the Jewish Welfare Fund which before 1954 raised annually more than \$300,000 dipped to \$225,000 in 1955. The fund raising situation has been further exacerbated by deaths and defections among the older leaders and the fact that their replacements, though young and able men, are neither in a position to make large contributions, nor oriented sympathetically toward Israel and other overseas needs.

In fact, due to the unwillingness of the older leaders and the inexperience of the younger ones, the Welfare Fund is being led by a consortium of five former presidents instead of one general chairman. They are: Julius S. Zell, Frank M. Fink, Harry A. Herzog, Alfred J. Davis, Dr. Sanford Wolin, Rabbi Julius Nodel and Arthur A. Goldsmith. As will be noted in the bios of Portland's leadership, four of these five have not, even at this late date, made their 1957 contributions.

It also should be noted that Portland campaign productivity is hampered by an "isolationist" mentality, even to a greater degree than its sister city of Seattle, because, unlike Seattle, the American Council for Judaism adherants are more vocal here.

Portland's allocations to the United Jewish Appeal from 1948 until 1956 were

<u>YEAR</u> 1948	TOTAL RAISED \$533,471	UJA ALLOCATION \$405,000
1949	410,000	300,000
1950	365,000	255,000
1951	374,708	271,000
1952	315,000	225,000
1953	316,077	200,000
1954	263,000	160,000
1955	225,000	129,975
1956	228,202 Regular 11,600 Spec. Fund	129,688 Regular 11,600 Spec. Fund

The 1957 campaign should come nearer to the 1954 totals than the 1956 as by July there has been \$145,500 raised, with \$90,000 in outstanding values. Over \$22,000 has been raised at this date toward the Emergency Rescue Fund.

Members of Portland's leadership group and their giving histories follow:

1. Frank M. Fink

\* \* \* \*\* ···

1957 Regular ERF High Year - 1956 \$1,250

Past campaign chairman, member of WF Board, currently on Campaign Committee. Very negative regarding UJA and other "outside" agencies. Fought against acceptance of ERF quota.

2. Ben Medofsky

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 1957
 No Giving Record

 1956
 \$ 1,000

 High Year - 1951
 20,000

Top Israel bond purchaser in Portland, leader of its 1955 bond drive. A realtor, he is an ardent Zionist and a factor in the local Republican party. He was the biggest giver to the local campaign from 1948 to 1951. Reversal of his business fortunes called 'one of Portland's tragedies.'

3. Ben Rosenfield

1957 Regular \$3,000 ERF 2,000 High Year - 1957

Portland's leading Zionist. Wife is chairman of local branch of Zionist Emergency Council. Connected with Sealy Mattress Company. Nowhere near his maximum as a giver.

4. Sam Zidell

\_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

1957	Regular	\$10,000
	ERF	5,000
High	Year - 1953	15,000

For years has made a standing offer to give \$25,000 on condition that gift is matched. Recently suffered heavy losses due to lack of insurance coverage. Has failed to honor his 1956 pledge of \$12,500. Received stimulation letter from Alex Miller, chairman, UJA National Scrap Metals and Waste Materials Division.

5.	Gilbert	Schnitzer	1957	Regular	\$8,500
			7.797	ERF	5,000
			High	Year - 1951	13,500

Owns Alaska Junk Company, one of largest scrap metal companies on west coast. Assistant treasurer and a member of the Board of the Welfare Fund. Also recipient of a stimulation letter this year from Alex Miller requesting a gift of \$25,000 which community reports was "well received". Potentially the top leader in this community.

Others of importance in the community are -

Meier and Frank families, owners of Meier and Frank Department Store. Includes Aaron M. Frank, Allen E., Jack L. and Mrs. Julius Meier. One of wealthiest families in northwest. High year 1947 - \$28,500; 1956 - \$7,500; No record for 1957.

Jack W. Olds, 1957 - \$1,000 Regular, \$1,000 ERF. 1956 welfare fund president.

Julius Zell, jeweler. Member of the Campaign Committee. High Year - 1954 - \$15,000 1956-\$5,000 Regular, -O- SSF; No 1957 record.

- 2 -

Arthur A. Goldsmith. 1957 welfare president. No Big Gifts record.

Dr. Sanford Wolin. 1956 campaign chairman. Member of five man campaign committee. 1957 - No gift record; 1956-\$1,000

Louis Gevurtz. Former welfare fund president. High Year - 1948-\$2,500; 1957-\$1,500 Regular; \$1,000 ERF

AMERICAN IEWISH

ARCH

William Schenker. High year - 1957 - \$3,000 Regular; \$3,000 ERF

BH:MU 7/29/57

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July, 1957

#### BIG GIFTS - PORTLAND, OREGON

#### SPRING

## Among the \$1,000 and over gifts reported were the following:

100

HIGH YEAR		1956 Regular SSF	1957 Regular ERF
55-2,000	Harry C. Arnsberg Television & Radio Supply Co.	1,600	1,200 800
49-10,000	Jack N. Barde Barde Steel Co.	JEW1S <sup>2,500</sup>	2,500
47-4,000	Anselm Boskowitz R eal Estate	1,700	1,700 300
54-2,200	Alfred J. Davis Alfred J. Davis Co. Insurance	A.	1,250 250
57	Lewis P. Davis Industry unknown	1,000	1,000 1,000
56	Simon M. Director Director Furniture Co.	1,000	650

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## - 2 -

HIGH YEAR		1956		1957	
		Regular S	SF	Regular	ERF
48-15,000	Louis Dulien Dulien Steel Products, Inc. of Washington & Dulien Steel Products, Inc. of California Los Angeles, Calif.	1,000			
	AMERICAN	JEWISH			
55-8,500	Mrs. Arthur M. Eppstein Insurance	<sup>3,500</sup> E		3,500	
57	Frank M. Fink Frank Fink Co. Grocery	1,250		1,250	750
	15	1 3			
57	Leonard Fishel Fishel's Awning & Supply Co.	1,250		1,250	625
47-28,500	Aaron M. Frank Allen E. Meier Jack L. Meier	7,500			

Jack L. Meier M rs. Julius Meier Meier & Frank Co. Department Store

1. M

## - 3 -

HIGH YEAR		1956		1957		
		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF	
48-2,500	Louis Gevurtz Gevurtz Furniture Co.	1,500		1,500	1,000	

515,000	J. B. Hainu Luggage	500	
	AMERICAN	JEWISH VFS	
48-5,000	Harry A. Herzog Architect	1,500	1,500 500
51-20,000	Ben Medofsky	1,000	
	Real Estate	1	
50-20,000	Henry Mittleman Hotel & Real Estate	2,500	10,000
	Samuel I. Newhouse Theodore L. Newhouse Long Island Daily Press New York City, N. Y.	SEE ADDENDUM	

Jack W. Olds Accountant

57

1,000

1,000 1,000

- 4 -

HIGH YEAR	En la sectore	Regular	956 SSF	1957 Regular E	æ
56	Sam Olds Olds Trailer Co., Inc.	1,000			
52-2,000	Morris H. Rosencrantz Morris H. Rosencrantz Insurance Service Co.	1,600 IFW		1,600 15	50
	ARCH		ES		
56	A. Victor Rosenfeld California Bag & Metal	3,500 co.	1,000		
53-5,000	Ben Rosenfeld Sealy Mattress Co.	3,000	1,000	3,000	
51-13,500	Gilbert Schnitzer Leonard Schnitzer Manuel Schnitzer Alaska Junk Co.	8,500	5,000		
56	Harold J. Schnitzer Harsh Investment Corp.	1,000	1,000		

## - 5 -

HIGH YEAR		1956		1957	
		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF
57	Arthur Senders Lang-Senders & Co. Investment	1,250		1,500	

57

Alfred Shenker	3,000	1,000	3,000	1,000
William Shenker				
William Shenker Co.		ICLI		
St. Johns, Ore.				
8				
Dulien Steel Products	, Inc.			
of Washington				
Portland, Ore.				

57	Maxwell Unger	7,500	7,500
	Oregon Auto Insurance	Co.	

53-2,500	D. C. Wax	1,500	1,500	500
	Office Equipment House	-27-/		

57	Dr. Sanford Wollin Dentist	1,000	1,000 1,000

57

Joshua Weiner Weiner's Mens Wear 1,000

1,000

## - 6 -

HIGH YEAR		195	6	19	57
		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF
	Julius S. Zell Zell Bros. Jewelry	5,000		5,000	2,500

53-15,000	Emery Zidell Sam J. Zidell	10,000	2,500
	Jack Rosenfeld Zidell Machinery & Su		ISH

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1957

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## SAMUEL I. NEWHOUSE GIFT

HIGH YEAR 56-		<u>1955</u> 28,500 INCLUDES	<u>1956</u> 35,000 I <u>NCLUDES</u>
	Samuel I. Newhouse Theodore L. Newhouse Long Island Daily Press New York City	10,000	10,000
	St. Louis Globe-Democrate	AMERICAN J A R <sup>1,250</sup> H I	EWISH V F 1,250
	Jersey Journal Jersey City, New Jefsey	1,000	1,000
	Newark Star Ledger Newark, New Jersey	5,500	5,500
	Herald Journal Syracuse, New York	6,000	6,000
	Harrisburg, Penna.	1,500 2753	1,500
	Portland, Ore.	1,500	1,500

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## AMERICAN JEWISH A R C H I V E S

(B) 1 2

SAN FRANCISCO

### SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA Sentember 17, 1057

Boumato: Cames Achenen Janaile Groupal gasin

Place

Estimated Attendence

35

25

6 to 10

Lunch

Augmented Board Luncheon Meeting with the delegation

Small dinner with some top leaders

Meeting with leaders of Women's Division

Afternoon

Evening

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#### SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

#### A. FUND RAISING EXPERIENCE

YEAR	TOTAL RAISED	UJA ALLOTMENT	UJA% OF TOTAL RAISED
1957 Regular ERF	\$ 1,342,790 (Incomple 506,186	ete)* 506,186	
1956 Regular SSF	1,402,557 202,800	690,000 202,800	49
1955	1,452,463**	711,000	49
1954	1,402,220**	690,000	49
1953	1,469,985**	730,000	50
1952	1,669,000**	814,100	49
1951	1,732,005**	910,000	53
1950	1,806,303**	1,053,009	58
1949	1,714,768	1,129,889	66
1948	1,845,318	1,314,000	71

#### B. 1957 CAMPAIGN OFFICERS

Edward Bransten, Jr.) Campaign Cabinet members George Edelstein, ) Peter E. Haas ) Marcel Hirsch ) Robert J. Koshland ) Sanuel A. Ladar ) A. J. Shragge ) Robert E. Sinton ) Joseph Sloss, Jr. ) Benjamin H. Swig ) Mr. Sinto, Advance Gifts Chairman Robert M. Levison, Campaign Coordinator Mrs. Lucien A. Lehmann, Women's Division Chairman

#### C. 1957 WELFARE FUND OFFICERS

Judge M.C.Sloss, Honorary President Lloyd W.Dinkelspiel, President Walter A. Haas ) Vice Presidents Sylvan J. Lisberger) Benjamin H. Swig ) Walter D.Heller, Treasurer Sidney Rudy, Secretary Robert E.Sinton,Asst.Treasurer

Sanford M. Treguboff, Executive Secretary.

\*Information as of July 31, 1957. \*\*Total raised includes bequests and surplus funds.

#### SAN FRANCISCO BACKGROUND SUMMARY

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San Francisco has a Jewish population of about 55,000 in a total population exceeding 900,000. Jews have been in San Francisco since the days of the 1849 Gold Rush and the descendants of these "first families" are well integrated in the total community.

The leadership of the San Francisco community represents very largely the old established families and old established wealth from the days of '49. These "first families" have so intermarried that the leadership itself almost comprises one large family.

All elements in the Jewish community cooperate in the annual campaign. However, the campaign structure, by a kind of gentlemen's agreement in the community, reflects separate efforts by the old families and more recent arrivals. The Jews of Nob Hill set their own pace, have their own meetings and their own workers and leaders. It is this group of leaders that determines campaign policies. They evaluate the annual campaign needs as they see them, set goals for themselves, and make every effort to meet their self-appointed goals. Among the leaders of this group are Lloyd Dinkelspiel, Walter Heller, Walter Haas, Daniel and Robert Koshland and Marco Hellman.

Ben Swig is a leader among the "late arrivals" in the community who is closely identified with overseas needs. He is a member of the UJA national cabinet. However, he usually finds it necessary to go along with the majority of the Welfare Fund leadership represented by Lloyd Dinkelspiel.

Leon Russell is the non-Jewish husband of the former Madeline Haas, the niece of Walter Haas and Daniel Koshland. Their gift is among the largest in the community.

Until 1955, San Francisco had a separate Federation supporting local services and a Welfare Fund for national and overseas causes. The two organizations were merged that year to form the Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco and the previous directors of the Welfare Fund and Federation, Sanford M. Treguboff and Hyman Kaplan respectively, continue to serve as co-directors of the new organization. Mr. Treguboff is responsible for campaign activities.

San Francisco has been a stronghold of the American Council for Judaism although there is reason to believe that the local chapter has declined in strength from previous years. There is also a rather weak ZOA organization. The leadership of the community comes primarily from Temples Emanu-El and Sherith Israel, the two Reform congregations.

It is interesting to note that almost all the local membership of the American Council for Judaism are affiliated with Emanu-El and almost none with Sherith Israel. Temple Emanu-El's membership includes the predominant number of "first families" and families of wealth in the community. Its social character has remained more stable and it has acquired fewer of the "later arrivals" to the community in its membership than Sherith Israel.

It is anticipated that the 1957 campaign will be concluded as the most successful in San Francisco's history.

Following are brief biographical comments on some of the community leaders:

Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel Heller, Ehrman, White & McAuliffe

1957	Regular	\$15,000
	ERF	15,000
High	Year - 1950	30,100

Mr. Dinkelspiel, who is perhaps the most influential single Jewish leader in San Francisco, is an attorney in addition to being a part owner of the Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company. He is an extremely effective speaker and commands high prestige among the "old families". He is president of the Jewish Welfare Federation.

Walter A. Haas Levi-Strauss Company

1957	Regular	\$50,000
	ERF	25,000
High	Year - 1957	

Mr. Haas was born in San Francisco in 1889. His mother was a member of the Koshland family. He is a graduate of the University of California, married, and has two sons and a daughter. He has been president of Levi-Strauss Company, manufacturers of mens apparel, since 1928. He is active with Mt. Zion Hospital and is regarded locally as a good giver.

Daniel E. Koshland Levi-Strauss Company 
 1957 Regular
 \$40,000

 ERF
 20,000

 High Year - 1957

Mr. Koshland is a part owner of Levi-Strauss Company which manufactures mens apparel. He is active in the American Council for Judaism and is on the board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He has been described as a gentle, thoughtful person.

Abe J. Shragge

 1957 Regular
 \$10,000

 ERF
 10,000

 High Year - 1957

Mr. Shragge is a former owner of Federal Outfitters, now retired. He is a past president of the Home for the Aged and a past campaign chairman. He visited Israel about 1949. He is well liked and commands respect and high prestige in the community.

Benjamin H. Swig Fairmont Hotel

WK:MU 7/23/57 
 1957 Regular
 \$85,000 (includes \$50,000 NYC w/Jack Weiler)

 ERF
 100,000 (includes \$50,000 NYC w/Jack Weiler)

 High Year - 1957
 w/Jack Weiler)

Mr. Swig is in partnership with Jack Weiler of New York in various real estate enterprises. He was born in Taunton, Mass. in 1893. He is married and has two sons and a daughter. He has been president of the Fairmont Hotel Company since 1945. He is a member of the UJA National Campaign Cabinet and recently accepted the 1957 National Cash Chairmanship of the Combined Campaign for American Reform Judaism. He is also active with the Israel Bond Drive and Brandeis University. Mrs. Swig is seriously ill at the present time.

## SPRING

## Anong the \$5,000 and over gifts reported were the following:

HIGH YEAR		19 Regular	56 SSF	1957 Regular ERF
53-6,500	J. B. Arnovitz Industry not known	6,000		
48-26,000	Newton Bissinger Paul Bissinger Bissinger & Co. Hides	22,500	ISH ES ▲	25,000
50-15,000	Joe Blumenfeld Blumenfeld Theatres	13,000		13,000
50-30,100	Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel Heller, Ehrman, White & McAuliffe Attorney	15,000	7,500	15,000 15,000
56	Joseph Eichler Eichler Homes Palo Alto, Calif. Real Estate	15,000		
57	D avid R. Eisenbach	6,000		6,000

Real Estate

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July 19/7

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## - 2 -

HIGH YEAR		Regular	1956 SSF	19 Regular	ERF
55-5,000	E. F. Euphrat Pacific Can Co. Food Broker				
56	Marc Glaser Glaser Bros. Tobacco & Candy	7,000 JEV	1,200 VISH FS		
57	Leo Goldstone Everwear Mfg. Co. Men's Apparel	5,000	Ţ	5,000	
57	Judge Louis E. Goodman	8,500	2	8,500	
48-55,500	Walter A. Hass Levi-Strauss Co. Nen's Apparel	53,749	16,500	50,000	25,000
57	Edward H. Heller Mrs. E. S. Heller Schwabacher & Co. Finance	77,000	22,500	85,000	37,500

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HIGH YEAR		Regular	956 SSF	<u>19</u> Regular	57 ERF
57	Walter D. Heller Fibreboard Products, Inc. Paper	9,000	3,000	9,000	9,000
55-10,000	Frederick J. Hellman Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co.	JEW			
48-15,000	I. W. Hellman Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co.	30,000	i T	10,000	
48-9,000	Mrs. I. W. Hellman, Jr. Industry not known	6,000	2		
57	Marco F. Hellman J. Barth & Co. Finance	25,000	12,500	25,000	12,5
56	Herbert Herbst Herman Herbst Herbst Bros. Hardware	5,000			

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- 4 -

HIGH YEAR		Regular	1956 SSF	19 Regular	957 ERF
48-9,000	Samuel A. Jacobson Retired	6,000			
50-40,030	Daniel E. Koshland Levi-Strauss Co. Hen's Apparel	40,000 I JEW	12,000 /ISH E C	40,000	20,000
48-9,700	Jesse Koshland Retired	9,000			
56	S. S. Langendorf Langendorf United Bakeries, Inc.	10,000	2	8,000	
48-20,500	Philip N. Lilienthal, Finance	Jr.12,000	5,500	12,000	8,500
50-25,000	Louis Lurie The Lurie Co. Real Estate	20,000		20,000	

- 5 -

HIGH YEAR		19	56	1957	2
		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF
48-22,000	Grover A. Magnin I. Magnin Co. Department Store	7,500		3,500	

51-7,000

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Alfred F. Meyer Sutro & Co. Finance 6,508

Matil. Container Corp. - Le aldendum

55-5,125 Annapole Ponve A. Ponve Co. Industry not

A. Ponve Co. Industry not known

53-85,000 Leon Russell (Non-Jew) 75,000 25,000 75,000 37,500 Industry not known

- 53-7,000 Milton H. Salz 6,000 2,500 6,000 5,000 E. Salz & Son, Inc. Grain
- 48-16,000 Adolph P. Schuman Lilli Ann Corp. Women's Apparel

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HIGH YEAR		1956 Regular SSF	1957 Regular ERF
48-34,100	Albert E. Schwabacher James Schwabacher Schwabacher-Frey Co. Paper & Printing	15,000	15,000
50-20,000	A. J. Shragge Finance ARCH	10,000 3,600 JEWISH	10,000 10,000
56	Harry L. Simon Metal	5,000	
57	Edgar A. Sinton Attorney	6,000	6,000
57	Robert E. Sinton J. Barth & Co. Finance	5,000 1,500	5,000 5,000
57	Judge Max C. Sloss	7,460	7,500

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HIGH YEAR		1956 Regular SSF	1957 Regular ERF
57	Jesse Steinhart Attorney	8,000	8,000
51-110,600	Benjamin H. Swig Fairmont Hotel & Jack D. Weiler J. D. Weiler Co. Real Estate	85,000 50,000 JEWISH	85,000 100,000
57	Harry L. Wollenberg Paper	5,000	5,000
55-7,500	Harold L. Zellerbach Zellerbach Paper Co.	6,500	6,500
56	Mrs. Isadore Zellerbach Industry not known	25,000	
53-17,500	James D. Zellerbach Crown-Zellerbach Corp. Paper	15,000	15,000

July, 1957

34

11

### LURIA BROS. & CO. INC.

#### MAIN OFFICE IS IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.

Additional offices are in the following cities, and Trade & Industry records show the following breakdowns by communities and individuals

#### ALL PERSONAL GIFTS OF INDIVIDUALS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL GIFT.

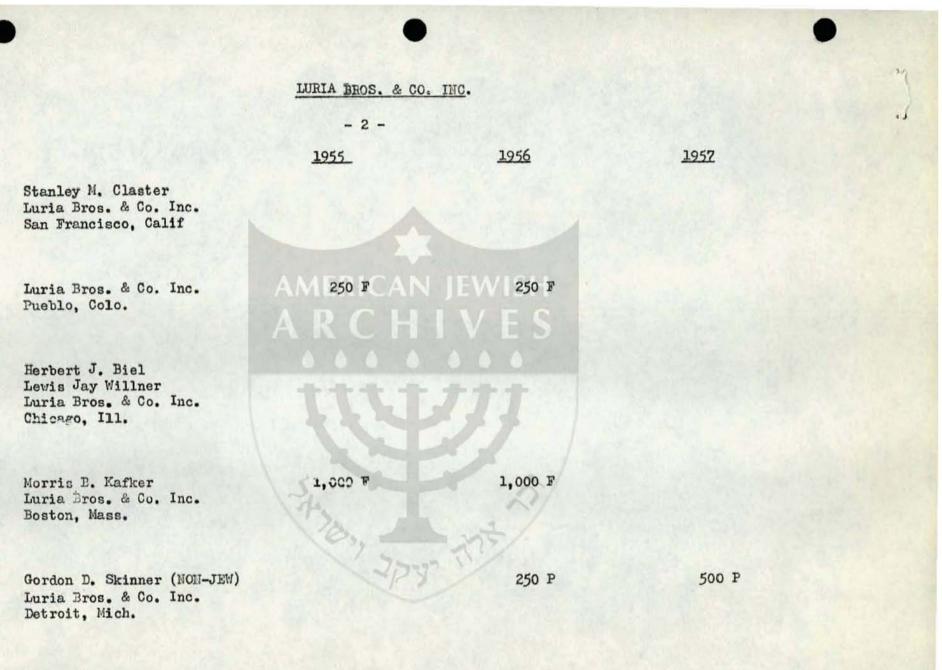
HIGH YEAR		A	<u>1955</u>	AN JEV	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>
51-116,578			50,000- <u>INCLUDES</u> 13,000 F		50,000- INCLUDES	INCLUDES
	Herbert Luria William J. Luria	+	1,350 P-	Herbert	1,350 P-	
	Joel Claster Luria Bros. & Co. Inc.	+	1,500 P-	/ William	1,500 P-	
	Philadelphia, Penna	+	2,100 -	Joel Clast	2,100 - er Fdn.	
		1	5		200-SPEC.	ert)
			Da.	A	200-SPEC. (Will	.iam)
			13	Trees.	400-SPEC. (Class	FUND ster Fdn.)
				P		

Herbert Luria, III Luria Bros. & Co., Inc. Birmingham, Ala.

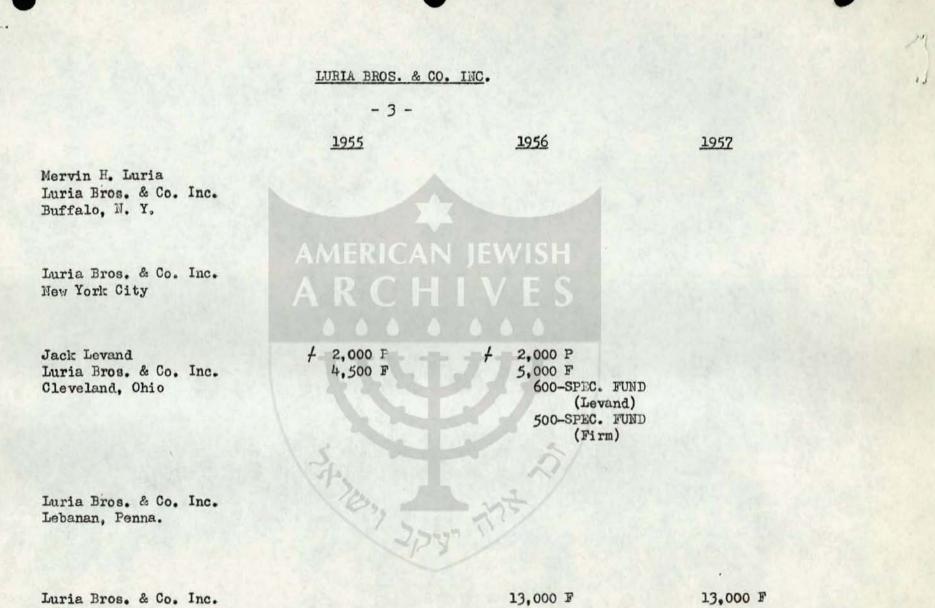
P.....PERSONAL

F.....FIRM

HOTE:



Jack L. Gordon Robert C. Gordon Luria Bros. & Co. Inc. St. Louis, Mo.



Pittsburgh, Penna.

## LURIA BROS & CO. INC.

1956

1957

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<u>1955</u> 2,000 F

Luria Bros. & Co. Inc. Reading, Penna.

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Luria Bros. & Co. Inc. Houston, Texas AMERICAN JEWISH A R C H I V E S

July. 1957

NATIONAL CONTAINER CORP. HIGH YEAR 1955 1956 1957 48-210,000 Harry Ginsberg 150,000 F 150,000 F 150,000 F \*Samuel Kipnis 50,000-SPEC. FUND 50,000-ERF \*\*Jerry L. Kipnis Long Island City Includes Includes New York City 20 \*\*\*Fredric R. Maan Philadelphia, Pa. 14,000 F Los Angeles, Calif. 14.000 F 5,000-SPEC. FUND (George J. Schneider)

\*-Samuel Kipnis formerly of Jacksonville, Fla. Now resides in Miami, Fla. \*\*-Jerry L. Kipnis of Jacksonville, Fla. \*\*\*-Fredric R. Mann--Seaboard Container Corp. & National Container merged in 1955. \*\*\*\*-National Container Corp. now owned by the Libby-Owen Glass Co. \*\*\*\*\*-Personal ERF pledge of Samuel Kipnis

NOTE:

F ... ·····PERSONAL P ...

		NATIONAL CONTAINER	CORP.	
		- 2 -		
HIGH YEAR	ALL DELLA	1955	1956	1957
	Oakland, Calif.	2,000 F (George J	2,000 F Schneider)	
	San Francisco, Calif.	AME DO FAN	JEW1,000 F	
	Jacksonville, Fla.	16,000 F Pledge of Sa	16,000 F 5,000-SPEC. FUND	*****20,000-ERF
		Tieuge VI Sa	muer wibhis	
	Miami, Fla.	10,000 F	10,000 F	20,000-ERF
	Atlanta, Ga.	2,000 F	2,000 F 200-SPEC. FUND	
	Chicago, Ill.	5,000 F	5,000 F	

### NATIONAL CONTAINER CORP.

- 3 -

HIGH YEAR

Newark, N. J.

Bredford, Pa.

Philadelphia, Pa.

New York City

<u>1955</u> 6,000 F

6,000 F 5,000-SPEC. FUND 1957

1956

AMERICAN JEWISH

7 -----

25,000 F 10,000-SPEC. FUND

60,000 F + 15,000 F-Special Gift

25,000 F

60,000 F 25,000-SPEC. FUND

# AMERICAN JEWISH A R C H I V E S

SEATTLE

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON September 19, 1957

Teannate: Janes Achever Israeli: Jaceph Yadin

Luncheon meeting for Board

Dinner for small group of top leaders

Community-wide meeting in the evening

### SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

### A. FUND RAISING EXPERIENCE

1010 10120110 1	A LIVE DIOL		UJA % OF
YEAR	TOTAL RAISED	UJA ALLOTMENT	TOTAL RAISED
1957 Regular ERF	\$226,000 (Incomplete)* 70,332 (Incomplete)*	70,332 (Incomplete)*	
1956 Regular SSF	268,000 37,945	160,000 37,945	60
1955	283,105	165,000	58
1954	282,000	180,000	64
1953	310,867 ERICAN	190,000	61
1952	352,845	215,000	61
1951	356,764	244,000	68
1950	412,000	260,000	63
1949	458,149	330,000	72
1948	651,798	465,000	71

#### B. 1957 CAMPAIGN OFFICERS

Nathan Feinberg, Campaign Chairman Mrs. Harry S. Brown, Women's Division Chairman

#### C. 1957 WELFARE FUND OFFICERS

Harold I. Poll, President Herbert Bridge ) Stanley D. Golub ) Vice Presidents Dr. Charles S. Fine, Financial Secretary Herman Keisler, Treasurer

Samuel G. Holcenberg, Executive Director

\*Information as of August 21, 1957

#### SEATTLE, WASHINGTON BACKGROUND SUMMARY

Seattle, Washington is a port city and is located on the Puget Sound, about 190 miles north of Portland, Oregon. Of a total population of 725,000, about are Jews. Its principle industries are shipping, logging, lumber, and the manufactoring of food products, aircraft and metals. It is the country's normal "gateway" to Alaska. It also has the distinction of being the farthermost Jewish community in the United States.

The central Jewish community organization is called the Federated Jewish Fund and Council. Harold I. Poll is president of the Fund and Council, and Samuel C. Holcenberg, the executive director.

Seattle's top campaign year was in 1948 when it raised \$651,798 and allocated \$462,500 to the United Jewish Appeal. Although campaign totals have dwindled progressively since then, Seattle has always retained its formula of alloting 60% of its fund to the United Jewish Appeal, as follows:

<u>Year</u> 1949	Total Raised \$458,149	\$328,700	
1950	412,000	260,000	
1951	365,764	244,000	
1952	352,845	215,000	
1953	310,867	180,000	
1954	282,000	180,000	
1955	283,105	165,000	
1956	267,730	160,000 Regular - \$38,662 Spec. Fund	

To date (July 24, 1957) Seattle, against a goal of \$660,000 (including \$330,000

ERF quota. At this writing there remains about \$90,000 in outstanding values to be solicited.

In 1954, Seattle participated in the UJA loan program to the extent of \$300,000. In 1956 it renegotiated a new loan for \$400,000.

Seattle, in common with Portland, has to combat an isolationist mentality in all its efforts to raise funds for Israel and other overseas causes. This stems from the fact that it is a farthermost Jewish community and the "this is our home" attitude of the old line settlers for whom the late Rabbi Koch of Temple de Hirsch (Reform) was the philosophic spokesman. While that group is in the minority, its philosophy still has an impact on the community. However, local needs being small, the overseas agencies form the natural core of its fund raising appeal. About the only serious impediment to overseas needs will be the drive to raise one million dollars for a new building for Temple de Hirsch - when and if that campaign should materialize. Another problem is raised by the dichotomy which still persists between the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim in the community. The Ashkenazim tend to regard their Sephardic brethren as persons lower on the social scale - fishmongers, florists, cobblers, etc., although one of the latter - the Alhadeff family - is one of the larger contributors (\$10,000 in 1948 - \$8,000 in 1957). With the rapid social and economic mobility being enjoyed by the members of the Jewish community, this problem should diminish, if not disappear, in time.

Among the leading figures in the Seattle Jewish community are:

1. Sol Esfield	1957 Regular ERF	\$6,000	
	High Year - 1957 Previous High Year		\$10,200

Esfield, a staunch Zionist, served as co-chairman of the 1956 campaign, and has always been a staunch supporter of the United Jewish Appeal. One of the most influential leaders in the community, he has been a consistent and good fundraiser. He is in the finance business (American Discount Corporation).

2. Harry I. Poll

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1957 Regular \$4,000 ERF 4,000 High Year - 1957

President of the Seattle Fund and Council; 1956 campaign chairman. A vigorous campaigner and a strong adherent of the United Jewish Appeal.

3. Max Block

1957	Regular	\$5,000
	ERF	4,000
High	Year - 1948	10,000

Mr. Block is one of the most influential men in the state of Washington. Operated a chain of shoe stores until he sold them to the Schiff interests (A. S. Beck), and is now associated with them. Despite poor health, he is very active on behalf of UJA for the first time in years. Served as co-chairman, 1957 UJA Cash Campaign. Potentially a \$10,000 to \$15,000 giver.

4. Leo and Richard Weisfield

 1957 Regular
 \$5,000

 ERF
 2,500

 High Year - 1949
 20,000

Leo is a nationally known figure in the jewelry industry, having served several terms as president of the Retail Jewelers Credit Association. He could be of tremendous help to UJA in that industry, if he were so inclined. However, he is too big for any one in the jewelry industry - even men like Arde Bulova and Col. Henschel to pressure. The same situation applies for the leadership of the Seattle community.

5. Norman Davis

1957 1956 Regular Spec. Fund 1952

No Record \$10,000 6,500 (2nd high year) 15,000 (1st high year)

Davis, who operates the Heidelberg Brewing Company, gives a portion of his gift

(Norman Davis-cont'd)

to Tacoma, too. Seattle's largest giver, he has resisted pressures and ignored requests, so far, to announce his 1957 gift. He is a member of the Budget Committee of the Fund and Council. Only outside source that might be influential with him is his cousin and business partner, Michael Glass of Cleveland.

6.	Irving Anches	1957 Regular ERF	\$6,000 1,500
		High Year - 1957	

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Is co-chairman for UJA, State of Washington. Gift is second highest one in Seattle. Special interest in Seattle is Jewish Child Care and Family Service agency, a beneficiary of the Federated Fund and Council. Should be giving a minimum of \$10,000 as he is one of Seattle's leading realtors.

7.	Harry Lewis	1957	No record
	Myer Lurie	1956	No gift
		High Year - 1955	\$7,500 (Lewis)
		High Year - 1955	\$5,000 (Lurie)

In 1954, via Jack Weiler of New York, Messrs. Lewis and Lurie made a gift in the form of property worth \$20,000, which was recorded as a joint gift for 1954. Later, Messrs. Lewis and Lurie insisted they informed the Fund that the \$20,000 represented a \$5,000 gift for each of them covering the years 1954 and 1955. Lewis who is a member of the board of the Federated Fund and Council is reported to be pro-Israel and UJA. Seattle sources also report that Lewis is listed as the president of the Venezuela-American Oil Company which owns a \$20,000,000 concession to drill for oil in Venezuela. Both men are in the construction business, and are known to Jack Weiler.

8. Harold Barde

1957 \$7,500 High years - 1951 and 1957

Barde, who hadn't contributed to the local fund since 1951, was "miraculously" activated by Jonah Ettinger, a member of the Jewish Agency, into giving \$5,000 to the Special Survival Fund, and also to assume the chairmanship of the SSF drive in Seattle last year. Mrs. Barde is a member of the Stern family of Chicago and San Francisco and reputedly a close friend of the Rosenwald family. Barde is in the steel business.

9. Al Shyman

1957	Regular	\$3,750
	ERF	3,750
High	Year - 1952	9,000

Is in the liquor distributing business. Former campaign chairman, an excellent fund raiser, and potentially one of the most influential men in the community.

10. Nathan Feinberg

1957 Regular \$2,500 ERF 2,500 High Year - 1957

President of the Buffalo Sanitary Wipers Company, a large firm employing 90,

engaged in the processing of old and new cotten and woolen rags for industrial purposes. A young man of limited community organization experience, he is well liked and tabbed for future leadership.



BH:MU 7/25/57

July, 1957

# BIG GIFTS - SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

# SPRING

# Among the \$2,000 and over gifts reported were the following:

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HIGH YEAR		1956		1957	
		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF
48-10,000	Charles Alhadeff Isaac Alhadeff Jack Alhadeff Whiz Fish Co.	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000

# AMERICAN JEWISH

57-	Irving Anches Mrs. Nathan Anches	6,000	6,000	1,200
	Reyna Anches Abe Scher			
	Real Estate	· ····································		

50-10,000 Harold Barde 5,000 7,500 Barde Steel Co.

53-4,000 Ivan Best 2,000 Best's Apparel Women's Apparel

49-10,000 Max H. Block 4,000 1,000 4,000 5,000 retired

-2-

HIGH YEAR		1956 Regular	SSF	1957 Regular	ERF
50-1,250	John Danz Sterling Theatres	1,000	2,000	1,000	2,000
52-15,000	Norman Davis Heidelberg Brewery Co.	12,500 AN JEV	4,000 VISH E S		
48-15,000	Louis Dulien Dulien Steel Products Inc. of Washingto & Dulien Steel Products Inc. of Californi	1.11			
48-5,000	Nathan Feinberg Buffalo Junk Co. Bags & Rags	2,000	500	2,500	2,500
49-3,300	Sidney Gerber Ski Equipment	2,000	500	2,000	500

-3-

HIGH YEAR		1956		1957	
		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF
48-8,000	Earle Glant Jules Glant Sam Glant Pacific Iron & Metal	2,500	500	2,500	1,500

- 48-5,800 Henry L. Kotkins 2,000 2,000 Skyway Luggage Co.
- 55-7,500 Harry Lewis Lewis Construction Co.

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- 55-5,000 Melvin Lurie 3,000 Myer Lurie Lurie Construction Co. Construction
- 54-2,430 Abe S. Nelson 2,125 50 1,500 100 Sidney Nelson Max Efron Max Stusser Motor Car Wrecking

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HIGH YEAR		195	1956		1957	
		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF	
57-	Abe Parker Joe Parker Rebecca Parker Northwest Metal	2,000 Products Co.		2,000		

53-5,500 Abe Poll 4,000 1,000 4,000 4,000 4,000 4,000 4,000 4,000 4,000

52-2,500 Max Rind 2,000 Milwaukee Sausage Co.

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49-3,000 Max Schoenfeld 2,500 Theodore Schoenfeld Schoenfeld Neckwear Co. Neckties

49-9,200 Alfred Shyman 3,250 2,500 3,750 3,750 Alaska Distributors Co. Liquor

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HIGH YEAR		1956		1957	
		Regular	SSF	Regular	ERF
49-10,200	Edward F. Stern Leopold M. Stern Sol Esfeld American Discount Corp. Finance	6,000	1,500	6,000	6,000

49-20,000 Leo Weisfield C 5,000 EVISH 5,000 1,500 Richard Weisfield's Jewelry E S

#### II. GENERAL MEMORANDUM ON UJA GOOD WILL MISSION

#### A. Scope of Mission

This is the second Cood Will Tour sponsored by the UJA. It includes one-day visits by 30 national leaders to the following communities:

Albany, N.Y. Allentown, Pa. Atlanta, Ga. Atlantic City, NoJ. Baltimore, Md. Bangor, Me. Birmingham, Ala. Boston, Mass. Bridgeport, Conn. Buffalo, N.Y. Camden, N.J. Canton, Ohio Chicago, Ill. Cincinnati, Ohio Cleveland, Ohio Columbus, Ohio Dallas, Texas Dayton, Ohio Des Moines, Iowa Detroit, Mich. Duluth, Minn. Elizabeth, N.J. El Paso, Texas Fort Worth, Texas Hartford, Conn. Houston, Texas Indianapolis, Ind. Kansas City, Mo. Lewiston, Me. Los Angeles, Calif. Louisville, Ky. Lynn, Mass. Memphis, Tenn. Miami, Fla.

Milwaukee, Wisc. Minneapolis, Minn. Nashville, Tenn. Newark, N.J. New Haven, Conn. New Orleans, La. Norfolk, Va. Oakland, Calif, Omaha, Nebr. Passaic, N.J. Philadelphia, Pa. Phoenix, Ariz. Pittsburgh, Pa. Portland, Me. Portland, Ore. Richmond, Va. St. Paul, Minn. San Antonio, Texas San Diego, Calif. San Francisco, Calif. Scranton, Pa. Seattle, Wash. South Bend, Ind. Springfield, Mass. Stamford, Conn. Syracuse, N.Y. Trenton, N.J. Tucson, Ariz. Tulsa, Okla. Utica, N.Y. Washington, D. C. Waterbury, Conn. Wilkes Barre, Pa.

Last year 18 leaders visited 24 communities and the experiences of these men on their respective missions encouraged the UJA to expand the program this year.

# B. Principle Objectives of Mission

The mission has a two-fold objective: one, to interpret to the leadership of the communities the problems with which the UJA is concerned and two, to make them feel that they are partners in the great humanitarian work in which the UJA is engaged. If the communities visited are left with the feeling that the UJA is not some organization detached from them, and located in New York City, but the creature and servant of the American Jewish community to help collectively their fellow Jews in need, the mission will have served its purpose.

#### C. Subordinate Objectives of the Mission

1. <u>Get community leaders to think in terms of next year's campaign</u>. Fose the foreseeable problems and challenges which the UJA must meet during the rest of the year, and during 1958; stress what Israel, the Jewish Agency, and the JDC face in Israel, Egypt, North Africa and in Eestern and Western Europe. The most basic and urgent needs are summarized in the latter part of this memorandum (pp 9-11). Remember too, that the JDC and the UJA-Jewish Agency are parts of the same coin which encompasses the total Jewish problem overseas. Because there exist deep reservoirs of good-will and loyalty to JDC among the leadership in the communities you will be visiting, be sure to take advantage of this by stressing the JDC aspects of the program as well.

2. <u>Strengthen local ties</u>. Utilize the "socializing" opportunities offered by the small, intimate type of meetings you will be addressing to renew the friendships of local leaders, make new friends, and recharge UJA loyalties on an individual basis. Particular emphasis should be placed on

strengthening personal contacts between top level UJA and local leadership.

3. Look out for new leadership. Being taken into the confidence of the community as a visiting national UJA leader will give you, among other things, the opportunity to assay the quality and calibre of the rising new leadership there. By asking questions, "poking" around, etc., you may be able to spot a rising layman, promising enough to be worth the effort to bring him into the National, UJA orbit. We would like to have the names of such prospects.

4. <u>Round up the "Strays"</u>. In every community you visit you will come in contact with an important individual, once prominent in UJA, but who has lost interest because of some real or imagined grievance. Whatever the reason for this grievance - a feeling of being slighted, an honest difference of opinion and so forth - such a man represents a tangible loss to the UJA. Wherever such a situation exists, it should be reported back to headquarters for follow-up. Wherever possible, and where it is within the power of the visiting UJA leader to do so, an on the spot effort should be made to bring him back into the fold.

5. Look out for likely candidates for future study missions. To be most effective, a Study Mission to Israel and Europe should be broadly representative of the local community. The average, philanthropic-minded individual has his place in the UJA scheme of things as much as the person of national leadership stature. The stimulating experience of going abroad as a member of a UJA Study Mission always serves to enhance the value of such a person to the UJA on the local level.

6. Inform the communities that as a PARTNER, the UJA stands ready to serve each community's campaign, to the utmost of its ability, with every kind of fund-raising aid or tool, and with a multitude of services. These include:

> SPEAKERS, both outstanding Jewish lay leaders, noted authors and lecturers, as well as representatives from foreign Jewish communities, and prominent Israelis - government officers, Jewish Agency officials, Embassy and Consular officers and others who may be visiting this country or stationed here. INTERPRETIVE MATEPIALS in the form of brochures, pamphlets, newsletters, special reports and publications, original photographs and other fund-raising and educational material. MASS COMMUNICATIONS such as national radio and television broadcasts and kinescopes and recordings designed for local use, spot announcements, motion pictures, display advertisements for local use, and publicity kits.

FUND RAISING AND FUBLIC RELATIONS technical and consultative assistance.

COOPERATION IN STIMULATING BIG GIFTS by all national UJA leaders who have local business, social and other contacts. SPECIAL SERVICES AND MATERIALS for community executives, rabbis, community center program directors and others to help in developing educational programs based on the normal year-round activities and plans of the community.

TRIPS ABROAD - Travel and itinerary arrangements for local leaders and friends who wish to go abroad to study needs in Europe and Israel, either individually or as members of UJA Study Missions.

# D. Suggestions for Presentation

1. <u>Be prepared for difficult questions</u>. Situations are bound to arise at a small meeting which almost never occur at a large fund-raising meeting or a mass meeting. Inevitably complaints will be aired. These, of course, should be handled with the greatest tact at your command. Difficult questions will be asked for which only special research can supply answers. In such situations the utmost of good will is achieved by replying frankly that you don't know the answer but that you will find out and supply the information at the earliest possible moment.

2. Always bear in mind that the object of the mission is not to raise funds but to share information and to take common counsel with the community leadership. The appeal for continued support of the UJA by the communities should be implicit in the presentations and not expressed in so many words.

3. Many and varied functions are planned for each of the visits, including sessions with Federation Boards, Big Gifts givers, Women's Division groups, rabbis, young leaders and large community meetings. Obviously, the presentations should be adjusted according to the type of audience. E. Special items to be mentioned

1. <u>Annual meeting</u>, to be held at the Waldorf Astoria, New York, on December 13, 14 and 15. Inform the people that this meeting will inaugurate the 1958 campaign and that at that meeting the decision will be made whether a Special Fund will be launched. Stress the fact that it is the responsibility of the leaders of the communities to attend this meeting, for the spirit generated by this meeting will be crucial in the 1958 campaign.

2. <u>The Study Mission</u>: From October 20th to November 1, 1957, about 80 community leaders will participate in a Study Mission of UJA related problems in Europe and Israel. This is the fourth of such missions. The communities should be advised that the persons participating in these missions render a real service to the cause of the UJA. They learn the problems at first hand and become the best ambassadors for the UJA.

3. <u>The Miami Conference</u>, to be held in Miami, March 2, 1958. This is the annual Big Gifts conference which has traditionally set the pace for the country's measure of giving. Two things are essential with respect to this meeting: (1) that the communities have their Big Gifts meetings prior to that date and be ready to announce the results of these meetings at this conference, and (2) that a large attendance is essential to prepare the national climate for a successful campaign.

4. <u>The 1958 Cash Conference in Jerusalem</u>. This is a spectacular event planned in connection with Israel's 10th Anniversary and the UJA's 20th successive annual campaign. Tentative plans call for a 3-day conference in Jerusalem starting June 23rd, and, additionally, optional guided tours or surveys of various lengths ranging from 5 to 10 days. The conference will be addressed by Israel's leading personalities, and a well-balanced program of activities and festivities reflecting various facets of Israel's life will be made available to the UJA delegates.

The Conference is intended to accomplish a number of purposes: provide a great stimulant to the 1958 UJA campaign, underscore the role of the UJA in the 10 year history of the State of Israel and give UJA contributors a real sense of participation of that growth, familiarize a substantial number of UJA contributors with Israel and its problems, and provide the occasion to honor the people who had made significant contributions to the success of the UJA during the 20 year period of its life.

There is a great sense of excitement in Israel over the prospect of being host to this conference.

It is imperative that we have the largest possible attendance. However, inasmuch as only about 1000 people can be accomodated in and around Jerusalem, the making of early reservations is essential. The communities will soon receive full details on this conference. 7.

### F. Note on Special Fund

There is always the possibility that a community leader may ask a member of Good Will Mission whether the UJA anticipates conducting a Special Fund campaign in 1958. It may be said that while the 1957 campaign promises to be a success, there are urgent needs which the proceeds of this campaign have far from met. The refugees continue to pile up in Israel and the housing problem becomes more acute from day to day. One thing we cannot afford is to return to the maabarot era. In any event, no decision on Special Fund for 1958 has been reached. Only the Annual Meeting (scheduled for December 13-15, 1957) can decide this question, based, in part, on the report of the October Study Mission.

G. <u>Reports</u> - It is envisioned that the Good Will Mission will become an annual institution of the UJA. In this connection, it might be advisable to explore the community reaction to the Mission and to encourage the local leadership to think in terms of an on-going educational program on the part of the UJA. In any event, if the UJA is to profit by the experiences of the Mission participants, it is essential that it has the evaluation of the Mission by each person who participates. Consequently, each participant is urged to prepare a critique of the Mission, on the basis of his experiences, as soon as he has returned from his trip. Suggestions for the improvement of the project will be most welcome.

#### H. The Immediate and Pressing Needs

#### 1. Immigration

During th4 current year, as of June 30th, 50,200 Jewish refugees were resettled in Israel and 12,120 in other lands. It now appears that the original estimates made at the end of last year, on which the 1957 campaign was predicated, were corroct. By the end of the year 1957 more than 100,000 Jewish refugees from Egypt, Poland, Hungary, North Africa and other lands will have been brought to their destination with the help of UJA funds. "Brought to their destination" includes processing them in countries of origin, furnishing them with transportation, providing for them on-routo, and giving them initial help at the point of destination.

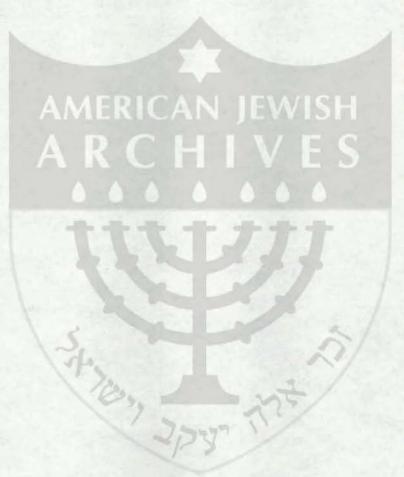
# 2. Absorption

But the responsibilities of the UJA-financed agencies towards the refugee do not end with bringing him to the country of ultimate destination principally, Israel, where more than 90% of the Jewish refugees are settled. In fact, that is where the real and the difficult responsibilities begin; the responsibilities of integrating the uprooted individual and the members of his family into the life of the country. This involves a myriad of services: furnishing the newcomer with a home; assisting him to find employment; giving many of the newcomers vocational training; helping thousands acquire a knowledge of Hebrow so that they may pursue their professions; providing schooling for their children; caring for the sick, the aged, and the physically handicapped; and providing the newcomers with the necessities of life until they achieve economic independence. The most crucial problem related to the absorption of the newcomers is the housing problem. This problem is first, one of finding the means to build the necessary housing (which are far from adequate) and second, a desperate race against time. Unless this problem is solved the return to the era of the ugly maabarot is inevitable. 9.

If Israel did not have its staggering security problem, a problem which drains its physical resources as well as a major part of its best manpower, the problem of the absorption of the rewcomers would be less acute. However, despite the spectacular victory achieved by Israel in the Sinai campaign - a victory which has given the people of Israel temporary respite - Israel remains surrounded by a constellation of Arab courtries which may fight among themselves but which are united in their common objective, to destroy Israel. The recent shipment of free arms to Syria and Egypt by Russia (including the most modern weapons, Mig-17's, submarines and torpedo boats) presents a serious threat to Israel. Consequently, while the Israelis are taxing themselves to the very limit and are tightening their own belts, a substantial part of their contributions must go into the defense budget of the beleaguered country. The Government of Israel makes a large contribution to the absorption of the newcomers. However, it is compelled to look to the UJA for the main sources of the funds required for this purpose.

3. Relief

During campeign time we become so absorbed with the emergency problems presented by the new flood of refugees that we sometimes lose sight of the on-going relief and rehabilitation programs of the UJA-financed agencies; the gigantic relief work done by the JDC in 24 countries and especially in North Africa; the Malben program of the JDC in Israel, from which no less than 10,000 people benefit; the cultural reconstruction of the Jewish communities of Western Europe; the global vocational program of the ORT, which receives a large part of its budget from the JDC; the integration job done by WYAWA in the United States; and, last and, by no means least, the staggering burden borne by the Jewish Agency in caring for the pre-1957 immigrants. All in all, more than 500,000 people benefit from these on-going programs, without which most of the beneficiaries would be in a hopeless situation. 10,2 The on-going programs of the UJA-financed agencies are not as dramatic as the rescue of Jews fleeing from persecution, tyranny, and insecurity - and for that reason do not occupy the news spotlight - but, from the standpoint of individual human beings, are every inch as important.



#### A. Status of 1957 Campaign

# 1. The 1957 Regular Campaign

1100 campaigns throughout the United States encompassing 5000 communities raise a total of approximately \$110,000,000 on behalf of the UJA, local and national causes. The Spring phase of the campaign, during which more than 90 percent of the funds are raised, is now in the wind-up stage. We already have sufficient information from the communities throughout the country so that a reasonably accurate estimate can be made about the worth of the 1957 campaign. As of July 31, 1957, approximately \$87,000,000 had been pledged, with approximately 50 percent of the communities reporting final figures. All these reports indicate that the regular 1957 campaign should bring to the UJA approximately the same amount as it did in 1956, when allotments to the UJA smcunted to \$56,000,000.

# 2. Emergency Rescue Fund Campaign

The pledges to the Emergency Rescue Fund at this date amount to \$26,000,000. It can be anticipated, based upon the reports from the communities, that the Emergency Rescue Fund will bring in allotments to the UJA a total of \$30,000,000, which figure compares with \$17,000,000 pledged by the communities to the Special Survival Fund of 1956.

#### 3. Consolidated Cash Report for 1956-1957

	Jan. 1-Dec. 31 1956	Jan. 1-July 31 1956	Jan. 1-July 31 1957
Regular Campaign	\$60,036,000	\$32,623,000	\$35,942,000
Special Survival Fund	10,557,000	7,895,000	3,914,000
Emergency Rescue Fund			6,263,000
	\$70,593,000	\$40,510,000	\$46,119.000

#### B. Immigration

#### 1. Immigration to June 30, 1957

During the first half of 1957, 62,324 Jewish refugees were resettled. Of this number, 50,200 were settled in Israel and the remainder of 12,124 found homes in the United States, Canada, Australia and South America.

#### 2. Outlook for the balance of the year

In view of the current rate of immigration and all the known factors which relate to the flow of the refugees from their countries of origin, it is estimated that during the second half of 1957 an additional 40,000 Jewish refugees will be resettled. Of this number, it is expected that about 35,000 will go to Israel and the remainder to all other countries.

Thus, it is a certainty that during the current year over 100,000 Jewish refugees will be permanently resettled.

Outlook for 1958

Two major factors have in recent years determined the dimensions of a UJA campaign, namely, (1) the on-going programs of the UJA-financed agencies, and (2) the size of the refugee problem.

At this juncture, it is impossible to predict accurately the number of Jewish refugees who will become the responsibility of the UJA in 1958. The number will, as always, be determined by the course of events in the months ahead. In this connection, it should be recalled that the vast majority of the new refugees, whose flight had a direct bearing on the dimensions of the 1957 UJA campaign, are people who became refugees only since October, 1956.

Among the unknowns are:

 Whether Poland will permit the present flow of Jews out of Poland to continue and whether the authorized exodus will include the repatriates from Russia who now number 6,000 and who are expected to reach 9,000 during 1958.  Whether Morocco will permit the unrestricted movement of Moroccan Jews who want to go to Israel.

 Whether the possibility for emigration will exist for the 6,000 Jews remaining in Syria who are now in a state of great tension.

4. Whether the economic pressure on the 60,000 Jews in Turkey will reach the point where many will feel they will have no alternative but to leave.

 Whether Hungary will permit the Jews to leave in greater numbers than are now able to leave.

6. Whether Rumania will expand the present program of emigration under which Rumania permits Rumanian Jews to join members of their families already settled in Israel, to permit general migration to Israel.

7. Whether the Soviet Union will permit any migration of Jews from Russia to Israel. On August 11th Ben Gurion, in a major public address said: "The Jewish problem in Russia becomes more and more troublesome, even from the point of view of the Russians. It is not impossible that ultimately, and perhaps even in the near few years, they may arrive at the only real solution of the opening of the gates for the immigration of Jews to Israel."

On the basis of information available at the present time, it would appear that during 1958 the flow of refugees will continue at about the same level as in 1957.

The burden of the UJA in financing the on-going programs of its constituent agencies will certainly not diminish during the forthcoming year. It should be borne in mind that the funds raised by the UJA to provide for the needs of the surviving victims of Nazism, for the impoverished Jews of North Africa, and for the pre-1957 immigrants to Israel and elsewhere have been substantial but have, indeed, never been really adequate to accomplish the objectives of the constituent agencies.

#### IV. DETAILED BACKGROUND MATERIAL

#### A. Aims and Objectives of the United Jewish Appeal

The United Jewish Appeal (UJA) is an American philanthropic organization which raises funds to aid needy and oppressed Jews throughout the world. Receiving its funds from local Welfare Federations or Funds, whose annual campaigns it helps to activate and promote in many ways (by setting national and local goals, creating a national climate which make the local communities receptive to appeals, providing speakers and literature, and by holding national meetings and conferences, etc.) the UJA accomplishes its mission through four social service organizations: the Jewish Agency for Palestine (for which the United Israel Appeal serves as the transmittal agency of UJA funds), the American Joing Distribution Committee, the New York Association for New Americans, and the United Hias Service. Brief resumes of the work of each of these constituent organizations follow:

# 1. The Jewish Agency for Palestine

The Jewish Agency for Palestine (JAFP) is an international philanthropic body which provides immigration help to Israel-bound Jewish refugees, supplies the transportation for those who are without means, and assists them in their integration into the Israel economy (housing, job placement, vocational training and many forms of social services). The principal source of revenue of the Jewish Agency is the UJA. However, in addition, it receives funds from Keren Hayesod and Youth Aliyah campaigns in other countries.

#### 2. American Joint Distribution Committee

The American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) an American philanthropic organization, founded in 1917, and world renowned for its work, provides relief and social services to Jews in 24 countries requiring help; assists in the cultural reconstruction of Jewish communities which fell prey to the

Nazi regime; conducts an emergency relief program for the benefit of the Jewish refugees from Hungary and Egypt; provides a large part of the global budget of the ORT's vocational training program; and conducts a welfare program for needy, aged, chronically ill and handicapped immigrants in Israel, known as Malben.

#### 3. New York Association for New Americans

The New York Association for New Americans (NYANA) an American philanthropic agency, assists Jewish newcomers who make their homes in the New York metropolitan area with their problems of integration into the life of the area. Its services include vocational guidance, counseling and financial assistance to destitute families, help in acquiring occupational skills, job placement, and a rehabilitation program for the benefit of the aged and handicapped. The reason for the inclusion of the NYANA as a constituent agency of the UJA is that New York is the processing center for most of the Jewish refugees who come to the United States and that the program of NYANA is, essentially, a part of the immigration program of the UJA.

### 4. United Hias Service

The United Hias Service concerns itself with immigration of Jews who wish to settle in countries other than Israel. It receives its budget for its normal immigration program from local Welfare Federations and Funds and from the UNited Jewish Appeal of Greater New York. It shares in the proceeds of the National Emergency Rescue Fund to the extent of its outlays in handling the emergency immigration program in behalf of the Jewish refugees from Hungary and Egypt who immigrate to countries other than Israel.

#### The Story of the United Jewish Appeal

в.

(Two Decades of Dedicated Service)

The year 1958 will see Israel celebrate the 10th anniversary of its statehood. It will also see the UJA enter its 20th year of continuous existence as one of the most remarkable - and probably the greatest of wholly voluntary humanitarian efforts in human history.

There is a distinct relationship between these two events. Israel's greatest achievement and the greatest source of its strength is its absorption of almost 900,000 immigrants during the first decade of its life. It is certain that Israel could not have accomplished this without the massive aid of American Jewry given through the UJA.

The story of the UJA is the story of tens of thousands of men and women of incomparable devotion who have given their time, energy and enthusiasm in immeasurable quantity to serve as the leaders and key workers of the yearly UJA. It is the story of a million, or two million persons who year in and year out, have given on a per capita scale never equalled by any other present-day American voluntary effort, and in nineteen years have contributed more than \$1,000,000,000. Finally, it is the story of 2,250,000 Jewish lives saved or aided in the nearly two decedes.

### The Time of Tragedy

The UJA was born out of the immediate need to grapple with the problems created by Hitler's persecution of Germany's Jews and by the spread of antisemitic terror throughout Europe. But the UJA's work did not end with the liquidation of the problems arising out of the Hitler era. Through the years it has adjusted itself to every emergency which has faced the Jews throughout the world.

By the end of 1938 the Jews of Germany and Austria, were in full flight,

trying desperately to save their lives. The word "refugee", applied to these Jews on the move suddenly acquired a new and cruel meaning and became the key to an entire era of Jewish concern and activity.

Prior to the formation of the United Jewish Appeal, two attempts were made to unify the efforts of American Jewry in behalf of Jews living oversees who were in need. The first was in 1930 when a combined campaign was conducted under the name of <u>The Allied Jewish Appeal</u> in which the American Joint Distribution Committee and the American Palestine campaign were partners. This combined effort, which raised \$2,558,200, gave way to independent campaigns for oversees needs from 1931 through 1933. In 1934 a United Jewish Appeal, the predecessor of the present UJA was organized. It conducted campaigns in 1934 and 1935 in behalf of the Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal raising \$2,180,000 and \$1,928,000 respectively, during these years. Again the united effort at fundraising for oversees needs was displaced by independent campaigns from 1936 through 1938.

In 1938, when the character of the tragedy enveloping European Jewry was already known, the agencies which conducted the independent campaigns raised an aggregate of \$7,300,000. At the end of 1938 the UJA was reactivated as the result of discussions among the leaders of the three agencies concerned with the Jewish refugee problem: the United Palestine Appeal (now United Israel Appeal); the Joint Distribution Committee and the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees. (Note: the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees subsequently became the National Refugee Service which, in turn, eventually split up into the United Service for New Americans and the New York Association for New Americans, and in 1954 the United Service for New Americans and the HIAS merged to become the United Hias Service). These leaders felt that the independent campaigns were wasteful and that only a united effort on the part of the American Jewry

could awaken it to a sense of urgency and responsibility in dealing with the threat to European Jewry posed by Hitler. Their estimate of the situation of American Jewry's potential for rising to the emergency was corrent. The 1939 campaign of the reactivated UJA succeeded in raising \$15,000,000 for worldwide Jewish needs, double the amount which had been raised in the independent campaigns during the previous year.

UJA's constituent agencies worked feverishly, but were working in enemy territory in the dark, as it were. They saved whom they could, when they could, in any way they could. No one can say how many tens of thousands of lives were saved by UJA's agencies. Throughout the war, for example, the JDC, with permission of the United States War Refugee Board, was able to send funds into occupied Europe, facilitating the escape of thousands and keeping thousands more hidden, but alive, with the help of underground groups.

The UJA was able to bring many thousands of newcomers to Palestine, in spite of British restrictions on immigration. In 1944 more than 20,000 Jews succeeded in reaching Palestine.

In the United States, the National Refugee Service founded in 1939 to succeed the National Coordinating Committee, devoted the greater part of its efforts to integrating into American life those refugees who had arrived before the war began.

#### The Aftermath

With the end of the war in Europe, on May 8, 1945, and the defeat of Hitler, came the assessment of the staggering losces sustained by Jewry: 6,000,000 dead; tens of thousands of Jews homeless; Jewish communities overrun by Hitler, in ruins; and the great cultural centers of Jewish life in Central and Eastern Europe irretrievably destroyed. At once the American Jewish community reacted. in order to help the survivors of the most dreadful holoceust in Jewish history.

In December, 1945, at the Atlantic City National Conference of the UJA,

the then unprecedented goal of \$100,000,000 was set for the 1946 UJA campaign, as against the \$35,000,000 raised in 1945. The size of the quota and the fact that the campaign ultimately exceeded this goal by \$1,000,000 showed that the American Jewish community had fully recognized the enormous needs and was prepared to meet its obligations in the relief of human suffering.

The following year, 1947, more than \$117,000,000 was raised, a result spurred by the desperate need to provide for the Jewish DPs whose numbers had swelled to more than 250,000 following the mass migration of Jews from Poland, Hungary and Rumania after the Kielce pogrom in Poland (July 4, 1946). The JDC and the Jewish Agency were the principal organizations which served the Jewish DPs, providing them with the necessities of life, indispensable social services and immigration help.

### 1948 - The Gates of Freedom Open

On May 14, 1948, a little more than three years after the collapse of Hitler, Israel came into being. Though the infant state was at once plunged into a war of survival, it began immediately to function as a haven for the survivors of European Jewry.

Recognizing the opportunity to empty the DP camps, created by the establishment of the State of Israel, America's Jews in 1948 responded with the record sum of \$148,000,000 for the UJA campaign.

The first shipload of DP immigrants to arrive in Israel after its birth as a nation, landed in June, 1948. There were 660 Jews on that ship. From May through December 31, 1948, some 101,600 immigrants came in. In December alone nearly 24,000 DPs entered Israel -- more in a single month than the mandatory power had permitted to enter in the entire year of 1947.

As a result of Arab bitterness over losing the war, the situation became perilous for the 850,000 Jews residing in Moslem countries in North Africa and the Middle East. The need and desire to emigrate to Israel be-

came apparent to these Jews and it was the constituent agencies of the UJA that turned this wish into a reality. In 1948-49, practically the entire Jewish population of Yemen - 50,000 strong - was airlifted 1,600 miles to Israel from the tip of the Arabian peninsula. "Operation Magic Carpet," as the deliverance of the Yemenite Jews came to be called, was spectacular. But for sheer numbers, a succeeding airlift, "Operation Ezra and Nehemiah" outdid it. Some 110,000 Jews from Iraq - once ancient Babylonia - came to Israel in 1949-50, by this airlift. Of the nearly 900,000 Jews who have been brought to Israel with UJA help since the establishment of the State (more than 1,000,000 since 1939) about half of them have been Jews of Oriental lands.

#### Israel's Battle for Economic Survival

The UJA and its constituent egencies have played a major role not only in bringing the immigrants to the Jewish State, but in helping them to be absorbed there. By 1952, UJA was calling upon American Jews and communities to help "Turn the Great Homecoming into the Great Homemaking."

The 480 new settlements for the newcomers which have been established in Israel since statehood, the vast expansion of cultivated land by nearly 800,000 acres in the same period, along with food expansion and that of industrial crops, the fact that the greatest part of Israel's immigrant population has been afforded adequate housing, the facts, too, that special educational opportunities have been afforded immigrant Jewish children whose parents have limited means, and that sick, handicepped and aged immigrants without resources have benefited from special institutions and care - all of these are in whole, or in part, the result of aid that American Jews provided through the UJA.

About 855 of the yearly overseas philanthropic funds of the Jewish Agency, for the reception and absorption of immigrants are derived from the UJA. Additionally, UJA funds make possible the JDC's Malben program in Israel - a

remarkable and much lauded program of assistance to move than 10,000 aged, chronically ill and handicapped immigrants annually who would otherwise be an enormous burden upon Israel.

## UJA On a Global Scale

While the greatest emphasis in UJA operations since 1948 has been on resettlement and absorption in Israel, UJA's agencies have continued conducting vast global relief and resettlement operations as well.

Hundreds of thousends of Jews living in Europe and in the Moslem countries have had to be helped to repair their shattered lives, to survive as communities and as individuals in the face of post-war economic hardship, poverty, disease and hostility. During this period, the JDC has been carrying out a program of relief, medical aid, job-training and rehabilitation in 24 countries throughout the world, including countries in Western Europe, North Africa, Australia, the Near East, the Far East and South America. (Israel, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spein, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Algeria, Iran, Morocco, Tunisia, Australia, Brezil, China, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Philippines and Uruguay).

Other programs range from equipping and running full-scale TB hospitals and clinics to maintaining orphaneges, trade schools, clinics, food kitchens and rehabilitation centers for the handicepped.

At the same time UJA agencies have worked in the United States helping to integrate some 65,000 Jewish immigrants in the United States, making available to them indispensible social services and preventing them from becoming burdens on the community as a whole. The United Service for New Americans (USNA), and later the New York Association for New Americans (NYANA), and finally the United Hias Service, a beneficiary of UJA's Emergency Rescue Fund, have all contributed to the absorption of the newcomers in the United States.

### The Two-Fold Campaign of 1956

Two comcurrent emergencies in Jewish life in 1956 made it imperative for the UJA to call upon American Jewry for an extraordinary response.

One part of the dual emergency arose from the economic distress and physical danger which swept over the ancient Jewish communities of North Africa - especially Morocco - due to the upsurge of a violent Moslem nationalist movement. Thousands of Jews fled from the isolated villages to the comparative security of the large cities. The JDC, which already was providing welfare, medical and educational services for thousands of needy North African Jews, found its needs rapidly outpacing its budget. Thousands of despairing North African Jews pleaded for a chance to build a new life in Israel.

The second facet of the double emergency developed in Israel. While Israel's people expressed their determination to keep their gates open to the endangered North African Jews, their meager resources were being used in a desperate attempt to counter the new threat from hostile Egypt, which was receiving massive amounts of modern armaments from the Soviet bloc. Israel's people did not have the means to pay the costs of absorbing a new mass immigration at this juncture.

These were the developments that impelled the UJA to conduct a twopronged campaign in 1956. It called on American Jewry to raise a Special Survival Fund, over and above the proceeds of the regular nationwide UJA campaign, to take over financial responsibility for the resettling and absorption in Israel of North African Jews. With major support coming through the UJA Special Survival Fund, Israel's people were able to give haven to  $5 \frac{1}{2000}$ some 40,000 newcomers during 1956.

#### UJA And The Current Refugee Crisis

At the end of 1956 a series of political upheavals in the Iron Curtain countries (Hungary and Poland), and Nasser's policy, fully implemented after 23. the Sinai campaign, and calculated to liquidate the Egyptian Jewish communities, produced a new wave of refugees which rivals the refugee movement which developed immediately following the establishment of the State of Israel.

To meet the new emergency, American Jewish leaders, meeting at the National Annual UJA Conference last December in New York City, approved a call for an additional \$100,000,000 Emergency Rescue Fund to he raised over and above the 1957 UJA budgetary needs of \$105,000,000 for already existing operations on a global scale for more than half a million Jews.

The Emergency Rescue Fund was intended to provide emergency transport and initial absorption in Israel and elsewhere of about 100,000 refugees streaming out of Hungary, Poland, Egypt and from North Africa.

The vast majority of the 100,000 Jewish refugees will come to Israel an Israel beset by many urgent economic and political problems, but an Israel living up to its commitment in its Declaration of Independence, its organic law, to "be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion."

#### UJA in 1958

The scope of 1958 UJA campaign will depend largely upon the character and intensity of Jewish refugee problems in the coming year, which, in turn, will depend upon world events. However, in the light of present knowns, it is safe to conjecture that the coming year is not likely to see any appreciable abatement in the present refugee crisis.

America's Jews have shown that they can measure up to the demands which the crisis of our times has made upon Jewry as a whole throughout the world. They helped to relieve the tragedy and darkness of the Hitler years with an unprecedented outpouring of aid.

Today, the promise of a new dawn, a future of dignity and liberty awaits the Jewish oppressed and homeless. American Jews, in partnership with the

Jews of other lands and Israel, help to shape that brighter future. American Jewry, blessed in many respects and the strongest Jewish community in modern Jewish history, will continue to live up to the high sense of responsibility towards its fellow Jews.



#### C. Immigration

### 1. General

The Nazi tyranny took its ghastly toll of 6 million Jews. This catastrophe and the trans-migration of Jews in the post-war era have substantially altered the map of Jewish communities. Israel itself has more than doubled its pre-1948 population. The Jewish communities of Australia and Canada grew by 60% and 20% respectively; some communities (Iraq and Yemen) were transferred en masse to Israel; while othere (Foland, Bulgaria, Egypt) are in the process of total liquidation. The entire process of the transmigration of Jews during the past decade and which which has involved over 1 million Jews,/has its roots in sociological, political and economic reasons and, notably, in the forces released by the establishment of the State of Israel, has not yet run its course. The UJA has played an integral role in this global process and, inevitably, will continue to play a dominent role in any future mass migration of Jews which may develop.

Currently, the Jewish refugees, to whose needs the UJA 1957 campaign is geared, are streaming out of Egypt, Poland, Hungary and North Africa. Resumes of the situation giving rise to the Jewish migration from those areas follow.



#### 2. Egyot

The assault on Egyptian Jewry following the Sinai action, has virtually spelled the doom of this community. It is presently in the process of complete liquidation.

When Israel was established, there were about 80,000 Jews in Egypt, of whom only about 5,000 were Egyptian citizens. The rest were either stateless or were citizens of other countries, principally British, French, Italian and Greek. A provision of the Egyptian nationality law which conferred Egyptian citizenship upon descendants of Egyptian residents who had no foreign nationality was never applied to Jews. The majority of the Jews of Egypt were stateless, despite the fact that they were offspring of Jewish families which had lived in Egypt from ancient days.

Until recently, the Jews of Egypt played an important role in Egypt's economic and political life. Some of them served as deputies, judges and even ministers of state. The Jews were especially prominent as financiers, merchants, big bankers, owners of department stores and newspapers and as traders in cotton. Most of the Jews were small businessmen and craftsmen.

Despite the growing exenophobia in the country, from which Egyptian Jewry was not exempt, the Jews of Egypt found their position tolerable until 1947. In 1947, economic measures against Jews were introduced, including the Company Act of July 27, 1947, which required that the largest portion of the employees must be Egyptians. This led to mass dismissals of Jewish personnel. Before the Jewish community had adjusted itself to this development, the Arab-Israel war broke out. Egypt immediately intensified its campaign against the Jews, sequestering Jewish-owned property and engaging in wholesale arrests. These anti-Jewish measures, accompanied by Arab violence which inflicted severe losses on Jewish life and property, inspired a mass exodus from Egypt of about 25,000 Jews, most 27. of whom settled in Israel.

The position of the remaining Jews improved conspicuously during the second half of 1949 and particularly in 1950, when the more moderate Wafd Party came to power. Sequestered property was returned to their owners, Jews resumed their former pursuits, and the Jewish community returned to normal. This situation continued even beyond the seizure of power in 1952 by General Naguib who went so far as to attend Rosh Hashana services in Cairo's Great Synagogue. The optimism which this encouraged among the Jews was, however, short-lived. Commencing November 1953, the Egyptian authorities started to arrest Jews on the flimsiest of pretexes, charging them with "Zionist" activities.

In March 1954, Nasser came to power and soon manifested his overriding ambition to establish himself as the chief protagonist of the anti-Israel fight of the Arab world.

In 1955, a Division of Jewish Affairs was established in Egypt which worked under a corps of ex-Nazi technicians. This department prepared files of all Jews in Alexandria and Cairo and exercised control over Jewish bankers, exchange brokers and other businessmen. This took place in an atmosphere charged with anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist propagenda in the Egyptian press and radio. In strange contrast with this propaganda, a film about Egyptian Jews, evidently of earlier vintage, was distributed late in 1955, describing Jews as "active and productive workers, loyal citizens, associated with the wholesome effort." The Jews were presented as men of culture, creative ability and initiative, heading major industrial and financial enterprises which are essential to the country's prosperity.

On November 1st, 1956, Egypt launched a campaign which had evidently been held in readiness, clearly aimed at the elimination of the Jews from 28. Egypt. The campaign gained momentum with each day and resulted in the internment of an estimate 3,000 Jews, the denationalization of many Jews of Egyptian nationality (by virtue of the Egyptian Nationality Law of November 30, 1956, which disqualified "Zionists" for Egyptian citizenship) the focible expulsion of about 25,000 Jews, including Jews of Egyptian nationality, the sequestration of about 500 Jewish-owned firms, the blacklisting and the freezing of the assets of about 800 Jewish-owned firms, the dismissal of most Jewish employees from their posts in the major financial and industrial institutions, and the withdrawal of the right of men in the professions to practice their professions. All this was done pursuant to the doctrine of "Egyptianization", a sinister replica of Hitler's "Aryanization" plan which resulted in the victimization of millions of Jews.

The Egyptian government has taken care not to issue any official decree, either civil or military, providing for automatic expulsion of the Jews, Instead, the Jews have been induced by harsh police pressure and continuous harassment to leave the country "voluntarily." An Egyptian Jew who asks for an exit visa must relinquish his Egyptian nationality, whereupon he obtains his visa on a laissez-passer for stateless prersons. On the whole, no uniform method of expulsion or enforced departure seems to have 'ven applied by the Egyptian administration. Some Jews receive a personal notification in writing that they have to leave Egypt within a certain time limit. Others are notified verbally and yet others taken from prison or internment to a waiting ship, without any written order having been served on them. Many of them have to leave behind them members of their families, as hostages.

The vast majority of the Jewish expellees leave Egypt penniless. Upon departure, they are permitted to take with them only 20 Egyptian pounds

and some trivial personal belongings meticulously defined, (up to 2 woolen bed-covers, two sheets, one typewriter or sewing machine, tools and medical appliances).

In view of the fact that no Jewish organization has been permitted to enter Egypt, the International Red Cross undertook to supervise the evacuation of the Jewish expelses. The funds for the mass evacuation, care and resettlement of the 24,000 Egyptian Jews who have already left Egypt were provided by the JDC, the Jewish Agency, and United Hias Service, with funds derived from the UJA 1957 Emergency Rescue Fund.

The 24,000 Egyptian Jews have settled in the following countries:

11,000	Israel
9.000	France
2,000	Great Britain
2,000	Italy, Greece and other countries

Although the migration of Jews from Egypt has slowed down, due to some extent to the relaxation of Egyption action against the remnant of Egyptian Jewry, the Jews continue to leave Egypt. From all information available, the majority of the Jews remaining in Egypt are determined to leave the country.

An alarming problem has arisen in connection with the hard-core cases in Egypt. On the last movements on charter boats there was a disproportionately high number of sick, disabled, aged and infirm. They have accumulated in Athens and Israel. These people are extremely difficult to handle within the framework of the actual reception resources available, but at the same time the Red Cross has been under pressure of the Egyptian Jewish community to take them out. With the complete disruption of Jewish institutional life in Egypt, resulting from the syphoning off of one-half of the Jewishpopulation of Egypt and the projected departure of most of the balance, there is a real fear that there will be no one to look after the completely dependent people. Thus, we find the ancient Egyptian Jewish community which dates back to the Biblical days and which had contributed much to Egypt's industrial and cultural life, on the verge of disappearing as a community. The UJA, through its constituent agències, the JDC, the Jewish Agency, and the United Hias Service, has borne the cost of resettlement and absorption of those who left Egypt and stands prepared to shoulder the burden of resettling the others who inevitably will follow.

In the United States where no official pronouncement was made on the Egyptian Jewish tragedy, sympathy was generated in Congressional quarters for the admission of 5,000 Egyptian Jews in the United States. As of the time of the preparation of this resume (mid-August) there were reports that the Administration favored a bill to that effect, introduced by Senator Clifford Case (Republican) of New Jersey. A similar bill was being sponsored by Senator John F. Kennedy (Democrat) of Massachusetts.

#### 3. Poland

When the Gomulka regime came to power in October, 1956, there were about 60,000-65,000 Jews in Polend, representing the residue which remained after the mass exodus of about 200,000 Polish Jews following the Kielce pogrom of July 4, 1956, and the emigration of about 20,000 from 1949 to 1950, when legal immigration from Poland to Israel was permitted. Those who remained apparently believed that they could accommodate themselves to life in Communist Poland. Living for the most part in the former German territories of Lower Silesia where businesses, apartments, and jobs were more plentiful, they, in fact, succeeded in intergrating into the economic life of the country.

It should be noted that Poland is an iron curtain country where no anti-Jewish trials took place and where until recently no Jews on the top level of Government and Party were dismissed, although purges of Jews from the Army, the political police and, in particular, the foreign service, took place in the last few years. Moreover, in contrast with the situation prevailing in Russia itself, the Jews were permitted to have their own schools, newspapers, publishing houses and theaters, albeit these institutions were required to adhere to the orthodox Communist line.

Ironically, with the progress of the "liberalization" movement which the Gomulka regime introduced, the anti-Semitism of the Poles which had been formally outlawed as a crime after the Kielce pogrom, reasserted itself in all of its ugly manifestations. Assaults in public conveyances and other acts of violence, discrimination against children in schools, anti-Jewish signs on walls, etc., occured in various places. At the same time a policy of not hiring in, or firing of Jewish employees from, certain branches of endeavor (where there were allegedly too many Jews) was initiated.

Several explanations are offered for the reemergence of anti-Semitism in Poland. The most obvious one is that anti-Semitism among the Poles is endemic and deeply rooted and that the decade of rigid enforcement of the law against overt manifestations of anti-Semitism succeeded only in driving anti-Semitism underground but did not solve the problem. Another explanation is that the fresh assaults on the Jews are inspired by the Stalinists or Natolinians (so called after their first meeting place, the small castle of Natolin, near Warsaw) who want to embarrase the new regime by showing that it is incapable of maintaining law and order in the country.

Whatever the explanations may be, the fact is that the reemergence of anti-Semitism in Poland posed a serious problem to the Gomulka regime and to the Jews. On the one hand, the Gomulka regime publicly espoused the cause of the Jews and condemned the reappearance of anti-Semitism as a serious indictment against the Polish people and against a society which boasted of its egalitarian doctrine. This appeal to the conscience of the. Polish people and to their loyalty to Communist doctrine fell on deaf ears. There was no abatement in the instances of anti-Semitism and the Comulka regime, committed to a liberal policy, could not reintroduce restraints on the freedoms of speech and the press in order to solve this problem. On the other hand, with the exception of a few die-hards among the Jews who maintained that the Jews must stand their ground and fight for their rights as Polish citizens, the Jews, including faithful adherents of Communism, were persuaded of the hopelessness of the situation in Poland and concluded that the only solution to the problem of Polish anti-Semitism lay in emigration. Moreover, the Jews saw Jewish life rapidly disintegrating before their very eyes. They were convinced that not alone to escape the trauma of anti-Semitism, the exodus from Poland was imperative as a measure of preserving their own identity as Jews. In any event, the remnant of Polish Jewry

descended in droves upon the Israel consulate in Poland and registered for migration to Israel.

Fortunately, Gomulka also recognized that the emigration of the Jews was the only solution to the problem of Polish anti-Semitism and was prepared to act on this conviction. The result is the mass migration of the Jews from Poland to Israel. From October, 1956, when this movement started, until June 30, 1957, about 25,000 Jews from Poland have reached Israel. This migration is, in many respects, a very healthy migration from the standpoint of Israel. It includes entire families with the normal age grouping. It consists of people who had concealed from their children their identity as Jews, and whose awakening to the futility of trying to escape from their Jewish heritage has given them an invigorated sense of identification with the Jewish people. Finally it includes many people with professional and mechanical skills. In fact, the high caliber of this migration gives rise to the fear that obstacles may be placed in the way of the movement of the remainder, on the ground that Foland cannot afford to lose the skills which these people possess. As early as last March, there was already some interference with the emigration of engineers and doctors, who had to make special applications for departure.

Barring unforeseen circumstances, it is fairly certain that despite temporary slowdowns in the exodus from Poland, the Jews of Foland will continue to pour out of that country until that community will for all practical purposes have vanished.

The only Jews presently barred as a group from leaving Poland are the Jews (about 5,000 to 6,000) who were recently repatriated from Russia. At first these people were permitted to leave, but, under Russian pressure the Gomulka regime agreed to deny exit permits to them. This policy went into effect on March 7, 1957. However, the embargo on this migration is not expected to continue indefinitely. 34.

#### 4. Hungary

In October, 1956, the smouldering volcano that made up the mass of the Hungarian people erupted with a detonation that was heard around the world. It had been considered impossible for the people of a sattelite country to revolt; the safeguards against revolution were too strong, the penalty for failure too high a price to pay. Yet, the people rose up in a spontaneous revolt.

Most informed estimates of the position and future of Hungarian Jewry (pop. 100,000) took it as axiomatic that any uprising against, or the fall of, the Communist regime in Hungary would be accompanied by the wholesale loss of Jewish life. The basis for this conclusion was that the traditional anti-Semitism of the Hungarians, the overt manifestations of which were held in check by the Communist regime, was infinitely aggravated by the utterly unwarranted assumption encouraged by the forces of reaction in Hungary, that the Communist regime in Hungary was of Jewish making. The fact that a few Jews were prominent among the leaders of the Communist regime gave the color of truth to this argument. What the people were not told is that these few leaders in no sense represented the Jewish community of Hungary as evidenced by the disproportionately large number of Jews who fled from Hungary at the first opportunity.

That the revolt was relatively free of anti-Semitism is due to a number of factors, all related to the spontaneity and popularity of the uprising. First, the reactionary forces had no time to organize their forces. Second, the active participation of an unprecedentedly large percentage of the population in the uprising developed a spirit of brotherhood among the various sectors of the population which assured even the Jews a comfortable measure of immunity against assault. Third, the hatred of the population was, at

least temporarily, concentrated against the Russians. Fourth, the astuteness of the revolutionary leaders told them that any anti-Jewish excesses would give a welcome excuse to the Russians to intervene, and might affect the sympathy of the West for their cause. In any event, except for a few minor incidents in the provinces, the uprising was relatively free of anti-semitism. The anti-semitism which failed to materialize in Hungary proper did, however, come to the surface among the non-Jewish refugees in the camps in Austria and in the countries to which they migrated.

While the government was preoccupied with its life and death struggle, 170,000 Hungarians (1.7% of the Hungarian population) managed to flee from Hungary into Austria. This number included 17,583 Jews (17% of the Jewish population and 10% of those who fled).

Upon arrival in Vienna these 17,588 refugees were cared for by the JDC and subsequently were assisted by the Jewish Agency and the United Hias Service with their immigration problems. The 1957 Emergency Rescue Fund provided the means to handle this program.

Due to speed with which the United Hias Service, the Jewish Agency and the JDC acted in this emergency, and the sympathetic attitude of the United States, Canada and Australia, most of the 17,538 Jews from Hungary have already been resettled. Their distribution, as of mid-August, 1957, is as follows:

Israel	1,869
USA	4,624
Canada	3,750
Australia	1,750
Western Europe	1,300
Latin America	899
Being processed in	
France and England	937
Remaining in Austria	2,459
The more way only a second	17.588

In addition, among some 20,000 Hungarians who crossed the border inte Yugoslavia, about 500 were Jews who are being helped to immigrate to Israel and other countries. 36.

## Legal migration from Hungary

Aside from the 17,000 Jews who escaped from Hungary during the uprising, approximately 1,000 Jews per month have been leaving Hungary for Israel on regular passports. This is the first time legal migration from Hungary to Israel was permitted since the short period extending from the latter part of 1949 to October 1950, during which period about 4,000 left for Israel.

A number of explanations are offered for Hungary's relaxation in its immigration policy towards Jews: one, the acknowledgement that the problems of anti-semitism cannot be solved by the Communist regime; and two, the realization, made abundantly clear in the course of the uprising, that the Jews were out of sympathy with communism.

Recently, the Hungarian authorities informed the Jewish community that they would no longer permit the same rate of departure of Jews from Hungary and those leaving must be at least 54 years of age. At the time of the preparation of this resume negotiations were in progress on the resumption of the legal migration.

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## 5. North Africa

The area generically referred to as North Africa consists of three countries: Morocco, Tunis and Algeria. Until 1956, when Morocco and Tunis gained their independence from France they were French protectorates. Algeria, on the other hand, was and still is a part of metropolitan France.

Before the mass exodus from North Africa developed the Jewish population of the three countries, was a follows: Morocco, 250,000 - Tunis, 100,000 -Algiers, 150,000.

After the end of World War II, the three countries rose in open revolt against France, fighting for their independence. The Jews, as communities, were caught in a cross-fire between the native Moslems on the one hand and the French on the other hand. If they sided with the French they would be regarded as traitors to the national aspirations of the Arab peoples in these countries. If they sided with the Arabs they would show their ingratitude to the French, to whom they were indebted for whatever security they enjoyed in these countries. Fortunately, they were able to maintain a position of neutrality and Tunis and Morocco gained their independence without substantial loss of Jewish life. Habib Bourguiba, the Prime Minister (now President) of Tunis and the Sultan of Morocco (now King) assured the Jews of their respective countries that they would enjoy equality with the Moslems in their respective states and they have lived up to these commitments. They have not only resisted Arab pressure to join the Arab League but have defied the League by having a Jew in each of their cabinets.

Despite the assurances which the Jews received, about 75,000 Jews left Tunis and Morocco before these countries achieved their independence.

There are many reasons why they left and continue to leave: fear of living in a Moslem country while the Arab-Israel conflict is not resolved; economic boycotts encouraged by extremist elements among the Arabs; economic

dislocation by virtue of the assumption of their former positions by Moslems; the desire to escape from the crushing poverty of life in North Africa.

After Tunis and Morocco gained their independence the stream of refugees from Morocco and Tunis continued. However, in June, 1956, the Moroccan authorities put an end to the mass movement of Moroccan Jews. Among the reasons for the embargo was that Morocco was then beset by many political and economic problems and it regarded the Jews as an important element in the new State. At the time the mass movement was halted, 7,000 Jews who had disposed of their belongings were awaiting transportation in the Mazagan camp operated by Kadima (the Moroccan section of the Jewish Agency.) After negotiations with the Moroccan authorities, they were permitted to leave. Since then mass migration from Morocco has slowed down but Jews have been leaving at the rate of about 1,000 per month. In addition, immigration on an individual basis from Morocco, Tunis and Algeria continues.

From 1948 to June 30, 1957, an aggregate of 148,917 Jews from North Africa (exclusive of Lybia, from which 25,000 emigrated to Israel) resettled in Israel. Of this total 24,998 came in 1948 and 1949. The balance of 123,919 came from January 1950 to June 30, 1957 from the following countries:

Morocco	93,481
Tunis	27,387
Algeria	3.051
Total	123,919

The trickle of migration from Algeria, where the situtation for the Jew is far from favorable, is due to the fact that the Algerian Jews are citizens of France through the famous Gremieux decree of 1870, and by virtue of this feel that they can always go to France in the event their position becomes untenable.

#### Other Services to North African Jewry

The UJA provides not only the funds for the emigration and absorption of the Jews of North Africa but, through the JDC, supports a full scale

relief and rehabilitation program for the impoverished Jews of that area. The conditions under which Jews have lived in North Africa — particularly in the mellahs of Morocco — is a familiar story. Through an intensive program carried out by the JDC and by the ORT, subventioned by the JDC, approximately 83,000 persons in the taree countries are helped in many ways: cash relief, medical care, cash loans, vocational training, food and clothing, etc. As a result of concertrated efforts made by the JDC and OSE, trachoma and tinea, diseases that had blinded and afflicted many generations of ghetto dwellers, have been almost completely stamped out in North Africa. The milk bottling plant in Casablance has drastically reduced infant mortality in the Mellah. The youth of North Africa have benefited most from the UJA-financed programs. Better health care, cleaner and more modern schools and acquisition of industrial skills have changed the outlook of these young people.

In no country has the UJA, represented directly by the JDC, and indirectly by the ORT, written a brighter chapter than in North Africa. When Israel was established as a state (May 14, 1948) its estimated Jewish population was 650,000. By the end of June 1957 its estimated Jewish population was 1,730,000. Included in this figure are 885,000 new immigrants who have entered Israel since the state was established.

The new immigrants, coming from 72 countries, brought with them neither wealth nor means of existence. They were colorful groupings of people, products of various cultures, speaking numerous tongues, and often, victims of deep-seated superstitions and prejudices. Separated from each other by thousands of miles, isolated from each other during many centuries, these groups were suddenly gathered in a narrow, elongated piece of land. The obvious task was to create opportunities for working together in the field and in the plants, to build together the very villages and cities in which they lived and to build the will to uphold and defend the security and independence of their country. The merging of these groups into a nation has been a gradual and painful process.

# 1957 Immigration to Israel

D.

## 1. Rate of Influx

The present estimates are that more than 100,000 refugees will arrive in Israel during the current year. By the end of June 50,200 had already come to Israel, at the following tempo:

January	6,978
February	5,851
March	8,336
April	8,682
Mey	12,533
June	7,820
	50,200

## 2. Country Origin

The countries of origin of these immigrants is as follows:

	Poland	23,400
	Hungary	7,000 (includes both authorized migration and October 1956 refugees)
	Egypt	11,000
32	North Africa other countries	7,000 <u>1,800</u> 50,200

## 3. Distribution

These 50,200 immigrants were distributed as follows:

in cities along the coastal plan (Tel Aviv, Haifa, etc )
kibutzim KICAN IEVVIST
moshavim
Youth Aliyah settlements
with relatives and private arrangements
development areas (entire Negev, Lachish, Ber Sheba,
Afula Ha'Emek, Bet Sh'an, Hetulah,
Elath, S'deh Boker)

2,000 miscellaneous destinations 50,200

It thus appears that the current program of resettlement in Israel is a combination of the "From Ship to Development Area" and "From Ship to Settlement" principles. Under the current plan, after the initial classification of the immigramts on board the vessels bringing them to Israel the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency despatches them to the various places previously determined where all initial errangements are made to enable them to settle down. The initial equipment includes beds, mattresses, blankets, kitchen utensils, and store of food.

In spite of the growing defense budget, coinciding in time with ever increasing immigration (1955 - 36,000; 1956 - 56,000; 1957 - 100,000 (estimated)) Israel was -- and still is -- resolute in its determination not to return to the socially harmful and economically wasteful ma'abarot.

#### 4. Employment

While the vast majority of immigrants in the initial mass resettlement period were unskilled and required preliminary training for integration purposes, the immigrants of 1956 and 1957 are, by reason of their age and family composition, and their occupational and professional background, immediately a valuable addition to Israel's manpower. In order to make use of the skills which the new flood of refugees (notably from Poland and Hungary) have brought to Israel those who require a knowledge of Hebrew are sent to Ulpanim where they receive an intensive six month course in Hebrew. Currently, 6,000 adult new immigrants are enrolled in the Ulpanim.

No serious unemployment problem has arisen in Isreel by virtue of the new influx of immigrants. The Lebor Ministry provides 15 days of work per month to each unemployed person at the rate of 5 pounds per day.

# 5. Housing

One of the most immediate and pressing problems confronting the Jewish Agency and the Government of Israel is that of providing the new immigrant with adequate housing. The Israel Government itself, independent of the Jewish Agency is trying hard to allocate maximum funds for housing of newcomers. However, it is faced with three major obstacles: (a) the precarious security situation which demands high expenditure for military preparedness; (b) the need to improve living conditions for the settled population (the average number of persons per room is 2.3 and about 100,000 families live with four persons or more in one room); (c) the need to replace temporary housing or inadequate housing in abandoned Arab dwellings which together currently amount to about 95,000 housing units. In addition, the Government building program has to provide funds for the building of all public institutions such as schools, clinics, community centers, etc. Expenditure on such public buildings are especially heavy because of the establishment of new

rural and semi-urban centers in development areas where there are no facilities of that type.

In 1956 the Jewish Agency spent \$15,000,000 on immigrant housing. This is in excess of what the government was able to allocate for immigrant housing from its Development Budget. Yet, the combined effort of the Government and the Jewish Agency was still highly inadequate, as illustrated by the fact that between April 1956 and Warch 1957, 50% of all new arrivals were accommodated in temporary dwellings, 17% were accommodated with the aid of relatives and probably increased the already severe conditions of overcrowding in existing dwellings and only 33% were accommodated in newly built housing units in urban and rural areas.

The Jewish Agency's budget for the current year allocates \$25,000,000 for housing as against estimated requirements of \$80,000,000 for immigrant housing in the course of the year. While it is difficult to estimate the Government share in immigrant housing during 1957, it is doubtful that Government funds will come anywhere near bridging the gap and it is anticipated that the Agency's contribution will actually have to exceed current estimates if a return to the maabara system is to be avoided.

The solution of the housing problem for the new immigrant is a great challenge to the UJA, which is the principal source of support for the Jewish Agency's absorption program in Israel.

# E. Israel's Security Position

Although the spectacular victory in the Sinai campaign has given the people of Israel a breathing spell, the security problem facing Israel is by no means solved. A large part of its budget and a substantial part of its best manpower must be dedicated to preparations for the defense of the country.

The chief difficulty which confronts Israel in terms of security is that whereas both the Communist-oriented (Egypt and Syria) and Western-oriented (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq) blocs of the Arab countries receive arms, including the most modern equipment, from their respective backers, Israel not only receives no free arms but fine it difficult to secure export licenses for what arms she might purchase in the free market. Among the new arms delivered to the Arab states are torpedo boats delivered to King Saud by the United States; and MIG-17's and tanks to Syria and submarines to Egypt, supplied by the Soviet Union.

It must be borne in mind that while there is bitter feeling between the two Arab blocs, they are united on one issue: their common enmity for Israel. Consequently, any estimate of Israel's ability to defend its people and its territorial integrity must be predicated on the assumption that Israel will have to meet the combined military strength of the Arab world. Thus, while the East and the West are competing for the friendship of different Arab countries, Israel has as much to fear the torpedo boats delivered to Saudi Arabia as the submarines delivered to Egypt.

Fortunately, Israel captured a substantial quantity of arms in the Sinai action. However, whatever advantage Israel gained by this increase in its stock of armor is being rapidly wiped out by the massive arms which Russia has been delivering to Egypt and Syria. In this connection it should be recalled that Egypt's old incursions into Israel territory and its use of Fedayeen to spread terror among the Israel border settlements followed the delivery of

Russian arms to Egypt. The new arms shipments to the Arabs contain the fuel which may once again ignite the Middle East.



One of the numerous positive achievements of the Sinai campaign is that it broke Nasser's yoke over the Arab world. Except for Syria which has maintained a degree of loyalty to Egypt, the Arab States were completethe ly disenchanted with Nasser as a result of/humiliating defeat which he suffered at the hands of Israel. Had Nasser been successful in the Sinai campaign there would probably be no one who could have challenged him in his bid for hegemony over the Arab world, Africa and Asia. His defeat resulted in the further split of the Arab world into two camps, albeit they stand ready to be reunited in a combined assault against Israel. The lack of unity among the Arabs must, for the time being, at least, be counted as a positive achievement for Israel.

Additionally, on the positive side must be placed the progress that Israel has made with several African countries and several countries in the Far East. Thus, Israel has exchanged ambassadors with Ghana and Liberia, has received a diplomatic representative from the Philippines (one of the Bandung countries), and has further cemented its economic ties with Burma. Israel and Ghana have formed a joint shipping company called the "Black Star," to ply the East African coastline.

In mid-July Prime Minister Suhwawardy of Pakistan, speaking on a national television program, during his visit to the United States, said that he was "afraid that there is no other alternative" but for the Moslems to accept Israel's existence as a fact of life, and added that despite his personal belief that the creation of the State of Israel was wrong, he was willing to act as mediator and to bring Arabs together to talk. He was later forced to modify this statement, and Syrian Premier Sabri Assali immediate reaction from Damascus was, "We shall never sit at a peace table with Israel." However, it is worth noting that the Pakistanian

minister's statement is the first public acknowledgment by a Moslem leader that the Arabs must reconcile themselves to the existence of Israel.

It is of inestimable importance to Israel that the ships of many nations have been using the Port of Elath, and that the United States has stood firm on the issue that the Gulf of Akaba is an international waterway. Israel has not probed the Suez Canal with ships flying the Israel flag. However, Israel-chartered ships with Israel-destined cargo have been permitted to use the Canal although, with some interference.

Finally, it is important both economically and politically to Israel that increased economic assistance from the United States to Israel may soon be forthcoming. Israel is in the process of negotiating a loan from the Export-Import bank, whose mission has just returned from Israel, Noreover, the House Foreign Affairs Committee recommended to the House to increase foreign aid to Israel because of the new refugee problem which it is handling, and there is reason to believe that the outright grant to Israel under the Foreign Aid Bill will be increased as well as the sale of surplus food. The latter item is especially important from the standpoint of Israel's capacity to feed the new arrivals. But the political implications of this projected increased aid is in a real sense, as important as the material benefits to be derived from it. It is tangible proof of United States friendship for Israel which is essential to Israel's very survival.

On the debit side of the ledger is the intensified Arab economic warfare against Israel, the increase of Arab pressure on foreign companies to identify themselves with the Arab boycott, and the projected removal of Shell Oil and British Petroleum from Israel. While the action by Shell and British Petroleum may affect the Israel economy substantially, as a capitulation to Arab blackmail this move can only convince the Arabs of their power, encourage their intransigence towards Israel, and postpone peace.

## G. Survey of American Popular Attitude Towards Israel

On July 22nd, Elmer Roper released the results of his nation-wide survey of American public opinion on Israel. It would seem that the dramatic events of last year, including the Sinai Operation, did not lose the sympathetic understanding of the American people.

The following are the results of the survey:

11%.....had high opinion of Israel
44%.....elthough disapproved of some things
Israel did, thought well of her
14%.....could understand Israel's difficult
position bu did not think well of her

5%.....had low opinion of her

## H. Senator Humphrey's Resume on Israel

One of the best recent summaries of Israel's problems, made by an objective observer of the international scene, is that of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. It is part of his report on his Study Mission submitted on July 1, 1957 to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This summary follows:

Israel is an example of how dedication by government and people can expand meager resources to the benefit of a growing population.

Here, in one of the oldest sections of the world, one finds the dynamism and the youthful spirit of the 20th century. Animating government and people is the determination to build a community capable of providing a good standard of living for its present population and those other Jews who now seek or may have to seek asylum in Israel.

It is this commonsense of objective which has welded a united nation out of a population which comes from 70 countries - half of them with oriental backgrounds and half of European stock.

Israel, like most the other countries of the region, must import much of its food. But, on the other hand, it has the highest per capita gross national product in the Middle East, the best medical services, the lowest mortality rate, and virtually no illiteracy.

In a country which is helf desert, the Government is desperately trying to bring water to the Negev and at the same time build up industry and exploit mineral and chemical sources, while giving ample attention to cultural development.

One of its most remarkable jobs has been the retraining of its immigrant population for work in agriculture and industry for which they were not previously qualified. This, one should emphasize, has taken place under conditions of great adversity, border warfare, and in the face of the Arab boycott which has been costly to Israel. 50. For countries, as for people, emergencies often stimulate creativeness. In Israel it may be said that the threat of new warfare has perhaps created the spur to inventiveness on which survival depends.

I had a long visit with Prime Minister Ben-Gurion. He is typical of his country. He is a man of courage, vision, intelligence, and determination, and he has a sense of humor.

Isreel's Prime Minister expresses no fear of his neighbors, but he believes that Israel will never fully realize her potential until there is peace.

I attended the Israel National Independence Day demonstration. It was most impressive. The Israeli Army is well-trained, fairly well equipped, spirited, and confident. But Israel is not looking to new hostilities. Ben-Gurion assured me that Israel wants to settle its problems peaceably. Israel is willing to sit down with the Arab States to discuss refugees, boundaries, and all outstanding political problems. Foreign Minister Golda Meir gave me the same assurances.

Ben-Gurion's defense for Israel's march on Sinai was that it was a preventive action to forestall an Egyptian march on Israel at a time of Egypt's choosing and when the Soviet arms buildup had been even further increased.

Israel is anti-Communist. Many of its inhabitants have escaped from countries under dictatorship. A large proportion of its inhabitants are the survivors of Hitler's extermination program. Most Israelis, I am confident, would be willing to die resisting external attack. Equally, I am certain Israel will not succumb to Communist subversion from within.

In Israel everyone works. Land is for the most part owned by the state and leased for development.

Currently a deficit country, Israel hopes that when her population, now at about 1,900,000, has grown to 3 million, she will be able to export enough to balance her accounts. Israel has had the advantage of top-grade people to assist in planning for development. Perhaps Israel's greatest triumph is that she has planned well. The country has done a remarkable job in increasing the area of cultivation, in extending its slender resources to irrigate arid areas, in reclaiming swampland for agriculture and reforestation (some 20 million trees have been planted), in establishing new hospitals and universities and improving roads and ports.

Another aspect of Israeli development is the variegated society which is being built up. There are both farm collectives and farm cooperatives, the latter growing at a fast pace. There is also private enterprise which is encouraged particularly for industry. A copper refinery at the mines, last mined during the times of King Solomon, is a remarkable project which one day may help Israel with her balance-of-payments problem.

I visited the new Hadassah hospital. Access to the old one is still blocked by the Jordanians. The new institution is certain to become one of the finest medical centers in the world. The new Hebrew University replacing the university now in Jordan territory is expanding to become a major center of learning.

While I did not visit the Huleh project directly, I was so near it that I could see the kind of work which has gone into draining 15,000 acres of swampland for agriculture.

Israel still needs roads, highways, railroads, and port development.

One of the most imaginative projects which has recently been projected is the concept of a 32-inch pipeline from the port of Elath in the Gulf of Aqaba to a Mediterranean port near Haifs. Such a pipeline, if built, could provide an additional parallel route to the Suez Canal and an alternative one if ever again this became necessary. The idea is to have Middle East oil brought by tanker the short distance to Elath and pumped 150 miles from Elath to an Israeli port on the Mediterranean. Sixty million dollars is 52. needed to bring this project to fruition.

Israel's needs, as described to me by the Prime Minister, are water for land, capital for development, and skilled technicians. Israel has planned well and used well the American grants and aid and technical assistance. But this aid, amounting to some \$250 million, is only a small proportion of the funds derived from voluntary contributions in the United States, German repatriation payments, State of Israel bonds income and internal revenue.

Now about to absorb 100,000 immigrants in 1957, Israel needs a minimum of \$250 million this year. To fully integrate the present population, it needs an additional billion dollars.

The scope of Israel's operations may be guaged from the fact that 50 percent of the population came from non-western countries and needed to be technically trained.

Israel development should be encouraged for many reasons: because it is performing an important service for its own inhabitants; because it is in a sense a pilot plant for democracy in the Niddle East; because it is a friend of the free world; and because one day its skills and experience can be put at the service of its Arab neighbors.

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## I. The United Jewish Appeal in Western Europe

The Jewish communities in Western Europe have many problems, largely the legacy of the Mazi era. With the exception of France where the Jewish communnearly ity has/reached its pre-Hitler population, as a result of the influx of over 100,000 Jews from Eastern Europe since the end of the war, all the Jewish communities in Western Europe are more shadows of their former selves. The following table shows the shrinkage in population of these communities:

	Pre-war	Present
Austria	190,000	10,000
Belgium	90,000	1E1A/1C <sup>35,000</sup>
Denmark	6,000	6,000
Finland	2,000	1,750
France	300,000	300,000
Germany	600,000	30,000
Greece	75,000	6,000
Italy	45,000	33,000
Luxembourg	2,500	1,200
Netherlands	130,000	22,000
Norway	1,360	950
Sweden	10,000	13,000
Turkey	70,000	50,000
Yugoslavia	75,000	6,750

Quality is sometimes a function of quantity. The institutions which a large community can afford are denied to small communities. If this were not enough to pose a real problem of spiritual survival to the ghost communities of Western Europe, there are additional factors which aggravate the problem: the impoverishment of the remnant of the communities, the age structure of the remaining population (weighted on the side of the aged), the process of spiritual

erosion which set in along with the emencipation of the communities, and the destruction of great spiritual centers of Eastern Europe upon which the Jewish communities of Western Europe used to draw for replenishment of their own depleted spiritual resources. Basically, the Jewish communities of Western Europe have one overriding problem in common, the problem of survival as Jewish communities.

Even in the field of cultural reconstruction, the UJA has, through the JDC, been able to make some contribution to the West European Jewish communities. Thus, the JDC has provided the means for the development of schools, centers and religious institutions among these communities. (It should be noted that to accomplish this objective the JDC receives funds also from the Conference on Material Claims Against Germany which distributes part of the proceeds derived from the reparations peid by Germany). However, the principel effort of the JDC in Western Europe has consisted in providing indispensable social services to the aged, the chronically ill, the physically handicapped, and the unemployable in those countries where the local financial resources are lacking to meet these needs. The help extended by the JDC takes many forms: the support of old age homes, cash essistance, loans to establish persons in small businesses, medical services, etc. In addition the JDC provides a large part of the budget for the ORT schools in Europe, numbering 88 training units and installations, with an average aggregate annual enrollment of about 4,200 and a yearly turnover of about 8,000 students. All in all about 44,000 Jews in Western Europe receive some form of assistance from the JDC. These people are helped either by direct grants from the JDC or, wherever feasible, by local institutions subventioned by the JDC.

J.

Through the JDC, the United Jewish Appeal also supports activities in behalf of refugees from Nazi Europe and post-World War II immigrants who have settled in Australia, Brazil, China, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Philippines and Uruguay. The reason for this program of relief is that the countries enumerated have absorbed a disproportionately large number of Jewish refugees and that the care of those who have not yet become self-sufficient is beyond the means of the local Jewish communities. With the passing of time the number of these refugees requiring the supplementary help from the JDC will, inevitably, diminish.

(Note: For a resume of the JDC program in North Africa see Page 39-40)

# Statistical Data On UJA Campaigns

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1.	Allotments Fr	om Communities - 1939	Through 1957 (es	timated)
	1939 - 194	7		\$351,736,000
	1948		\$146,500,000	
	1949		101,550,000	
	1950		85,100,000	1000
	1951		78,700,000	
	1952	AMERICA	66,300,000	
	1953	APCH	63,300,000	
	1954	ANCI	56,500,000	
	1955		56,000,000	
	1956	Regular-56,000,000 SSF - <u>17,000,000</u>	73,000,000	
	1957	Regular-56,000,000 ERF - <u>30,000,000</u>	86,000,000	<u>812,950,000</u> \$1,164,686,000
		100, J	m the	φ <b>1</b> , 104, 000, 000

	(estima)
1939 - 1947	\$314,244,00
1948	\$147,305,000
1949	111,393,000
1950	89,009,000
1951	80,084,000
1952	69,753,000
1953	63,001,000
1954 AMERI	48,614,000
1955 A R C	58,797,000
1956 Regular - \$60, SSF - 10.	032,000
	70,589,000
	,942,000 ,914,000
	46,119,000

and ant

\*Jan. 1st - July 31st inclusive.

\$1,098,908

3.	Distribut	on of Funds to JDC	Beneficiary UIA	Agencies For th USNA/NRS	e Calendar NYANA	Years 1939 Through OTHERS	1957 TOTAL
1939	9-1947	160,962,000	114,944,000	25,105,000		870,000	301,881,000
	1948	66,914,000	64,959,000	10,506,000		345,000	142,724,000
	1949	42,410,000	50,699,000	13,803,000		30,000	106,942,000
	1950	30,582,000	44, 345,000	2,222,000	9,656,000		86,805,000
	1951	22,910,000	47,982,000	E 1,293,000	5,082,000		77, 267,000
1	1952	18,865,000	42,699,000	756,000	2,348,000		64,668,000
	1953	18,697,000	40,712,000	424,000	1,169,000		61,002,000
	1954	13,552,000	29,885,000	512,000	1,004,000		44,953,000
1	1955	17,369,000	36,566,000	253,000	677,000		54,865,000
	1956-Reg. -SSF	18,151,000	37,555,000 10,388,000 47,943,000		708,000	2	56,414,000 <u>10,388,000</u> 66,802,000
*19	57 Regular SSF FRF	10,562,000 <u>660,000</u> 11,222,000	22.317.000 3.942.000 <u>4.739.000</u> 30.998.000	250,000**	445,000	/	32,879,000 3,942,000 <u>6,094,000</u> 42,915,000
		421,634,000 -	551,732,000	55,124,000	21,089,000	1,245,000	1,050,824,000

\* Jan. 1st - July 31st, 1957

\*\* United Hias Service

4. Campaign Expenses For Campaigns 1948 - 1957

The ratio of expenses of the United Jewish Appeal for 1948 through 1957 are as follows:

$$1948 - 2.6\%$$
  
 $1949 - 3.7$   
 $1950 - 4.2$   
 $1951 - 4.4$   
 $1952 - 4.6$   
**ME** 1953 - 4.9  
**I**954 - 5.4  
 $1955 - 5.7$   
 $1956 - 4.7$   
 $1957 - 4.2$  (estimated)

5. Receipt of Israel Bonds

The following are the Israel bonds received by the UJA in the calendar year 1952 through 1957:

> 1952 - \$1,388,991 1953 - 3,226,228 1954 - 3,738,217 1955 - 3,643,392 1956 - 4,382,878 1957\*- 3,604,331

\*Jan. 1st - July 31st, 1957

# 6. Report on UJA Loan Projects

A. The information on the 1954 Consolidation Loan is as follows:
The authorized loan was \$75,000,000.
120 communities borrowed \$64,751,000.
The average rate of interest was 4 percent.

B. The information regarding the 1956 Renewal Loan is as follows:

The purpose of the Renewal Loan was to borrow \$40,000,000, \$30,000,000 of which had already been repaid on the Consolidation Loan, and an additional \$10,000,000, to bring the total borrowing by the UJA to the authorized \$75,000,000.

100 cities participated in the Renewal Loan and borrowed \$42,886,000, of which \$31,395,000 was money that had been repaid on the Consolidation Loan, and \$11,471,000 was new money.

The average rate of interest was slightly under 42 percent.

In 1957 renewals on behalf of communities whose repayments during 1956 and 957 were such as to allow for additional renewals since January 1st have amounted to \$11,741,000.

As of July 31, 1957, the UJA has notes outstanding in the amount of \$51,830,000.

c.

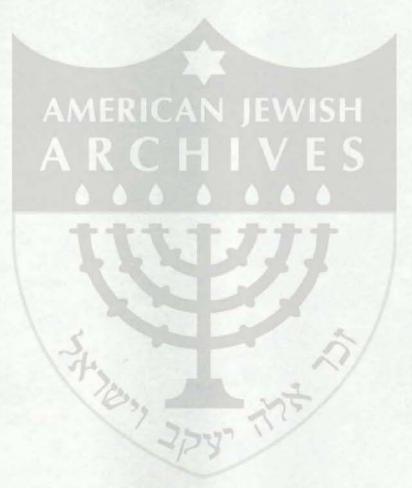
Chapel Hill, North Carolina Cleveland, Ohio Denver, Colorado Detroit, Michigan Dover, New Hampshire Elsinore, California Englewood, New Jersey Hollywood, Florida Idaho Falls, Idaho Lake Hiawatha, New Jersey Lewiston, Maine Miami, Florida Newnan, Georgia New Orleans, Louisiana Newtown, Connecticut Palm Springs, California Phoenix, Arizona Princeton, New Jersey St. Petersburg, Florida San Bernardino, California San Diego, California San Francisco, California Tucson, Arizona Tulsa, Oklahoma Willimantic, Connecticut

8. Cities Conducting Spring Campaigns which in 1957 are Expected to Exceed Previous High Year

ARC

Albuquerque, New Mexico Columbus, Ohio Mt. Pleasant, Pennsylvania Teaneck, New Jersey AME Ypsilanti, Michigan 9. Amount Contributed by Women's Division

Since 1946, the inception of the National Women's Division, until the end of 1956, women contributed to community campaigns throughout the country over \$135,000,000. It is estimated that by the end of 1957 this figure will total close to \$150,000,000, including contributions to this year's Emergency Rescue Fund.



L.		Outside and You		States	by	the	Jewish	Agency	Through

May 1948 to 1950	\$17,548,000
1951	8,558,000
1952	11,332,000
1953	12,094,000
1954	9,302,000
1955 AMERICAN	9,290,000
1956	16,269,000
Estimate for first half of 1957	11,000,000

TOTAL

\$95, 393,000

From 1950-1955, the above sums were reised in the ratio indicated below:

	percent
England	3.3
Canada	2.7
South Africa	2.0
Western Europe (France, Italy and Benelux) and North Africa	2.0
Latin America, Australia, New Zealand	5.5
United States	84.5

by t	he American	Joint	Distribution	Committee
1948			\$:	3,133,785.40
1949				878,700.00
1950				840,300.00
1951				712,400.00
1952 🗸	IERIC.	AN	JEWIS	161,700.00
1953	RC			117,800.00
1954	N.C.			625,700.00
1955				500,400.00
1956	<b>TT</b>	-	111	585,700.00

54700

M. Funds raised outside the United States by the American Joint Distribution Committee

## N. Contribution of Israel's Taxpayers Towards Absorption of Immigrants

The Israel Government budget does not distinguish between services rendered to the settled population and expenditures on behalf of new immigrants. However, the following summary indicates the financial sacrifices made by the people of Israel in their effort to provide essential services to the newcomers.

<u>Personal Income</u>. To realize the full extent of the financial sacrifices made by the people of Israel on behalf of the newcomers, one must bear in mind that personal income in Israel is much lower than in the United States. The average daily earnings of industrial workers in 1956, for example, were \$5.40; the average monthly salary of Government employees \$142. (The legal minimum wage for unskilled workers in the U. S. is \$8,00 a day or \$160 a month.) Out of a total labor force of 560,000 Israelis, only 15,000 had an annual income of \$3,000 or above; only 1,750 earned \$5,000 or more a year.

<u>Income Taxes</u>. As shown in the attached table, income tax rates in Israel are far higher than in the U. S. Because of the generally low level of personal income and certain exemptions for settlers in border and dev elopment areas, the total number of taxpayers in 1956 did not exceed 280,000.

Defense Levy. In addition to income tax, Israelis currently pay a special Defense Tax amounting to between 5 to 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> per cent of taxable income.

Other Taxes. Besides direct taxes, Israelis pay high excise -- purchase and other indirect taxes, including a special Absorption Taxes in the form of excises on tobacco, liquor and other commodities.

Voluntary Contributions and Loans. To finance defense needs and the expansion of essential Government services, Israelis have subscribed to many

Government loans and bond issues. A special IL 50 million (\$28 million) Government loan for immigrant housing and a IL 10 million (\$5,6 million) Debenture Issue of the Keren Hayesod will provide additional funds for the rehabilitation of immigrants out of the small savings of the settled population.



		Income	Tax Rates i	n Israel a	s compar	ed to	U.S. (a)					
<u>Taxabl</u> IL	e Income \$	Single Israel Under 32	Single Israel Over 32 yr s of age	Single U.S.		ried	Mari One ( S. Israe		Marr. <u>2 chi</u> Israe			ied <u>ldren</u> 1-U.S.
2,400	(1,344)	\$ 130	\$ 95	\$ 121	\$ 53	\$ 1.	\$ 25	- \$	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -
3,600	(2,016)	317	268	242	209	122	170	2	121	-	76	-
4,800	(2,688)	541	481	364	412	244	372	124	314	4	250	-
6,000	(3,360)	821	753	496	693	368	634	248	562	128	485	8
7,200	(4,032)	1,156	1,082	625	998	485	928	365	844	245	756	125
8,400	(4,704)	1,537	1,453	764	1,335	611	1,258	491	1,169	371	1,078	251
9,600	(5,376) b)	1,958	1,867	902	1,709	728	1,6:28	607	1,535	487	1,435	367.68

Note: In both U.S. and Israel schedules, normal deductions were allowed before computation. Israel pounds have been translated into dollars at the official rate of IL 1.800 \_ \$1.00.

- a) This table does not include current defense taxes levied at  $5-17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of taxable income.
- b) Less than 1 per cent of all taxpayers in Israel in 1955/56 had an annual taxable income exceeding this amount.

#### V. 1956 EXPENDITURES AND 1957 BUDGETS

A. Jewish Agency For Palestine (Expenditures from October 1, 1956 - March 31, 1957)

The original budget of the Jewish Agency for 1956/57 was based on an anticipated immigration of 60,000 persons in the course of the fiscal year and totaled IL 187,280,000 (\$125,477,600). With the sudden steep increase in immigration figures, however, estimates were revised upward to a total of IL 220,730,000 (\$147,889,100) for an anticipated influx of 100,000 newcomers. Among the most important changes: an IL 15,900,000 increase for immigrant housing; an IL 4,750,000 increase for transportation and services abroad; an IL 8,000,000 increase in initial absorption costs; and an increase of IL 1,260,000 in the budget of the Youth Immigration Department.

Against this revised budget, the Jewish Agency during the first half of the current fiscal year spent IL 90,122,475 (\$60,382,058), or about 41 per cent of total budgetary estimates. In addition, orders amounting to IL 19,401,809 (\$12,999,212) had been placed with suppliers and contractors as of March 31, 1957, indicating that actual expenditures in the course of the fiscal year will come up to or even exceed budgetary estimates.

The following figures may serve to illustrate the current ratio between expenditures and immigration.

During the period under review, the Jewish Agency spent on activities directly connected with the rehabilitation of immigrants during their first year in the country (Immigration, Absorption, Housing, Youth Immigration and Agricultural Settlement) a sum of IL 68,689,000 (\$46,022,000). Since total immigration during the first half of the current fiscal year ran to 60,000, expenditures per immigrant amounted to less than \$770, as compared to the standard figure of \$1,000 for the rescue, transfer and resettlement of one refugee during his first year in Israel. 67. This discrepancy between needs and actual expenditures adds to the 'absorption backlog' which has plagued the Jewish Agency during the past eight years. Jewish Agency Treasurer, Dov Joseph, estimates that the complete rehabilitation of the 844,000 immigrants who arrived in Israel since the establishment of the State will require an additional \$300 million, including \$160 million for the consolidation of immigrant farms, \$135 million, for housing for 27,000 families now living in maabaroth and other temporary accommodations, and \$5 million for the rehabilitation of social problem cases.

The financial requirements of the Jewish Agency are shifting not only with absolute immigration figures but with the particular composition and needs of each immigration wave. Thus, the recent influx of newcomers from Eastern Europe has brought a considerable number of professionally trained men and women whose experience and skill can make significant contributions to the total economic development of Israel. However, to help these immigrants find employment in suitable occupations, the Jewish Agency had to provide housing facilities in urban areas where building costs are substantially higher than in the agricultural sector; instead of the group approach of the ship-to-settlement program, newcomers had to be councelled individually; the scope of the Ulpanim (special intensive courses in Hebrew and allied subjects for professionals and white coller workers) had to be expanded and special loan funds had to be established for these new arrivals. At the same time, the increasing number of social problem cases among recent immigrants, especially among those from Egypt, necessitated additional expenditures in other areas.

Additional expenditures were also incurred in connection with the necessity to provide immediate transportation for immigrants whose passports were about to expire and to expand the Youth Immigration scheme to provide training facilities for an increasing number of teen-agers and younger children emong the new arrivals.

IILILIImmigration Department (Trensportation of immigrants of whom 60,000 arrived in Israel during this period)6,773,18017,250,000IIAbsorption Department (For reception and initial care of immigrants)5,491,12718,000,000II-aHealth, education and employment of immigrants-5,000,000IIIDepartment for Child and Youth Immigration (Youth Aliyah)5,273,64611,000,000IVHousing of Immigrants19,054,33637,900,000VDepartment of Agricultural32,098,40974,200,000	ONTES 9/30/57
(Transportation of immigrants of whom 60,000 arrived in Israel during this period)6,773,18017,250,00IIAbsorption Department (For reception and initial 	
<pre>(For reception and initial care of immigrants) II-a Health, education and - 5,000,00 employment of immigrants III Department for Child and Youth 5,273,646 11,000,00 Immigration (Youth Aliyah) IV Housing of Immigrants 19,054,336 37,900,00</pre>	0
employment of immigrants III Department for Child and Youth 5,273,646 11,000,00 Immigration (Youth Aliyah) IV Housing of Immigrants 19,054,336 37,900,00	10
Immigration (Youth Aliyah) IV Housing of Immigrants 19,054,336 37,900,00	10
	0
V Department of Amiculturel 32 002 400 74 200 00	0
Settlement	0
VI Allocations to Institutions 1,254,438 3,160,00 of Higher Learning	0
VII Repayment of Principal of 7,870,322 23,825,00 Long Term Loans and Other Obligations	0
VIII Pryment of Interest on Long 2,463,682 5,000,00 and Short Term Loans	0
IX Land Development Through 1,900,000 4,300,000 Keren Kayemeth	0
X Administration 2,198,023 4,424,000	0
XI Allocations to Sundry Organiza- 677,910 1,450,000 tions Out of Reparation Funds	0
XII Other Activities 4,360,476 13,209,000	0
XIII General Reserve <u>66,653</u> <u>3,462,000</u>	0
Total IL. 90,122,475 IL.220,730,0	

# American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

(Expenditures from January 1, 1956 Through December 31, 1956 by Countries, Groups of Countries, Territories, Programs, Etc.)

GROUPS	Year 1956
European countries:	
Austria and Germany	\$1,400,000.00
Belgium	470,000.00
France	1,160,000.00
Greece AMERICAN	JEW 1 62,000.00
Holland A R C H	_51,300.00
Italy	510,000.00
Norway, Sweden and Denmark	212,900.00
Portugel	18,000.00
Spain	39,000,00
Switzerland	70,000,00
Yugoslavia	90,000.00
Central and South America	35,000.00
Israel	11,052,000.00
25%	77



GROUPS	Year 1956
North Africa and other Moslem countries (Algeria, Iran, Morocco, Syria, Tan- gier, Tunisia, Etc.)	\$3,550,000.00
Others	203, 272, 00
Emigration and relief in transit	7,147,247.00
Cultural and religious aid, Passover relief	795,000.00
Cooperating organizations and miscellane- ous items (Unclassified Geographically)	1,926,530.00
Operating and service costs New York and overseas offices	1,574,600.00
TOTAL	\$30,366,849.00

3



Central Reception and Referral	\$ 17,741
Family Service - relief and rehabilitation	394,185
Vocational Service - training and employment	76,192
Office and Administrative services	44,304
Subventions *	148,528
AMERICAN JEWISH	
	\$ 680,950

ARCHIVES

\*Subventions are made to other community agencies which provide specialized services to newcomer families. NYANA does not duplicate services available from any other source.

## D. Jewish Agency Budget - 1957

When the first budget was drawn up in October 1956 we expected an immigration of about 60,000 in the course of 1957. By December 1956, this estimate was increased to 100,000. During the first six months of 1957, over 50,000 immigrants arrived, substantiating the revised estimates.

The reason for this sudden increase in immigration is indicated by the countries of origin of the newcomers. Of 60,000 who arrived between October 1, 1956 and Nay 31, 1957, 60% came from Eastern Europe, 25% from Egypt and close to 15% from North Africa. For obvious reasons, we dare not slow down or postpone immigration, especially from Eastern Europe. We have to fit our financial resources to the human needs, not vice versa.

<u>Total NeedsP</u> Original budget estimates drawn up last fall on the basis of an anticipated immigration of 60,000 were IL 187,280,000 (\$125,477,600); current budget estimates amount to a total of IL 220,730,000 (\$147,889,100) that is IL 33,450,000 (\$22,411,500) more than the original estimates. However, since actual immigration figures may nearly run double the original estimates, it is clear that even this increased budget may be inadequate. The major problem in the whole financial picture is the question of housing.

A few figures may indicate the extent of the Government's spending in the field of housing (exclusive of public buildings). In 1955/56, the Israel Government spent IL 37,660,000 (\$25,232,200 -) on all housing activities. The 1956/57 development budget included IL 24,850,000 (\$16,468,600 ) for housing. The proposed development budget for 1957/58 provides IL 43,300,000 (\$29,011,000) for housing. If one takes into account that only 65-70% of all Government expenses on housing go for dwellings for new immigrants it appears that Jewish Agency's participation matches or actually exceeds the expenditures of the Government in this field.

The Jewish Agency's budget for the current year allocates IL 37,900,000 (\$25,393,000.) for housing as against estimated requirement of \$80,000,000 for immigrant housing in the course of the year.

Immigration and Absorption: This category covers costs of transportation, reception, screening, initial household goods, initial aid to social ceses, upkeep of <u>Meabareth</u> and related activities. These are fixed costs which cannot be postponed and very directly with the number of newcomers. During 1956, when 50,000 newcomers arrived in Israel, the Jewish Agency spent IL 18,565,000 (\$12,451,950) on these activities. The current budget allocates IL 35,290,000 (\$23,644,300.-) for immigration and &sorption. This increase reflects not only the anticipated increase in immigration but three factors involved in the current immigration: a) the need to bring people via transit centers instead of by direct route; b) the greater number of social cases, especially from Egypt; c) the increasing number of professionals and skilled workers emong the newcomers who must be settled in urban areas and must be dealt with on an individual basis rather than by the group approach used in the ship-to-settlement program.

<u>Youth Immigration</u>: During the pest few years, the number of wards in training has fluctuated around 13,000, i.e., new wards were accepted only at the rate at which others graduated and vacated places for them. During the current years, Youth Aliya anticipates that between 6,000 to 7,000 new wards must be absorbed into the program. Since the average rate of graduation is about 4,000 per year, this means an expansion of the Youth Aliya network by about 2,000 to 3,000 places. This need for expansion is reflected in Youth Aliya's budget: IL 11,000,000 (\$7,370,000) as against IL 9,640,000 (\$6,458,800.-) expanded during 1956.

<u>Agricultural Settlement</u>: This one item which shows the relatively smallest increase in budgetary estimates over last year's expenditures in

the Jewish Agency's Department for egricultural Settlement. The budget for this department for the current year is set at IL 74,200,000 (\$49,714,000.-) es compared to actual expenditures emounting to IL 72,640,000 (\$48,668,800.-) during the past year. Yet this figure does not reflect actual needs but rather the strain put on the Agency's financial resources by pressing increases in the field of immigration, absorption and housing.

Here is what static agricultural expenditures means in terms of practical work: a) investments for the development of young settlements will fall behind schedule involving hardships for the settlers and loss of potential productivity which could have replaced costly imports of food and fodder; b) Government and Jewish Agency funds must be spent on public works projects to provide a minimum existence for the settlers who cannot support themselves fully by working their own farms because they do not have the necessary livestock and equipment; c) irrigation schemes will be postponed or slowed down, resulting in a slow-down in the development of Israel's spersely populated semi-arid regions. (The development of these areas is vital for Israel not only for the creating of new homes for immigrants and increasing agricultural output but also for security reasons.) This in turn means additional non-productive expenditures because border settlers ease the strain on Israel's military patrols along the country's frontiers. Yet despite the urgent need to settle semi-arid areas in the south, the Jewish Agency's budget for irrigation during the current year is actually less than last year's expenditures. (Budget: IL 8,920,000 (\$5,976,400.-) as against IL 9,016,000 (\$6,040,720.-) spent on irrigation lest year.)

Education and Culture: The main increase in this expenditure category is due to the need to expand the <u>Ulpenim</u>, the Hebrew language seminaries for professionals and white collar workers among the immigrants. The recent immigration has brought many people with training, skill and experience which the

country needs urgently. Yet they will not be able to return to their professions before they have acquired a minimum knowledge of Hebrew. In addition, the Jewish Agency will have to expand its program of Youth clubs and pre-vocational training centers in immigrant settlements and urban housing projects assigned to immigrants, in order to provide guidance and training for immigrant youngsters who must work part-time to help support their femilies. Also, the Jewish Agency's program of providing high-school scholarships for immigrant youngsters will have to be expanded to help the increasing number of teenagers among the new arrivals. To meet varigated needs in the field of education and culture, the Jewish Agency's budget for these activities has been set at IL 9,895,000 (\$6,629,650.-) as compared to IL 7,183,000 (\$4,812,610.-) expended on these activities last year.

Loan Repayment: Because of the need to cover part of its program by deficit financing, the Jewish Agency's budget shows an increased appropriation for interest and loan repayments, i.e., IL 29,225,000 (\$19,580,750.-) as against IL 18,277,000 (\$12,245,590.-) spent on interest and loan repayments last year.

Health, Education, and Public Works Schemes: Up to this year, all public health services and elementary education for immigrants, and public works employing immigrants, were financed out of Government tax receipts. However, the increased tempo of immigration requires substantial expansion of schools and hospitals. Because of the Israel Treasury's own shortage of funds, the Government has asked the Jewish Agency to contribute towards the costs of expanding these facilities and a sum of IL 5,000,000 (\$3,350,000.-) has been allocated for this purpose.

Other Expenditures: The above outline gives the main aspect of the Jewish Agency's program. However, there are a number of other expenditure items such as allocations to the Jewish National Fund, allocations on account of the Jewish Agency's share in German Restitution Payments, information services, administration and reserves for contingencies which are included in the Jewish Agency's budget.



E. 1957: Budget for an Uncertain Year

Charles H. Jordan Director-General for JDC overseas operations

Report made to the Annual UJA Conference December 1-2, 1956

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This report is being written as the world enters a period of uncertainly, crisis and change unmatched since the end of World War II. The Jewish refugees from Hungary find their way into Vienna, as Israel declares that -- no matter what -- her borders will continue to remain open to immigrants, as the question of Jews in North Africa and other even more isolated Arab areas remains one of doubt and uncertainty.

In the midst of such uncertainty, it is clear that the tempo of history has grown speedier. Who can be certain of the shape of the world six months from now -- or next month?

Who can, therefore, predict with any certainty what will be the nature of JDC's responsibilities in Europe, in North Africa, in Israel? Who can predict the nature and extent to which JDC will be called upon to provide the wherewithal for rescue operations? What calls will be made this week, next week, next month for medicines, for food and clothing -- and from what areas?

How many will reach Israel in December, in January? And of those reaching Israel, how many will be aged, ill, handicapped and require immediate care in one of the institutions operated by <u>Malben</u>, the JDC welfare agency in the Holy Land? And who can say to what extent the needs of <u>Malben</u> will have to be subordinated to other, even greater needs?

For more than forty years JDC has dedicated itself to the succor of Jews caught up in catastrophe -- natural or man-made. To the best of its ability, to the limit of its capacity, JDC -- the lifeline of aid from the Jews of

America to the Jews of other areas -- will continue to fulfill its mission in the months ahead.

This is a period of crisis and change. In such a period needs are always greater, not less. Any needs indicated here will inevitably grow larger; any aid will of necessity have to be increased; any goals now established may shortly, perhaps tomorrow, prove to be far too small.

At the time of the JDC Country Directors' Conference in Paris in the middle of October, before the events of the end of October and the beginning of November had taken place, it was estimated that <u>JDC would require a minimum</u> of \$26,550,000 for 1957 to aid more than 210,000 men, women and children in Europe, Moslem areas and Israel.

With this sum JDC hopes:

#In Israel, to operate and maintain -- through <u>Malben</u> -- nearly 7,000 beds for the aged, chronically ill, tubercular and others in need of institutional services; to provide vocational opportunities for 500 handicapped persons; to establish 1,000 dependent heads of families in income-producing shops and services; and to make available these and other services for handicapped newcomers in the country in order to help in the process of adaptation and social adjustment and to relieve the government of Israel of the burdens which these unfortunate people would otherwise present.

#<u>In Moslem areas</u>, to put at the disposal of 100,000 individuals, mostly children, such food, clothing, medical aid, vocational and educational facilities and other services required to combat poverty, disease and ignorance; and to help prepare them better for the future, either in their present countries of residence or in Israel.

#<u>In Europe</u>, to provide welfare assistance to thousands in the form of cash assistance, medical care, care of the aged or other services; to initiate and support plans for long-term solutions through integration or emigration;

to stimulate, guide and provide financial support for projects essential to the growth and strengthening of local Jewish communities, in the expectation that one day these communities will be independent of outside assistance.

In terms of the functional services to be rendered, of the total of \$26,550,000:

26 percent will be allocated for relief (in cash and in kind) to needy families for supplementary feeding for children and adults and for the maintenance of children's homes;

34 percent for medical care and care of the aged, chiefly in Israel;

10 percent for cultural, religious and educational activities in Moslem areas and Israel;

7 percent for reconstruction activities, including vocational training and credit institutions;

12 percent for building and equipping medical institutions and old-age homes in Israel as well as the development of facilities essential to European Jewry.

Various smaller programs and projects falling outside of the broad categories enumerated above will absorb the remainder.

The 1957 budgetary requirements of the JDC, totalling \$26,550,000 are as follows:

#### ESTIM/ TED 1957 REQUIREMENTS

Malben in Israel	\$12,000,000
Moslem Countries	3,500,000
Western Europe	3,982,000
Other Countries	220,000
Relief-in-Transit	2,450,000
Reconstruction	1,600,000
Cultural and Religious	660,000
Other	2,138,000
Total	\$26,550,000

Following is a detailed description of JDC's 1957 budgetary requirements:

MALBEN IN ISRAEL . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Requirements: \$12,000,000

The JDC welfare program in Israel (Malben) for handicapped new arrivals will in 1957 require an expenditure of \$1,000,000 per month. Approximately 55 per cent of this amount will be employed in maintaining a network of homes and hospitals providing care for more than 6,900 persons by the end of the year. The variety of services to be provided is shown in the following table:

INSTITUTIONAL CASELOAD AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1957

Type of Service	Number of Beds
Homes for the Aged	4,710
Tuberculosis Service	475
Chronic Disease Hospitals	675
Institutions for the Aged Infirm	460
Mental Hospitals	400
Children's Hospitals	150
General Hospitals	55
Total	6,925

To reach this level of more than 6,900 beds by the end of 1957, it will be necessary to provide funds for the completion of some construction now under way; a new home for the aged at Acre; completion of a 200-bed hospital for chronic diseases at Nahariya; and the completion of the Neve Avoth Home for the Aged.

Despite the fact that 4,700 beds, or more than two-thirds of <u>Malben's</u> total institutional facilities, are devoted to care of the aged, there will remain a very substantial waiting list of persons recently arrived in Israel for whom placement in a home is essential to survival. One program designed to meet this need is the establishment by <u>Malben</u> of 50 small apartments, each consisting of one room, plus kitchenette and other facilities, for aged couples, who in addition will get a pension from JDC or other sources. Eventually, this program will provide 200 apartments, in addition the aged residents will be given adequate medical and welfare care through <u>Malben</u> visiting services. 81. While <u>Malben's</u> institutional services absorb the major share of its \$12,000,000 budget, other services include more than 20 sheltered workshops in which over 500 persons are employed in manufacturing such items as shoes, mattresses, underwear, furniture, handbags, etc. Here, the employees are partially disabled persons who otherwise would be totally dependent. The construction loan program is another major service of <u>Malben</u> which aids large numbers to become socially useful citizens. With the aid of <u>Malben</u> funds, heads of families are being given an opportunity to establish shops and services in new settlements, housing developments and market places. By the end of 1956, over 5,200 such businesses will have been established for the benefit of over 21,500 persons (including dependents).

In 1957 <u>Malben</u> will furnish, as it has in the past, aid to hundreds of others through its various social services, its occupational therapy program an' its clinics. Included will be provision of prosthetic and orthopedic appliances. In addition, Malben will intensify its cooperation with the Israel Government in the fight against TB. An understanding has already been reached under which <u>Malben</u> will participate in a coordinated plan for preventive work in the TB field through chest clinics and home care. Implementation of this plan will be similar to the existing program for the coordinated treatment of TB cases in hospitals.

Another factor responsible for the increase in the <u>Malben</u> budget by nearly a million dollars over that required in 1956 is the spiralling price structure in Israel, which is increasing the cost of <u>Malben</u> of all goods and services.

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The political and economic disturbances in Moslem countries in 1956 are responsible for increased uncertainty among Jews in those areas and for JDC's increased responsibilities over and above planned programs. Without going into

the details of the general political situation, which in all likelihood will be changed even further by onrushing events, it is of interest that the economic situation of the Jews in these areas has taken a rapid turn for the worse. For one reason, emigration to Israel left the relatively least fit and healthy behind in Morocco. Consequently, in some communities more than 50 per cent of the Jews are on relief rolls.

To meet requests for help from many Jewish communities earlier in 1956, JDC was forced to undertake an adult assistance program which reached 6,300 persons each month in 20 communities. By the end of 1956, it is anticipated that 7,500 persons a month will benefit from this program. In addition, small work projects are being planned in a number of communities to provide work for the unemployed.

The need for increased JDC financial assistance is even more likely: in Morocco, the communities formerly received substantial allocations from the French Protectorate. It is a question whether or not such grants will be forthcoming in the future. In Tunisia, governmental subventions to Jewish institutions have already decreased sharply. The Jewish community of Tunis received less than half of the subventions in 1955-56 it had received in 1952.

Finally, the numbers of those requiring aid are at the present moment, despite the fairly sizeable emigration, substantially the same as they were. A large part of the movement of the Jewish population consisted of families and individuals coming from regions in the interior and from layers of the Jewish population hitherto largely untouched by JDC services. As for those JDC beneficiaries who have emigrated, they have since been replaced by others who have moved into the larger centers of population. Thus, no actual diminution is likely to take place in the number of the needy to be dealt with by the JDC.

The operating principle of JDC for 1957 is the following: to continue and even to expand, wherever necessary, current programs of child care and 83. supplementary feeding; of medical care for both children and adults; of educational religious and cultural activities, and other relief and rehabilitation services.

There are an estimated 500,000 Jews in Morocco, Algeria, Tumisia and Iran of whom nearly 100,000 are reached in one way or another by JDC services.

These programs are largely oriented towards providing welfare services for children and youth. There are approximately 35,000 children receiving supplementary feeding through JDC-supported canteens and other central feeding establishments. Medical care is extended to about 22,000 through OSE institutions in French North Africa and through direct operations elsewhere. Kindergartens, nurseries, orphanages and other such establishments assist over 7,000; schools, principally <u>Alliance</u> schools, but also educational facilities run by the Ozar Hatorah, local communities and the Lubavitcher, as well as separate Hebrew courses, are attended by more than 70,000 persons.

Over 5,500 persons receive vocational training through the JDCsupported services of ORT. U. S. Department of Agriculture surplus foods are widely employed to improve feeding standards in the canteens and are being used in a parcel distribution program to about 6,300 beneficiaries.

In Iran, where the situation is still somewhat more settled than in other Moslem areas, plans for expanded activities have been undertaken by a renascent Jewish community. Plans now call for the organization of Motherand-child health centers in Hamadan, Kerman and Yazd, where I avettes have to be distributed, milk and special baby food provided. There will also be facilities for bathing babies; expectant and nursing mothers will be given advice and guidance. In Tehran, the establishment of a second kindergarten, in cooperation with the local Ladies Committee, has been decided upon. Shiraz will also get a kindergarten. 84. The budgetary requirements for 1957 are estimated at \$3,500,000, the same amount that was allocated by the JDC for 1956. <u>The amounts finally required may total substantially more.</u>

Ten years ago JDC helped over 300,000 persons in Western Europe to cope with the immediate emergency problems of day-to-day living. This year the combined caseload for Western Europe numbers a little under 30,000, but the nature of the problems being dealt with is markedly different.

These 30,000 individuals represent a residual caseload of both native and DP Jews, a large percentage of whom will remain dependent upon Jewish communal funds for some time to come. A recent statistical survey of the JDC cash relief rolls in Western Europe, totalling about 15,000 beneficiaries, indicated that approximately two-thirds of the cases involve permanently handicapped persons.

Intensive efforts are being made by the JDC to provide long-term solutions in an effort to reduce the caseload. In cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, lifetime care has been arranged for a number of aged persons in Italy.

Funds have been added to existing loan funds, and new credit institutions have been established, in order to make business opportunities accessible for hitherto dependent cases. The vocational activities of ORT (financially supported by the JDC) are expected to beer fruit in the long run when some of the younger members of dependent families become skilled and obtain employment as a means of making the family as a whole self-supporting. Integration grants are given to JDC assistees in order to help them in establishing themselves in local communities. By all these means, including the emigration, however limited, of socially assisted cases, there is some possibility of a reduction in the caseload. However, the rate of contraction

is not likely to be sharp and its impact on the welfare requirements will be hardly discernible in 1957.

Since 1954, in cooperation with the Conference on Jewish Material claims Against Germany, a special effort has been under way to develop local Jewish community stuctures and organizations. Basic welfare services, such as homes for the aged, children's homes and hospitals, have received financial support. Funds have also been reserved for schools and religious institutions, and the development of community centers has played a significant role in this program of capital investments.

The JDC's 1957 relief and rehabilitation budget for Western Europe includes approximately \$600,000 for capital investments. The results of these investments are expected to make themselves evident in improved standards of care, in satisfying hitherto unmet needs for institutional services, and by strengthening and reinvigorating Jewish communal interest and Jewish communal . life in the remaining communities of any size in Western Europe. It is hopefully anticipated that this long-range program will prepare the local communities to assume a larger share of the financial responsibility for their social needs and to that extent ease the burden on Jewish sources of funds from abroad.

In terms of numbers of assistees, and the amount of financial help called upon from the JDC, the principal programs are situated in the former DP countries, Austria, Germany and Italy; and in Belgium and France.

<u>Austria:</u> There are approximately 10,500 Jews in Austria, over 90 per cent of whom reside in Vienna. Because the age composition is heavily weighted on the side of the aged, an unusually large segment in the foreseeable future is or will be in need of assistance.

Approximately 2,100 persons regularly receive aid either through the Kultusgemeinden or through the direct JDC operation. The Vienna

<u>Kultusgemeinde</u> subventioned by the JDC, provides assistance regularly to approximately 680 persons, of whom about 40 per cent are over 60 years of age and enothe. 25 per cent are permanently unemployable.

<u>Germany:</u> The last remaining Jewish DP camp in Germany, Camp Foehrenwald, will no longer be a significant factor in budgeting. Through the integration and resettlement scheme initiated some time ago, more or less permanent solutions were worked out for the residual camp population. With the aid of substantial grants made available by JDC, as well as matching grants and housing facilities by the German government, it is expected that the ‡cehrenwald families remaining in Germany will in time be absorbed and integrated into various Jewish communities. There are, however, a number of particularly difficult cases which will continue to require help, to be extended to them through the local Jewish communities.

The bulk of locally-needed welfare services will be assured by means of JDC grants to the Jewish Central Welfare Agency whose member communities now issue cash assistance regularly to about 1,900 persons; offer vocational training to about 90; maintain 13 homes with a population of 510 aged persons and nine nursery schools caring for 220 children.

<u>Italy</u>: In the last few years JDC, in Italy as well as in other European areas, has given increasing support to the needs of the local, settled population. Through the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, aid has been extended for relief as well as related services. Most recent reports indicate that nearly 1,000 persons are receiving cash assistance, the funds for which are in part forthcoming from the local communities, the remainder from JDC. With the aid of JDC, the standards of relief are slowly being raised to a minimum but effective level.

Direct JDC aid in Italy reaches some 500 DP's and provides medical and other services for many others. An important share of the funds now expended

for direct activities is employed in behalf of post-TB cases and their dependants, numbering about 120 persons.

<u>Belgium</u>: The assistance programs of the JDC are carried out in Belgium through support of three local agencies, the most important of which is the A.I.V.G. of Brussels, which has a cash relief load of 1,046 persons. While in general the trend in the relief rolls of these agencies has been down, such savings as might be anticipated have been partly offset by rising costs.

<u>France:</u> France is reported to have a Jewish population of about 300,000 or two-thirds of the total for Western Europe. The number of assistees in all services which are supported by the JDC, and implemented through local agencies, is over 14,000.

The central fund raising and welfare agency for the Paris region (<u>Fonds</u> <u>Social Juif Unifie</u>) is responsible for carrying out the bulk of the services in behalf of both refugees and native persons. Its annual budget amounts to approximately \$2,500,000, of which the JDC share represents between 30 per cent and 35 per cent, the remainder coming from local, private, communal and governmental sources. The number of beneficiaries of cash assistance totals about 2,700; there are over 800 children in 15 homes.

A program was begun in 1954, with the aid of Claims Conference funds, for the rebuilding, expansion or the establishment, wherever necessary, of essential communal facilities and services, including schools, medical establishments, canteens, children's homes and kindergartens. Concern has also been shown for the necessity of strengthening Jewish communal life both in Paris and in the provinces by allocating funds for the establishment of community centers.

A factor which may seriously upset the budget calculations for 1957 arises in connection with the emigration of Tunisian and Algerian Jewish families to France. While during the first five months of 1956 an average

of 32 immigrant families turned each month to the local Jewish Welfare agencies for assistance, currently this number has doubled. A further deterioration of conditions in these countries will undoubtedly lead to a considerably greater influx and the financial pressures on the local welfare organizations will only be relieved by a larger measure of support from JDC together with the local community.

<u>Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland</u>: About 400 persons, many of them former TB patients, receive monthly welfare assistance in Sweden: a grant has been allocated for establishing a Home for the Infirm, in order to deal with unmet needs for this type of service; planning has begun for the establishment of a community center in Stockholm; widespread support is being given to various and cultural activities, particularly in behalf of recently resettled refugees finding themselves somewhat isolated in the smaller towns.

In Norway, a small assistance program, as well as a scholarship program destined to provide training opportunities for unskilled refugees, represent the services currently subventioned by JDC.

While the Danish Jewish community has supported local welfare requirements without calling upon JDC for aid, it has had to delay much needed repairs to various institutions for lack of adequate funds. It is for these specific purposes that some small allotments were made available for a home for the aged and for a synagogue in Copenhagen in 1955 and 1956 and it is planned to make small grants for similar projects in 1957.

The Dutch government has given approval to, and is providing two-thirds of the cost of, the construction of a much-needed Jewish mental hospital with a capacity of 76 beds. The remaining third of the cost is to be furnished by JDC over a two-year period, the first installment of which is included in the 1957 budget.

Switzerland: JDC covers about 20 per cent of the budget of the central

organization in Switzerland which concerns itself with aged, ailing and otherwise handicapped refugees. The cash relief load of this organization averages about 350 monthly and the Home for the Aged houses about 120. While the number of persons requiring cash assistance has declined, the total budget cannot yet be met out of resources available from the government and from the Swiss Jewish community.

Portugal and Spain: Small residual caseloads will continue to require assistance.

<u>Greece, Yugoslavia</u>: The bulk of the funds reserved for Greece for 1957 are intended for the ongoing relief program conducted by the Central Jewish Relief Organization, involving 340 beneficiaries of cash assistance and medical care.

Relatively small numbers of refugees continue to require the aid of JDC in the Fhilippines, Central America and China. \$100,000 is reserved for Australia, to enable local welfare societies to absorb the appreciable number of refugees who have found asylum on that continent. In time, because of the many economic opportunities which that country offers, they are expected to become self-supporting. In the meantime, during the transition period, new arrivals need help in their day-to-day living, in finding housing and in starting upon small business ventures. Currently, approximately 500 persons are being assisted regularly.

RELIEF\_IN\_TRANSIT ...... Requirements: \$2,450,000

The very substantial relief needs which fall outside of the specific country programs described above are met through JDC's relief-in-transit services. In some respects, these programs are as important as any carried on anywhere by JDC.

In 1956, the JDC grant to the World ORT Union totalled \$1,450,000 and constituted approximately 60 per cent of the global budget of that organization. Through its vast network of schools in Europe and in Moslem countries, approximately 14,000 young people received training and instruction of varying duration, in a wide variety of skills and trades, the principal emphasis falling in the fields of mechanics, electrical repairs, carpentry, sewing, etc. In 1957, a grant of \$1,450,000 for the World ORT Union is again foreseen.

For very many years JDC has given financial assistance to various cultural and religious institutions and projects in Israel. Currently 80 <u>yeshivoth</u> receive regular montally grants from the JDC and are given special assistance with respect to their central feeding establishments where these exist. About 1,700 refugees — rabbis, cantors and their dependents — benefit from

regular monthly grants, and support is given to six research projects in which 100 individuals are employed. The continuation of this worthwhile program will require \$660,000 in 1957.

OTHER ...... Requirements: \$2,138,000

This general category includes miscellaneous one-time grants for activities generally cutting across geographical lines: It includes the operating and service costs for JDC's New York and Paris Headquarters and its professional and other overseas personnel, and the cost of the annual audit. Likewise included are such items as the purchase and distribution of <u>matzoth</u>, <u>matzoh</u> <u>meal</u> and other Passover supplies for distribution to approximately 50,000 persons; provision for special cultural projects such as supplementation of teachers' salaries in areas where the local community is unable to bear the full expense; and various other specialized services. F. Program and Operations of the New York Association for New Americans, Inc.

## 1. Services

The New York Association for New Americans - NYANA - was organized in 1949 to provide settlement services for Jewish refugees and immigrants in the New York metropolitan area (New York City, Westchester, Nassau and Suffolk Counties). NYANA has cared for approximately two-thirds of all the Jewish refugees who arrived in the United States since 1949. More than 65,000 men, women and children have been aided in New York in the last eight years.

NYANA provides the aid necessary to establish the newcomer and make him self-supporting in his new country as soon as possible. If a newcomer has relatives in the city, they are interviewed to determine the amount of aid they are able to give. NYANA then works out an individual plan with each family to assist it financially and to help in the adjustment in the community.

## NYANA's Services:

NYAMA provides the following list of services, although not every refugee necessarily requires each service. The length of time that a refugee family may require help from the organization varies widely from family to family, depending upon the individual circumstances. In some instances it is as short as a week, and in others help may be required for a year or more.

#### NYAMA Provides:

1 1

Financial assistance to aid the newcomer with:

A Home - minimal furnishings and household necessities.

Clothing - as needed to get the newcomer started in the community.

Medical and Dental Care - utilizing clinics and other free facilities wherever practical.

<u>Maintenance</u> - for food, rent, utilities and other basic necessities. Individual budgets are worked out according to each family's needs, based on accepted living standards in the New York City community.

<u>Supplementation</u> - in cases of large families where there is only one wage earner.

A Job - utilizing the newcomer's skills wherever possible.

Vocational Training - to adapt the newcomers skills to American methods.

Sheltered Workshop - to provide work for elderly and handicapped newcomers.

Business & Loan - to provide loans for the purchase of small businesses by newcomers unable to support their families for reasons of health, or lack of industrial skills, and where retraining is not feasible. Also provides loans for the purchase of necessary work tools, union dues, and for some professionals, such as doctors, to enable them to establish themselves in practice.

<u>Counseling</u> - a staff of trained social workers and vocational counselors assist the newcomers with their initial adjustment problems and work out individual plans for settlement, jobs, vocational training, etc.

During the first six months of 1957, NYANA served 4,860 immigrants, nearly two-thirds of whom were Hungerians.

#### 2. Expenditures

# Expenditures for the first six months of 1957 totaled \$782,203, allocated as follows among the agency's services:

Basic maintenance - for food, rent, utilities and	
other necessities	\$352,162
Homes and furnishings	109,156
Clothing	11,612
Medical and dental care	22,466
Institutional and foster care	7,140
Sheltered workshop	8,007
Vocational training	8,175
Business & Loan	2,250
Counseling Services (personnel)	109,285
Administrative and Office Services (personnel)	47,255
Operating expenses (rent, telephone, stationery and	
supplies, etc.)	28,845
Subvention grants to other organizations for special- ized work with immigrants not included in NYANA's	
services	75,850
Total	\$782,203

NYAMA makes every effort to operate on an economical and efficient basis in full recognition of the need to conserve UJA funds. It maintains a minimum staff to provide basic services and increases it only when an emergency arises, such as the recent influx of Hungarian refugees.

#### NYANA Future:

It is estimated that a total budget of \$1,410,145 will be required for <u>NYANA services during the year 1957</u>. If any of the bills now before Congress to liberalize immigration are passed, NYANA will have to revise its estimates according to the increase in numbers of refugees to be admitted.

#### G. Program and Operations of United Hias Service

United Hias Service, the Jewish international migration agency, was established in August, 1954 as a consolidation of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, the United Service for New Americans and the migration services of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. To assist Jews in need of migration services or counseling, the World Headquarters of United Hias Service, situated in New York City, coordinates the global activity of close to 100 offices and cooperating committees in North America, Latin America, Europe, North and South Africa, Israel, Australia and Hong Kong.

The United States Operations of United Hias Service, also located in New York City, works directly with governmental agencies and other national bodies to promote increased immigration opportunities. It renders premigration and protective services, maintains a location and search service, furnishes port and dock services for newly arrived immigrants, operates a shelter in New York for newcomers requiring temporary care, coordinates planned resettlement to local communities throughout the United States, including aid in integration, naturalization, and Americanization. A field staff assists communities to meet various kinds of problems of immigrants including medical, vocational and social adjustment, and special socio-legal problems which arise because of the alien status of newcomers.

The European Headquarters of United Hias Service, in Paris, is responsible for supervision of the emigration program in Europe and North Africa. The European caseload includes approximately 8,000 refugees and displaced persons in Western Europe who wish to emigrate to the United States, Canada, Latin America and Australia. In addition, the new Hungarian refugee influx early in 1957 totaled close to 15,000 persons registered with United

Hias Service who were receiving emigration assistance to various Western immigration countries. In North Africa, United Hias Service has developed an emigration service for Jews from Morocco and Tunisia with emphasis on special immigration projects to Canada and Brazil, as well as to other Western immigration countries. At present, opportunities are being developed for overseas immigration for Jews fleeing from Egypt and who wish to resettle in Western countries.

Over 12,000 men, women and children were resettled by United Hias Service since January 1, 1957. 9,500 of these were Hungarian and Egyptian escapees and expellees. Since the beginning of the Hungarian program 4,700 Hungarian Jews entered the United States, all of whom have been resettled through United Hias Service and its local cooperating committees. All this was carried on in conjunction with our normal program which totaled 2,500 emigrants for the first half of 1957.

Headquarters for operations in Latin America, located in Rio de Janeiro, is responsible for visa production, particularly for Jews from North Africa and more recently Hungary and Egypt, and for the integration program of newlyarrived immigrants in cooperation with local Jewish communities. Latin America and Brazil in particular, have opened up and become tremendous areas of immigration. Our Latin American program for the year 1957 will see more Jewish migrants resettled in this one area than we were able to place in countries of haven during all of 1955. 2,541 have arrived as of July 1st, including 1,512 Egyptians, 872 Hungarians and 157 North Africans and others.

In Israel, United Hias Service, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency and Israeli organizations, maintains shelters for unattached immigrants and a hostel in Beersheba for high priority technicians; sponsors a free loan program for immigrants; provides location services and conducts a counseling program which individualizes the handling of special migration problems;

provides arrangements for sending cash, food packages and CARE parcels on behalf of friends and relatives in the United States.

In the Far East, the Hong Kong office of the agency, under the supervision of the Paris office, assists the remaining 600 European Jews still in Communist China with emigration opportunities to Western countries, whenever exit permits are granted by the Chinese authorities.

The agency receives funds from over 450 organized Jewish communities in the United States, the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, as well as governmental and inter-governmental agencies. In addition, communities in Latin America and South Africa make direct allocations to the agency. In New York City, United Hias Service is a beneficiary of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York and also conducts a membership (\$10.00 maximum dues) campaign in the New York area. By agreement with the National UJA the rescue portion of the agency's program dealing with Hungarians and Egyptians is subvented by the Emergency Rescue Fund of the UJA.

#### VI. RESPONSE TO AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM'S CRITICISM OF UJA

The American Council for Judaism has seen fit to attack the UJA and the Jewish Agency for Palestine at a time when the UJA and the Agency are engaged in coping with the greatest movement of Jewish refugees in nearly a decade. The Jewish Agency receives a major part of its funds from the United Israel Appeal, a constituent agency of the UJA. The Jewish Agency is the philanthropic body which has been given administrative responsibility by the Government of Israel for the reception and absorption of Israel's newcomers. During 1957 alone, a minimum of 100,000 Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe, Egypt and other Moslem lands will be given haven in Israel.

In the light of such a vast immigration influx, it is obvious that the scope of the Jewish Agency's humanitarian task is enormous. In assisting scores of thousands of refugees - most of them with no financial means - to come to Israel and to start life anew in the one country that welcomes all Jews who seek refuge - the Jewish Agency also carries forward a tremendous and continuing program of agricultural development, organizes new rural communities, undertakes housing construction and operates a complex network of vocational training, rehabilitation, educational and cultural projects. In addition, the Agency aids the economic progress of 476 post-Statehood agricultural settlements in Israel where 131,000 immigrants are building a creative life. This is the life-saving and life-rebuilding work which has been criticized by the Council for Judaism as "political rather than philan-thropic."

In its most specific item of criticism, the Council bases its attack on an unwarranted interpretation of a single facet of the Jewish Agency's disbursement procedures - the granting of modest allocations to a number of political parties and various religious and cultural agencies operating in Israel. 98.

#### THE F.CTS:

## 1. Why are the allocations made?

To meet the valid objection expressed throughout the American Jewish community in past years that the spate of individual fund-raising campaigns for philanthropic purposes in Israel was wasteful and disruptive, the Jewish .gency agreed to subsidize some of the social welfare and immigrant aid programs operated by various parties and bodies in Israel. In return, these organizations called a halt to independent fund-raising drives for such purposes in the United States. The organizations further pledged to mobilize their American supporters to cooperate to the fullest extent with their community welfare fund drives and the campaigns of the nationwide UJA.

# What organizations receive allocation, in what amounts and for what purpose?

The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (the central body of the local communal philanthropic organizations in the United States) made a rigorous examination of such subventions and issued a full report on this topic covering the entire year of 1956. The report listed these allocations: World Confederation of General Zionist, \$750,000; Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi movements, \$750,000; Agudath Israel, \$160,000; Foale Agudath Israel, \$181,875; Herut, \$90,000. The three labor parties - Mapai, Mapam and Achdut Avodah - receive no allocations, since they share in the welfare and social service projects of the Histadrut, which conducts its own fund-raising drive in the United States. The Histadrut - the General Federation of Labor in Israe: is composed of virtually the entire labor force of Israel and its membership includes men and women of every political party in the nation.

Eac of the organizations receiving Jewish Agency subventions must submit audited statements which are reviewed very carefully to make certain that the allocations are used only for purposes which serve to supplement the

immigrant aid work of the Agency by meeting the needs of settlers in Israel in terms of housing, religious institutions, cultural facilities, schools and similar social welfare needs.

The funds for such subventions are derived from funds received not only from American sources, but in substantial part from Jewish communities in Europe, England, South Africa, Latin America and other countries of the free world.

More than 95 per cent of the Agency budget is spent for the following: transportation of immigrants; initial absorption costs for immigrants, establishment of new agricultural settlements and consolidation of settlements founded since the establishment of the State and still not self-sufficient; the Youth Aliyah program which currently cares for some 16,000 children; interest and amortization on funded debt, and allocations to other organizations for constructive educational and welfare activities.

The remaining less than five per cent is spent for administrative needs for the conduct of fund-raising campaigns in many countries outside of Israel, educational functions, youth work and similar programs both in and outside Israel, largely in countries other than the U. S. These activities include providing Hebrew teachers to Jewish communities in North Africa, Europe and Latin America that wish their children to be attached to the Jewish tradition and have petitioned for instructors, books, and pedagogical counsel. Leading Hebrew teachers' seminaries in the United States have also been granted Jewish Agency fellowships in order to train more qualified Hebrew teachers by having them study for brief periods in the Land of the Bible and the cradle of Hebrew culture.

# 3. Are financial reports available?

Financial statements of the various organizations receiving agency subventions are carefully reviewed by the gency, the UJA and the Council for Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. These statements are available at the Jewish Agency office.

#### SUMMARY

1. Allocations made to various organizations are not used for political purposes but are used exclusively for projects amplifying the Jewish Agency's humanitarian programs in Israel. The organizations involved make no individual fund-raising drives in the United States for such purposes and have aided greatly in the success of the UJA campaigns.

2. Such subventions make up a small percentage of the Agency's total budget and the funds for such purposes come from Jewish communities throughout the free world.

3. Rigorous financial accounting is required and the reports are available at the Agency offices.

# 1. Purpose of Mission

One of the greatest institutions in the United States is the State of the Union message of the President of the United States. As much as anything else, it symbolizes the democratic character of our society, for it shows the ultimate accountability of the government to the people.

My presence and the presence of my colleagues in your community today is likewise due to the recognition on the part of the UJA that it is accountable to the source from which it derives its authority and its strength - the American Jewish community.

We want not only to report to you on the state of affairs that relate to the UJA, but to listen to what you and your leaders are thinking about these problems. If there are any questions you have about the stewardship of the affairs of the UJA, we want to hear those questions and promise to do our best to answer them.

What we are doing here in your community today will during the course of the next two weeks be duplicated in 70 other communities throughout the length and breadth of the nation - from Bangor, Me. to Portland, Ore. and from Minneapolis, Minn. to New Orleans, La. In a sense, then, you are part of a network of an all-emcompassing effort on the part of the UJA to take counsel with you - you who are the backbone, the blood and the sinew of the UJA.

# 2. 10 - 20 Anniversary

By a unique and fortuitous coincidence, we stand today on the threshhold of a double anniversary - the 20th annual successive campaign of the UJA and the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel. In the days ahead you will be hearing of plans to observe this double anniversary and particularly of the plan of the UJA to hold its 1958 June conference in Jerusalem. This promises to be one of the most spectacular events of the

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coming year. I should like to believe that your community will be well represented at this conference.

The two anniversaries are interrelated. Israel's greatest achievement as well as its source of greatest strength is the absorption of 885,000 immigrants since the state was established. It is equally clear that despite the fact that many miracles - including the miracle of Israel's survival - have occurred in Israel, the epic achievement of the absorption of the 885,000 refugees could not have been possible without the massive assistance provided by the American Jewish community through the UJA.

# 3. History of the UJA

Since we stand on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the UJA, it is well to spend a moment or two to recall the circumstances under which it was brought into being. History abounds with instances of a people being drawn together in the presence of a common enemy. The UJA was organized in 1938, when the nature of Hitler's threat to Jews everywhere and, particularly to the Jews within Hitler's reach, was fully understood. It was inevitable that we, the Jews of America, should have discarded the wasteful separate drives for overseas needs and should have brought into being one fund raising agency which could mobilize the entire resources of the American Jewish community.

The history of the UJA consists essentially of two contrasting chaptersone, a chapter of superhuman effort and great frustration, and the other, a chapter of great triumph. Immediately before the war and during the war years, the constituent agencies of the UJA, notably the JDC, toild feverishly in behalf of all of the Jews caught in Hitler's trap and rescued whom they could, when they could and in any way they could. No one can say how many tens of thousands of lives were saved by UJA's agencies. Throughout the war, for example, the JDC, with the permission of the United States War Refugee Board, was able to send funds into occupied Europe, facilitating the escape of

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thousands and keeping thousands more hidden, but alive, with the help of underground groups.

However, when all is said and done, we were able to do pitifully little to rescue European Jewry from its cruel fate. This is not the place nor the time to call the world to an accounting. But, when one thinks of what we have been able to accomplish in the past decade - rescue, resettle more than 1,000,000 Jews including the 885,000 in Israel - we cannot but contrast these years of achievement with the bitter years when we went hat in hand begging the civilized world to open the gates to our fellow Jews in mortal jeopardy. These were the bitter years of the fruitless Evian Conference of 1938, of the 1939 White Paper on Palestine, and of the shameful Bermuda Refugee Conference of 1943 - all of which underscored the moral callousness of the world and its complete indifference to the Jewish tragedy.

That's the chapter of frustration -- when we had no control over the destiny of our fellow Jews in peril and in need.

However, after the war and particularly after the establishment of the State of Israel, when the destiny of our fellow Jews passed into our hands, we quickened to the opportunity presented to us and set in motion one of the greatest voluntary rescue efforts of all times. What we did is the glorious part of the history of the UJA which you and the Jewish communities throughout the country helped to write.

All of us have reason to be fiercely proud of the chapter headings of this part of the UJA story:

 The gigantic program of relief, rehabilitation and resettlement of more than 200,000 Jewish DPs, the survivors of the infamous concentration camps, the ghettos and hideouts.

 The transplanting to Israel of the entire Jewish communities of Yemen and Iraq -- numbering 170,000 souls in all - from areas of danger.

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3. The rescue of 175,000 Jews from Morocco, Tunis and Algeria from the expected consequence of the rising tide of Arab nationalism.

 The resettlement in Israel of 37,000 Jews from Turkey; 32,000 Jews from Iran.

5. The transplantation to Israel of 25,000 Jews from Lybia, a country in which Arabic xenophobia made life for Jews untenable.

 The integration of 65,000 Jews into the life of the American Jewish community.

7. Assistance to other Jewish communities, like those of Australia and of some of the South American countries, which have taken in a disproportionate number of refugees.

8. Major support to ORT's global vocational training program.

 Assistance in the cultural reconstruction of the ghost Jewish communities of Central Europe.

10. A full scale relief and rehabilitation program in the war-torn Jewish communities of Eastern Europe (when it was possible to bring them help) and of Central Europe and in the threatened and impoverished Jewish communities of North Africa.

11. An enlightened and awe-inspiring social service program in behalf of the aged, the infirm and the handicapped refugees in Israel (the Malben program of the JDC).

4. Specific Services Rendered by Constituent Agencies of the UJA

But these are mere statistics. At best, all the problems involved in the resettlement of one million human beings defies human comprehension. However, to genuinely understand what it is that the UJA has accomplished for the more than one million Jews it has helped resettle and for an equal number it has assisted in one way or another, one must take a look at the

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myriad of services rendered by the constituent agencies of the UJA.

For all the refugees resettled in Israel - the obligation of the Jewish Agency - it has meant and means:

> Providing them with transportation from his point of origin to Israel; Providing for them en route; Giving them initial help at the point of destination; Providing them with a home; Assisting them in finding employment; Helping them acquire a new language; and Providing them with the necessities of life until they achieve economic independence.

For the unskilled, the aged, the sick and the physically handicapped refugees resettled in Israel - the responsibility of the JDC - it has meant and means:

Supporting the ORT schools in Israel in which the unskilled immigrant receives vocational training; Operating a full scale medical, relief and social service program for about 10,000 persons.

For the needy refugees and other Jews in need throughout the whole world (about 500,000 in number) - the responsibility of the JDC - it has meant and means the support of medical programs, cash relief and cash loan programs, and various types of social services.

For the 65,000 Jewish post-war refugees in the United States - the responsibility of NYANA - it has meant and means:

Providing them with financial assistance in securing a home, furnishings, household necessities, clothing, medical and dental care, basic necessities (food, rent, utilities, etc.);

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Helping them secure employment, vocational training, and supplying them with counselling that will help them integrate into the American community.

For the Jewish communities in Central Europe ravaged by the war - which are aided by the JDC - it has meant and means:

Assisting them to build up their cultural, religious and educational institutions essential to their survival as Jewish communities.

In the throes of campaigns, particularly in the past few years, we have been so preoccupied in speaking of new refugee crises that we are inclined to lose sight of the vast on-going program of relief and cultural rehabilitation program of the JDC, and of the sustained program of the Jewish Agency in behalf of the refugees resettled in Israel who have not been completely integrated into the life of the country.

But, these efforts are no less important than the dramatic endeavors of rescue in which UJA-subventioned agencies are engaged.

Last month, Mr. Charles Jordan, Overseas Director of the JDC, was honored by the Scandinavian Jewish Federation (composed of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland) with the appointment of Knight of the Order of King David. This was in recognition for his work in helping reconstruct Jewish life shattered by the war and persecution in Denmark and Norway. It was the first instance in 32 years that such an award was given to a person who was not a resident of one of the four communities comprising the Federation. In a real sense, the honor conferred upon Mr. Jordan, which he undoubtedly merited, is a tribute to American Jewry in whose name and with JDC funds received from the UJA, he helped bring new life and new hope to the Jewish communities overrun by Hitler.

 Amount Raised by the UJA Until 1957 and Help by Israelis and Others in Absorption of Refugees

To accomplish all of this, the United Jewish Appeal has received from the communities, up to the first of this year, and distributed among its con-

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stituent agencies a sum slightly in excess of 1 billion dollars from 1939. We should not for a moment deceive ourselves that american Jewry has done the rescue, resettlement and relief work all by itself. We must not ever lose sight of the fact that nearly 90% of the Jewish refugees salvaged and resettled in the post-war era, have been absored by Israel. You would certainly be shocked to read the figures on the texes paid by Israelis to help in the absorption of the newcomers. In brief, the normal tax which the Israeli pays on his income is about 35%, to which is added a levy of 5% to 17% on his taxable income, for defense. This is in addition to what the Israelis have done in the way of sharing their food, their housing and all their public facilities with the new immigrants. However, it still remains to the everlasting credit of American Jewry that 85% of the funds received by the Jewish Agency (exclusive of reparations from Germany) and 97% of the funds received by the JDC are funds derived from the UJA. This is the measure of the generosity of American Jewry of which we can all be proud.

# 6. Situations Giving Rise to 1957 Flood of Refugees

In its 19 years of life, the UJA has responded to every emergency which has confronted the Jewish people. Today, the emergency involves the Jews of Egypt, the Jews of Poland, the Jews of Hungary, and the Jews of North Africa.

In the course of your local campaign, you have heard about the particular situations in these areas which have given rise to the new flood of refugees. There is no point in describing in great detail what these situations are. Speaking telescopically, these situations are as follows: In Egypt, a ruthless dictator, pursuing a course which is reminiscent of the Hitler era, has launched a campaign against Egyptian Jewry calculated to liquidate this ancient Jewish community. Responding to cruel measures of internment, expropriation, denationalization and expulsion, 25,000 Jews have left Egypt

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by the middle of this year and the majority of the balance of some 25,000 are in the process of emigration.

Last October, in the course of the uprising in Hungary, more than 17,000 Jews spilled over the Hungarian border into Vienna. There they were cared for by the JDC until they were resettled with the help of the Jewish Agency and with the United Hias Service. In recognition of the work of the United Hias Service in handling the refugees from Egypt and Hungary during the current crises, this agency was included as one of the beneficiaries of the Emergency Rescue Fund of 1957.

Continuing to come out of Morocco, Tunis and Algeria are about 1,000 Jews a month, to escape the crushing poverty of life in North Africa and the uncertainty of life in Moslem lands.

Finally, and most spectacular of all, is the emigration of Jews from Poland, 25,000 of whom have left since last October. They are permitted to leave because the Gamulka regime in Poland has concluded that there is no solution to the endemic anti-semitism of the Polish people which reappeared in all of its ugly manifestations as soon as the restraints on the Polish people were removed.

# 7. Number of Refugees Resettled in 1957

All in all, during the first half of 1957, the UJA, through its constituent agencies, has helped resettle 62,324 Jewish refugees. Of this number 50,200 were settled in Israel and the remainder of 12,124 found homes in the United States, Canada, Australia, and South America.

# 8. Status of 1957 Campaign

An aggregate of 1,100 campaigns throughout the United States encompassing 5,000 communities are expected to raise this year a total of approximately \$110,000,000 on behalf of the UJA, local and national causes. The Spring phase of the campaign, during which more than 90% of the funds are raised,

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is now in the wind-up stage. We already have sufficient information from the communities throughout the country so that a reasonably accurate estimate can be made about the worth of the 1957 campaign. As of July 31st, approximately \$87,000,000 had been pledged, with approximately 50% of the communities reporting final figures. All these reports indicate that the regular 1957 campaign should bring to the UJA approximately the same amount as it did in 1956, when allotments to the UJA amounted to \$56,000,000.

To provide for the emergency refugee program, the UJA launched a drive for an Emergency Rescue Fund in 1957. The pledges to this Fund as of the end of July amounted to \$26,000,000. Based upon the reports from the communities, it can be anticipated that the Emergency Rescue Fund will bring in allotments to the UJA in the sum of \$30,000,000, which figure compares with \$17,000,000 pledged by the communities to the Special Survival Fund of 1956.

In essence, then, the UJA expects to receive from 1957 campaigns an aggregate sum in excess of \$80,000,000.

Several more figures should be added to the vital statistics on the 1957 campaign - vital in the true etymological sense of this word: <u>essential</u> <u>to the continuance of life</u>. These are the figures reflecting the sense of urgency which many communities - among them, some of the largest in the country - have felt in connection with this year's campaign: A total of 25 cities conducting spring campaigns have already exceeded the sums they raised in their peak year (mostly 1948, when the UJA received allotments of more than \$147,000,000). All indications are that 5 more spring cities will ultimately wind up in this distinguished list.

# 9. Unmet Needs of 1957

Despite the generous contributions made by American Jewry, Israel is confronted with several serious problems in connection with the new stream of refugees which, during the current year has reached flood dimensions.

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One problem is derived from the character of the new migration and the other, from the sheer numbers that Israel has been compelled to absorb within a comparatively short time. As to the first, the Polish and Hungarian refugees contain among them a substantial number of professional people and men with skills. While these people are invaluable to Israel's economy, they are, necessarily, people who must be integrated much faster than those who came from less developed areas - if they are to be spared demoralization. Moreover, the professional people must learn Hebrew as soon as possible, which means at least six months schooling in Ulpanim and the support of their families while they are undergoing this training. All in all, the tempo at which most of the new refugees must be absorbed places an additional immediate strain on the Jewish Agency's limited resources.

As to the second problem, the flood of new refugees in Israel has created an acute housing shortage which must be solved if Israel is not to return to the socially harmful and economically wasteful maabarot. The Israel government itself, independent of the Jewish Agency, is trying hard to allocate maximum funds for housing of newcomers.

However, it is faced with three major obstacles: (1) the precarious security situation, aggravated by Russia's recent deliveries of new arms to Egypt and Syria, demands high expenditure for military preparedness; (2) the need to improve the living conditions of the settled population; and (3) the need to replace temporary housing or inadequate housing in abandoned Arab dwellings. Unfortunately, for the sheer lack of funds, the combined effort of the Israel Government and of the Jewish Agency has not kept pace with the crying need for adequate housing for the new immigrants, as illustrated by the fact that between April, 1956 and March, 1957, 50% of all new arrivals were accommodated in temporary dwellings, 17% were accommodated in the already overcrowded quarters of relatives, and only 33% were -10accommodated in newly built housing units in urban and rural areas.

Beyond peradventure of doubt, the supply of adequate housing to the newcomers presents the most serious challenge to Israel and to Israel's loyal partner in the absorption of the new immigrant - the American Jewish community.

# 10. Future Immigration Outlook

What of the future?

From all evidence available, it is certain that more than 100,000 refugees will have been resettled this year.

We have tried to project into the immediate future and estimate the dimensions of our problem in 1958. In all frankness, it must be admitted that we cannot at this stage say what the refugee situation will be in 1958 except that in all likelihood it may duplicate the 1957 figure. There are many unknowns in the situation which only the future will resolve and which will determine the UJA burden in the year ahead. To list the major unknowns:

- Will Poland permit the present flow of Jews out of Poland to continue and will she permit the recent Jewish repatriates from Russia (expected to reach 9,000 during 1958) to leave?
- Will Morocco permit the unrestricted movement of Jews out of Morocco?
- 3. Will the Algerian situation become so acute as to give rise to mass emigration from that country?
- 4. Will the possibility exist for the 6,000 Jews remaining in Syria to leave the country?
- 5. Will the economic pressure on the 60,000 Jews in Turkey reach the point where many will feel that they have no alternative but to leave?
- 6. Will Rumania permit general immigration to Israel?
- 7. Will the Soviet Union permit any migration to Israel?

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# These are the unknowns.

They are counterbalanced by one great and overriding <u>known</u>: the certainty that whatever the burdens may be in the year or years ahead, neither the people of Israel nor the Jews of America will flinch from or abdicate their responsibility.

The middle of last month one of the New York nespapers (Daily News, August 21st) carried a story to the effect that Russia has under consideration a plan to permit the exodus of Russian Jews who want to go to Israel, that Russia "will urge" one-half of its 3 million Jews to emigrate and that she will do this with the view of "so weakening Israel that it will not be able to withstand attacks by Syria and its Arab allies."

"A nefarious plot," you say? I am sure that I speak for all of you here, for the Jews of America and, if I am permitted to say so, for the people of Israel, when I say that I hope that this is not a <u>threat</u> but a <u>promise</u>. All of us would welcome being put to the test implicit in this plan.

Who in this room would not leap to the opportunity of reclaiming and salvaging as part of the Jewish people the 3 million Jews who for forty years have been severed from the main stream of Jewish life and who, unless given the chance to develop their religious, educational and cultural institutions which they have been denied thus far - are doomed to extinction?

# Conclusion

No one chooses the age in which he shall be born. A human being is a man in the true sense only if he takes up the challenges with which the age in which he lives confronts him. We Jews have during the past decade been challenged by the transmigration of more than 1 million Jews, a movement of people which has virtually transformed the map of the Jewish communities of the world. This whole process has one common denominator, the simple and very human desire on the part of our fellow Jews to escape from oppression, tyranny and persecution and to take root in countries where they - even as we in the United States - may live in security and dignity.

Through the United Jewish Appeal, American Jewry has taken up that challenge and has given in a measure unequalled by any voluntary effort in the recorded annals of man. And who is there to doubt that the people of Israel have, at great personal sacrifice, lived up to their commitment, written into their Declaration of Independence, that the "State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion?"

I know that irrespective of what the years ahead hold for us, we shall live up to our responsibilities towards our fellow Jews. I know that because the nearly two decades of history of the United Jewish Appeal has shown that the American Jewish community has given new and heightened meaning to the greatest of ethical principles which has motivated the Jew from time immemorial, that we are our brother's keeper.

What you have done and will continue to do in your community is part of that history,

#### ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

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The foregoing address is intended only for your guidance. It is prepared under specific section heads so that the parts that you may want to use for a specific occasion would be readily accessible. Obviously, it is expected that you will adapt the material to your own needs, drawing upon your own experiences.

While the foregoing text tells in summary form the general story of the UJA, you might find the following additional recommendations helpful:

1. <u>In addressing women's groups</u>, stress (a) the amount of money raised by women independently (see page 61c), (b) that women's gifts serve a two-fold purpose; namely, that they are valuable in and of themselves and have, in fact, over the years constituted about 15% of the amounts the UJA has received, and that women play a very important role in stimulating giving on the part of their husbands. Without the active help of women, including those who do not make separate contributions, the UJA would fall short of its mark.

2. <u>In meeting with rabbis</u>, it might be wise to assume that they know what is going on in Egypt, Poland and North Africa. Perhaps the emphasis with them should be on what are the prospects for the future. Also, it should be borne in mind that the UJA has been confronted with a problem that many rabbis neither contribute an amount commensurate with their earning, nor do they provide sufficient leadership within their own community in support of the UJA. In this connection, therefore, it might be advisable to take into your confidence the rabbis with whom you meet and ask them what could be done to stimulate greater support among rabbis.

In addressing young leaders, people who do not know much about the UJA and its history, it might be advisable to inspire them with the history of the UJA, with the forces which brought it into being and with its colossal achievements. The young leaders should be made to feel that there is no broader scope for their energies than working in behalf of the global efforts of the UJA.

9/6/57

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NOT FOR PUBLICATION

POLAND AFTER "OCTOBER"

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INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS 15 East 84th Street New York 28, N.Y.

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# INTRODUCTORY

Ever since last October, when Gomulka came to power, the question asked by most observers has been: Can the new course of comparative independence from the Soviet Union, with its "national" Communism, the weakening of the grip of the secret police on the country, and somewhat more freedom of religion and opinion be maintained? Will not the weakened power of the party, together with the opposition of the Right Wing ("Stalinists") and the liberals (those asking for more reforms) put the whole position of Polend in jeopardy, particularly in view of two factors - the well known precarious condition of the soviet Union the equally well known lack of conciliation on the part of the Soviet Union toward Gomulka's "national" Communism?

In the following pages an attempt is made to answer these questions and, at the same time, to describe the present situation of the Javish population in Poland.

NEHEMIAH ROBINSON

June, 1957.

# Section A. THE GENERAL SITUATION

## 1. What provoked the October "revolution?"

The <u>Neue Zuercher Zeitung</u> of May 2, 1957, in an article titled "The Changes of the Gomulka Regime," succinctly set forth the causes in the following words:

In October, the Polish people turned egainst the Polish setreps of Moscow and their protectors, against the hated forms of the Communist dictatorship, forced upon and considered by the Polish people a "foreign rule" which, taking no account of Polish traditions and the actual conditions of the country, "Russified" it, if not directly, at least in its structure. The manifestations of confidence in October committed Gomulka to do away with the hitherto existing forms of ruling the country and to consider the Polish realities. His appearance at the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the United Workers' (Communist) Party and the first great speeches during the demonstrations in Warsaw proved that he properly understood the temper of the masses and that he also acted in accord with the wishes of the people.

# 2. How did it happen?

Flora Lewis told the "backstage story" in her article "36 Hours that Shook the Communist Norld" (Collier's, December 21, 1956). Here are a few

excerpts:

On October 19, 1956, Khrushchev, Molotov, Mikoyan, Kegenovich, and about a dozen Soviet generals arrived in Marsaw.

Sometime earlier the Russians had sent word that they wished to attend the Polish Central Committee meeting, scheduled for ten o'clock that Friday morning -- the meeting intended to restore Gomulka to power and oust Stalinist, pro-Soviet members of the Polish Communist leadership. The Poles had shrewdly though politely requested that the Russians defer their visit until after the committee's sessions.

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Now, irked that the Russians had failed to heed the request, Cyrankiewicz no longer felt the need for courtesy. "We told you that we would talk with you when our meeting is finished," he said.

Khrushchev could not control himself. Gesturing toward Ochab and Gomulka, he shouted: "There has been an act of betrayal! We had to come! It is not only a question of Polish-Soviet relations. You're endangering our position in Germany! You're menacing the whole Soviet camp!"

The formal talks opened a little before 8 A.H.

Suddenly, a lower-ranking Polish Communist burst into the room. Troops were surrounding Warsaw, he informed Gomulka and Ochab.

The Poles jumped up and turned accusingly to the Russians. "Is it true?" one demanded. Khrushchev feigned amazement. He turned to Marshal Konev and General Antonov. Together they went into an anteroom to confer with the other Russian generals waiting there. More than an hour passed. By the time Khrushchev returned to say, "Yes, it is true," Warsaw had been completely encircled.

Ochab spluttered: "If you think you can keep us in here and start an armed Putsch outside, you are mistaken! We are prepared."

Gomulka, glaring at Khrushchev, coldly added: "Unless the troops are called off at once, we will walk out of here and there will be no further negotiations. We will not talk while cannons are pointing at Warsaw."

It was a supremely critical moment. Although Khrushchev started to argue, the Poles stood tense but firm. "If it is impossible to talk with you, I will say what is on my mind over the radio, to the people," Gomulka declared.

Both sides knew what that could mean -- at minimum, a nationwide demonstration against the Soviet Union, but more probably war between Communist Poland and Communist Russia. The risk was a terrible one, later to be re-emphasized by the tragedy of Hungary, whose leadership wavered and panicked.

Khrushchev's eyes narrowed and he stood quist for a moment. At last he said, "We will order all troop movements to be halted."

Konev was sent to give the order. Polish security men dashed out to check all roads to Warsaw, some going by taxi because not enough official cars were available.

Reports soon began coming in. The troops were not withdrawing, but they had stopped where they were.

Somewhat later a meeting of the Central Committee took place and thereafter the talks with the Russians were resumed. As the afternoon wore on, it was clear that the Russians could not win with words alone. At 5:00 P.M., Soviet forces began to move again. Reinforcements crossed into Poland in the north from what was formerly East Prussia and in the west from East Germany. Despite Khrushchev's promise earlier in the day, several Soviet divisions already stationed in Poland marched on Warsaw. At Stettin, a Russian force tried to cross the Oder River, but withdrew when Polish troops fired. The Red Army had been told to march, but apparently not to shoot.

As news of these and other troop movements streamed into the Belvedere, Gomulka again threatened to break off negotiations. Again the Russians promised to halt their troops. Then the Poles demanded that the Russian delegation return to Moscow. Gomulka said, "We will not reconvene the Central Committee until you have gone. There is no point in continuing these talks."

But the Russians had another plan up their sleeve. They agreed to go if a joint communique could be drafted. It was then 6:00 P.M.; the Central Committee had been waiting to resume since 3:00 P.M. The Polish leaders made another trip to the committee meeting. There they announced that the Russians would leave that night and that the committee session would continue next day, Saturday. Haggard now, the Poles then trooped back to the Belvedere's Blue Room.

Khrushchev demanded that the communique reaffirm Soviet-Polish friendship. Gomulka replied: "That would serve no purpose now. There are many outstanding questions to be settled first." Hor would the Poles agree to fix a date for negotiations on new relations between Poland and the Soviet Union.

The haggling went on for another four hours, and the question of troops came up again and again. The Soviets gave another pledge that their forces would be ordered back to their bases.

Just before 2:00 A.M., a brief communique was finally agreed upon. It said only that a Polish delegation would leave for Moscow shortly.

The Russians were supposed to leave Warsaw at 3:00 A.H. Saturday. They did not get to the airport until 6:40 n.M. The good-bys were brief. The Tupolev took off at 6:45. The Poles drove back to Warsaw to make their own plans.

#### 3. What does Gomulka stand for?

The <u>Neue Zuercher Zeitung</u> quoted above answers this question in the following words:

He (Gomulka) promised that the violence and terror which had paralyzed the thoughts and acts of the 25 million Poles for many years would become things of the past. With the slogen of securing freedom and sovereignty Gomulka rallied the people around him and by liberating the imprisoned dignitaries of the Catholic Church, as well as by concessions to the peasants, who now were permitted to decide themselves on the form of agricultural enterprises, he arrived at a compromise with the two decisive internal political forces. Flora Lewis ("Poland's Gomulka Walks a Tight Rope" in <u>The New York Times</u> <u>Megazine</u>, March 24, 1957) explained the main theses of Gomulka as follows:

It is not precisely everyone's conception, for points of view sprout lushly in Foland nowadays, but in its large outline it is shared by his countrymen who express their acceptance by calling it "realistic." To be "realistic" in Foland means to acknowledge two facts which darken the land with their shadows. One is the nearness and the power of the Soviet Union. The other is the intolerable unhappiness the country has known. Very little more can be done to push back the Russian shadows. Much must be done to relieve the blackness of misery. The confidence given Gomulka is based on the belief that he sincerely wants to do what can be done.

What then does Gomulka want? There is no clear, sure picture, probably not even in his own mind, for he is no philosopher or ideologist. The speech to the Central Committee is as close as he has ever come to setting forth his credo, and its forty-five pages are filled with details about the situation in the mines, what is to be done for the peasants, how to revive cottage industry, what to do about hooligenism.

Gomulka agrees with a small but vocal group of Polish Communists on what his concept is not . It is not a police state, it is not the willful spread of poverty, it is not a blinding, belligerent uniformity. These are profound changes in Communist thought and they could lead to staggering conclusions. Gomulka does not seek conclusions; he seeks to make life tolerable in Polend by repairing damage done and preventing new distress.

Victor Zorza, in his erticle "Polend's Road to Socialism: Mr. Gomulka Seeks Support of Peasants and Church" (<u>The Manchester Guardian</u>, May 16, 1957) described Gomulka's policies in the following words:

Mr. Gomulka, the Polish Communist leader, reasserted in a speech to the party central committee yesterday the validity of the Polish road to socialism, no matter how greatly it might differ from the policies pursued in other Communist countries.

He laid down three basic principles for the political evolution of Poland, and though he said that they derive from the last party plenum -- that held during Poland's "October Revolution" last year -- the fact that Mr. Gomulka holds to them, after attacks from so many quarters, shows that foland has not given in. The three principles are that the further development of the country towards socialism will proceed through the workers' councils in industry; through the development of peasant self-government in agriculture; and through the expansion of the powers of the people's councils -- the organs of local government -- in the administration of the country.

As they stand, these principles look undramatic enough, but as Mr. Gomulka developed them later in his speech it became clear that he has rejected Soviet criticism both of the workers' councils and of the dissolution of most of Poland's collective farms.

# Private ownership

In Poland, which is still largely a peasant country, pesant self-government, Mr. Gomulka said, "is based on the private ownership of land and of the instruments of production:" In this way he gave final expression to the policy his party has pursued in recent months (although both Moscov and the Polish "Stalinists" have attacked it vigorously), of letting the peasant be master in his own house.

He was still in favor of the development of cooperative farming, but he assured the peasants that no force would be used to drive them into these farms, and expressed the hope that "ssoner or later" they would join them of their own free will. Before "r. Gomulka's political disgrace in the late 1940s, he envisaged a period of about forty years in which Polish agriculture could be collectivized.

On the political aspect of the peasant question, Mr. Gomulka said that the Communists "recognized the peasant party as an independent party," wanted to see it grow, and considered it "a permanent element in our political life."

This clear statement of principle, although it was not included in the three "basic principles" at the outset of his speech, is perhaps the most important of all. For a Communist party to agree in this way to share power with another party, to assert that this other party is a permanent and not transitory element in political life, and to wish that it should increase in strength is to lay the foundation for a two-party system in a Communist country.

Mr. Gomulka also reaffirmed formally the working alliance he had recently concluded with the Roman Catholic Church, and said that the Communist party wanted lasting coexistence with it. The party, he said, had drawn the necessary conclusions from the position of the Church in Poland, and he hoped that the Church would also draw the proper conclusions from the facts of political life. He went on:

"In matters which are of vital concern for the interests of the people's Poland and the nation, we want the Church to march together with us along the Polish road. It is on this that the long-term shaping of the relations between the State and the Church will largely depend."

While insisting on the validity of the Polish road to socialism, he outlined certain general principles of socialism to which his party was prepared to adhere. These Moscow has laid down for all the "socialist" countries. But what matters to the Poles now is not general principles, but the possibility of being allowed to travel along their own road in their own way.

# 4. Has Gomulka changed his course since October?

The Neue Zuercher Zeitung, quoted above, answers the question in the

#### affirmative:

In the 3 months from the October revolution to the Sejm elections the Gomulka regime kept the main points of its pledges. The terror of the secret police disappeared, the forced collectivization in the villages was abolished, the management policies hostile to the workers and the anti -Church propaganda, as well as the standardization and tutelage of the cultural life, diminished.

But already before the elections there appeared the first symptoms of a divergence between the endeavors of the supporters of the October revolution and the Communist Party functionaries . . . Gomulka traveled, since October 1956, in the same train with the Polish nation, but he seems to have gotten off at the station "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The Party Chief declined the demands of those forces who led to the October revolution and who wanted to extend the Polish experiment far beyond the limits drawn by Orthodox Marxism-Leninism. Only through a beseeching appeal to the nation, in which he made use of the still existing threat of Soviet intervention, an appeal which after the Hungarian catastrophe had particular persuasion power, did Gomulka succeed in bringing about a Parliament with a Communist majority. It is difficult to prove whether this appeal to the nation was dictated more by fear of Moscow's intervention than by fear of losing the dominant position of the Communist Party. The most radical anti-Stalinists from the camp of Marxist intellectuals, workers and party functionaries who are dubbed "Mad Dogs" in Poland today, contend that Gomulka has produced a "Thermidor" of the Polish revolution.

Gomulka is not a Jacobin; he is rather a "conservative" Polish Communist who paradoxically discards those forces of his own party who insist on a revision in the sense of turning away from the Stalinist practices, but clings to the compromise with the conservative elements of the Church and the peasantry. Gomulka seeks an understanding with those million men who, under the old Stalinist regime, enjoyed privileges and posts and whose position has been endangered by the October revolution. Practically, it is a question of attempting the consolidation in some degree of the Communist Party, split up into different factions, discredited and afflicted with obvious signs of disintegration, and of granting it again all the functions of a totalitarian political power. Those afflicted thereby are first of all the intelligentsia and the younger generation who understood the October revolution differently. The same Zurich paper, analyzing on May 23 the resolutions adopted by the meeting, found that the Central Committee had expressed itself both against "dogmatism" (the new name of Stalinism) and "revisionism" (the liberal movement). The criticism of dogmatism was more related to the past, while the main threat was seen in "revisionism" which allegedly was subverting the units of the Party and weakening the trust in the correctness and appropriateness of the building of Socialism among the members of the Party and the working class. This uneven distribution of criticism was ascribed to a compromise between the "conservative" majority of the old (Stalinist) Central Committee and the Gomulka faction.

# 5. How far has Gomulka succeeded in satisfying the aspirations of the Poles and solidifying the "new" regime?

Leslie B. Bain ("Can Gomulka Reconcile the Irreconcileble", <u>The Reporter</u>, May 30, 1957) arrives at the following conclusions:

Gomulka came to power last October on a surge of revolutionary fervor that threatened to get out of hand. He was both the last hope of the Stalinists and the white knight of the anti-Stalinists. But by appeasing everybody, Gomulka succeeded in satisfying nobody. By blocking redical measures to relieve the unbelievable misery of the Polish people and by applying quick-cure salves he has alienated his friends and provided ammunition for his foes. And by relaxing party discipline he faces a hopelessly divided party where his enemies outnumber his supporters, particularly in the Central Committee.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

The United Workers' Party exercises governmental authority by default. Because of his personal prestige, Gomulka manages to cover up the fact that the party in power is hopelessly split, has no authority or mass support, and is really only a shadow that would disappear if there were anything to take its place. A number of factors combine to prevent any organized challenge to the party: a bankrupt economy, the uncertainties and the risks of help from outside, the demands of the Catholic Church, the restless dissatisfaction of the masses, the scarcity of food, and last - but certainly not least - the haunting memory of what happened in Hungary.

The party is split four ways: The Natolin Group, which is openly Stalinist and pro-Russian; the neo-Stalinists, who want to improve the party's methods while retaining its essentially monolithic power; the Gomulkaites, who hope to continue the tightrope act begun last October; and a fourth group that is trying to enlarge the Gomulka doctrine and extend freedom to an ever greater degree. The Natolins and the neo-Stalinists between them control the party organization. The coming party congress in June or July will elect a new Central Committee, and the Gomulkaites hope the power of the Natolins will be broken. The Gomulkaites have no clear program beyond wishing to avoid trouble and somehow to make orderly economic growth possible in Poland. Faced with nearly insurmountable odds, the Gomulkaites echo their chief: "We can't give more than we have, but all we have belongs to the people." It is a good slogan and would be effective if "what we have" were not so alarmingly small and were not getting smaller every day.

Although not represented in high party circles, the fourth group is the strongest throughout the country. These people are still willing to follow Gomulka, but they want him to go faster and farther. Gradually they are coming to realize that Gomulka will not take the lead, but that if forced he might become a reluctant follower. They are therefore hammering away on him at every available opportunity.

Sydney Gruson (The New York Times, May 20, 1957) was somewhat less pessimis-

tic:

Wladyslaw Gomulka has renewed his strength as leader of the Polish United Workers (Communist) party.

This is probably the major result of the stormy four-day meeting of the party's Central Committee that ended last night. But the meeting healed none of the deep divisions in the ranks of the country's Communists.

There is still a potent right wing trying, as it did during the meeting, to reverse M. Gomulka's program and to restore a closer relationship with the Soviet Union. There is still, a left wing, now hopeful again that the fierceness of the assault on M. Gomulka will lead him to rely increasingly on the left.

The next round in the struggle, and possibly a decisive one for the right wing, will be the party congress. The Central Committee decided to schedule the congress for December, the latest possible date under the party statutes.

#### Party Machinery Crucial

Between now and the congress N. Gomulka must somehow win over or change the party machinery. He failed to do the former and has been reluctant to attempt the latter since he returned to power last October. It is the machinery that has dayto-day responsibility for party activity throughout the country and the power that goes with this work.

A strong indication that W. Gomulka may no longer be so reluctant came in his nomination of Zenon Eliszko and Jerzy Horawski to be secretaries of the Central Committee. Both men are numbered among H. Gomulka's strongest supporters and H. Kliszko, who fell from power with M. Gomulka in 1948, is considered to be his only political confidant. The situation in the Party appears to have improved. The Ninth Flenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party produced, according to the <u>Meue Zuercher Zeitung</u> of May 22, a political sensation. The leader of the Natolin group (Stelinites), Franciszek Mazur (who last October favored Russian intervention) allegedly made a political declaration to the effect that, if he had been in October in Poland, he would have followed the October movement. The second leading personality of the Natolin group, Zenon Nowak, was reported to have expressed at the meeting his agreement with the Gomulka course of action.

On May 31, 1957 (The New York Times, June 1, 1957), Gruson reported however that:

A rebellion is simmering in the two political parties allied with the dominant Communists in the Polish Government.

The developments have been overshadowed by the Communists' own intraparty strife. But both the Democratic and United Peasent parties are in the midst of political struggles that have already strained the alliance.

Madyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the United Workers (Communist) party, criticized the two parties recently for tolerating what he described as "reactionary opinions."

## 6. What are Gomulka's achievements?

Flora Lewis (The New York Times Magazine, June 16, 1957) drew this belance sheet:

Poles are no longer afreid of each other. Jeils are now for people who commit common crimes, not for people who speak their minds.

The notions of justice and equality are no longer mocking voids. Poles have the right to air their grisvances, even to strike, and the right is cherished whether or not it can be fruitful.

Poland has gained a limited independence, not enough to defy the menacing storm around it but enough to feel master of its own frail craft.

The dignity of the church as the spiritual home of the nation has been restored. This is what Cardinal Wyszynski's return to the Primacy and the reintroduction of religious teaching in the schools mean to Foles.

The bleck well of isolation from the West has been breached. Radio jamming stations have been dismentled, Western newspapers are imported, a thousand cultural and scientific and commercial and personal links with the West have been reforged. The creative arts in Poland have been freed from the stifling grip of political control, although the press, after a full-throated fling, has once again been soundproofed against the roar of criticism.

Peasants have gained the right to their land. Four-fifths of the country's collective farms have been disbanded and the principle of private title, with all that it implies, has been acknowledged in the countryside.

The need for initiative, incentive and common sense in the economy has been recognized, if not filled. On a tiny scale, this has meant a revival of some private enterprise. Note important, it has launched a drastic, far from completed revision of the technique and apparatus of planning as well as an abrupt shift aimed to make the plan serve living Poles rather than some beatified future generation.

The belance sheet is not all to the good, however. Literally as well as figuratively, roland is still in the red. The run-down economy has run down further in the confusion of urgencies that suddenly surfaced when the pressure of fear was removed. The long and ruthless suppression of public morals has left the public without much of the morals essential to make a community function properly without force. The communist party will not, dare not, relinquish supreme authority nor permit challenge, but its authority is fractured and splintered so that the twin threats of chaos and inertia are always at the door.

Above all, the year has shown in a way all Foles understand that their fountry is hedged and surrounded, bound by chains that no amount of Folish courage can succeed in shattering. Biting, personal fear has gone but a new, gnawing fear has come, the worry that perhaps the tortuous Polish way may prove to be a dead-end street. Poland rejoiced when there came a time to stop having to live with lies. But then came a time of having to live with truth, and it is a nasty truth. There is little Poles can do to make it sweeter. They must wait, and they know it, for honey to flow from elsewhere. Hence frustration.

Western visitors, descending briefly in Polend with their snug certainties, that permit a patient optimism, find this frustration hard to understand. The Western visitors are right. There are sound and solid grounds for optimism if the optimism is patient.

#### 7. What is the future outlook for the present Folish regime?

Leslie B. Bain, quoted above, is totally pessimistic:

The dedicated compromiser who rules Foland as the First Secretary of the Polish United workers' (Communist) Party is a practical politician whose tragedy, if it finally overtakes him, will be his belief in a synthesis whose ingredients are nearly all unreal. He stubbornly believes in trying to compromise the irreconcilable, and is convinced that, for now at least, such a course offers Poland's best hope. The best opinion of his friends and enemies in Poland is that he will fail. This opinion may be shared by Gomulka himself. Recently, when someone suggested to him that "All Gomulkaites in Poland seem to be optimists except Gomulka himself," he agreed ruefully. The <u>Neue Zuercher Zeitung</u> of May 2, 1957, was more or less of the same opinion:

The question arises whether the disillusionment and the epathy which have been growing from day to day among the most zeelous and radical initiators of the October revolution, will reach the wide circles of the Polish nation and will paralyse the renovation of the country. There is every indication that these paralysis phenomena have already become an acute danger.

G. von Uxkull ("The Situation in Polend", Die Tat, Zurich, March 25, 1957),

saw a chance for the regime's survival, if the West was willing to help:

The west could still catch up with the chance in Polend which it missed so tragically in Hungary, but with deeds, not with mere words. The west could show that it is also capable of recognizing the spirit of freedom when it presents itself not only in the ready-made suit of the Western model democrat or with shining armor, clicking spurs, and the flaming sword of an avenger, but in the simple clothes of the practically Possible and -- on tiptoe.

If this chance is also missed, if the spirit of Folish freedom - which has no weapons - is driven away, the West will be able to do nothing but compose heroic necrologies and epitaphs.

Richard C. Hotellet ("Inside Defient Folend", The Saturday Evening Post,

March 9, 1957) was more optimistic:

Gomulka and his Polend are walking a tightrope. If the government provokes the Kremlin it risks Soviet intervention. If it bows to Russian pressure it may be swept away by a furious population. Gomulka must ward off the Stalinists and, as an old Communist, he must also ward off those who would ignore Hoscow and liquidate every last vestige of Communism at once. He must raise the standard of living in a country which Communism has brought to the brink of ruin. Fortunately, he has strong inner resources to fall back on.

One of them is the Roman Catholic Church, without any doubt the strongest force in Polish life. Shortly after assuming power, Gomulka released Cardinal Wyszinski, who had been in confinement since 1953. This prelate, an ascetic and plous man, at once proved himself a statesman. In his first sermon, on the day of the Soviet offensive in Hungary, he laid down the basis of this strange partnership. "Poles know how to die magnificently," the cardinal declared, "but, my brothers, Poles must learn to work magnificently. Death may bring quick glory, but to live in toil, suffering, pain and sacrifice for years is greater heroism. And this heroism is needed today."

Another mein source of strength is what one might just as well label the stubborn Polish national character. The rugged will to survive as a nation has most recently survived seventeen years of oppression and mass murder at the hands of both the Mazis and the Soviets. This ruggedness has wrought a change that is apparent on every side. People no longer fear the secret police. They speak their minds on the telephone and do not whisper in crowded cafes and restaurants. A Westerner can meet Poles again as he meets Frenchmen in France or Danes in Denmark. The latest reports from Marsaw (<u>New York Times</u>, May 26, 1957) were to the effect that, faced with difficulties in obtaining large-scale financial assistance from the U.S.A., Gomulka, together with the Prime Minister and important aides, went to Moscow.

A U.P. report from Warsaw (The Jerusalem Post, May 28, 1957) had this to say about Gomulka's trip:

The Secretary of the Polish Communist Party, Mr. Madislaw Gomulka, Prime Minister Josef Cyrankiewicz, and two top economic experts returned here today from Moscow after reportedly pleading for immediate Soviet aid to stave off a major economic crisis.

Although government officials refused all comment on the three-day trip, Western observers here said it was a "logical consequence" of Poland's deteriorating economic condition and of the delay in, and reduced size of, proposed U.S. aid.

Informed sources here said that to stave off a major economic crisis Poland needs at least \$300m. - three times the amount of the projected American aid.<sup>1</sup>) No mention was made of the mission in the Soviet or Polish press.

Sydney Gruson's report on the outcome of these negotiations (<u>The New York</u> <u>Times</u>, June 17, 1957) was to the effect that the Russians were cold to the Polish pleas. "Reliable sources" expressed the belief that the lack of results was the main reason why Mr. Gomulka's sudden visit to the Soviet Union had been kept an official secret.

The gloomy prophecies about Gomulka's future made by some reporters need not necessarily materialize. There is undoubtedly much disillusion, frustration, bitterness and discontant in the country among all groups of the population, including the workers. But, as Mr. Gruson (The New York Times, June 11, 1957) put it:

It is clear that some of the animosities that prevailed before last June have been revived. But there is this great difference. The Communist leaders then were somewhat distrusted. M. Gomulka seems to have the workers' unreserved confidence, though they cannot understand why he feels he has to retain some of the old political bosses.

Poland will receive from the U.S.A. \$48.9 Mill. in surplus farm goods and machinery and additional \$46.1 Mill. as soon as congressional authorization has been received. The assistance was given in the form of loans.

Practicelly everyone in Folend realizes that the present regime represents the utmost limit to which Moscow will let Folend go in the direction of freedom. If the people were to overthrow or even to threaten the Gomulka regime the Russians would move in. This is an extremely strong deterrent and the Church, knowing it, wholeheartedly supports Gomulka.

# 8. The Soviet shadow

One of the achievements of the October upheavel, a freeer press, has already been lost to the roles.

Sydney Gruson reported in The New York Times of New 5, 1957:

The Polish press, which played a leading role in last year's political upheaval here, is slowly but surely being reshaped to fit the part of unquestioning supporter of the ruling Communist party's policy.

This is the way Wladyslaw Gomulka, first secretary of the United Workers (Communist) party, wants it. His objective is being achieved by the dismissal of newsmen and writers considered to be "revisionists" and by editorial changes in the papers considered to be lagging in their support of the First Secretary.

Starting with Trybuna Ludu, from which "Ladyslaw Matwin was dismissed as editor in Tebruary, all the Marsaw newspapers and periodicals have been subjected to reorganization imposed openly or indirectly by M. Gomulka's aides in the Central Committee Secretariat.

Hr. Gruson wrote that this was due to the opinion of Gomulka that the press was responsible for maintaining an atmosphere of uncertainty and discontent in the country and of sharpening acknowledged divisions within the (Communist) party.

It must, however, be pointed out that in Herch and April, in particular, the Soviet press (<u>Pravda, Kommunist, Sovyetskaya Rossiya, Novi Mir</u>, the Ukrainian Union of Writers) openly attacked the cultural and economic reforms in Poland, the understanding with the Church, the Polish press, and the attitude of youth. <u>Pravda</u>, in particular, pointed to the threat which the editorial offices of a number of Polish papers and some journalists constituted to the party (<u>Neue Zuercher</u> <u>Zeitung</u>, March 18 and April 14, 1957). A. B. Hayim in his letter from Mersaw, "Anti-Semitism: A New Soviet Export" (Dever, May 10, 1957), describes the pressure in the following words:

In Polish journalistic circles, these unusual anti-Semitic outbursts (the reference is to the incidents described below under the heading "Anti-Semitism") are regarded as an expression of Hoscow's displeasure with the Polish anti-Soviet trend which finds expression in the attitude of the Polish press. At the same time, these attacks are regarded as directed against the continuation of this line and against Poland's refusal to accept the official Soviet line concerning the Jews and the State of Israel.

Polish newspapermen maintain that it is not at all an accident that the press was selected as a target for anti-Semitic attacks. It is well known that the Polish press was the main force in the powerful movement which sprang up in Poland and which put under critical scrutiny the old Stalinist principles of government. This movement engendered and prepared the "Polish October," as the change which commenced with the Eighth Plenum, when Gomulka was restored to power, is called. And to this day, despite all efforts to clip its wings, the Folish press has served as the center of opposition, criticism, and resistance to the return of the old principles of government of the Stalin era. ...ith the tendency of Hoscow to renew the Stalin days, the resistance of the Polish press is an obstacle in the Fremlin's way, something which cannot be tolerated.

On the other hand, these newspapermen believe that the Kremlin wanted to test Gomulka's strength, to escertain to what entent he has succeeded in influencing his press and bending it to his will. There is no doubt that if these enti-Semitic attacks had occurred a few months ago, shortly after the "Polish October," the Polish press would have reacted very strongly to them. At that time a violent controversy was being waged in the columns of <u>Trybuna Ludu</u>, as well as of other Polish newspapers, with <u>Pravda</u> over the libel against the General Secretary of the Polish Communist Party which was published on the eve of the Sejm elections.

But the Folish press, which had brought Gomulka to power, received the first blow at his hand. His first action was to limit the little freedom it enjoyed by imposing a strict censorship upon it.

In the first period after the elections, and despite the new censorship restrictions, the press was still able to voice its criticism and objections, its disappointments and bitterness over the position Gomulka adopted after the elections.

According to this view, the Kremlin wanted to see whether Gomulka, who is seeking a rapprochement with Hoscow, had already succeeded in curbing the rebellious group, the journelists who are full of criticism of Hoscow and its policies. Hence the anti-Semitic errows shot by Hoscow at the Folish newspapermen.

Will the Moscow assault succeed? Will Moscow be able to muzzle the Polish press? This question is essentially a part -- an important part, to be sure -of the general problem of Russia's relations with her nearest western neighbor. Foland's geographical position has a great, if not a decisive, influence on this problem of relations. "The geographical position of our country determines its independence and sovereignty," the Foles say jestingly. It is to be doubted that the Folish press will succeed in being an exception to this basic principle of the Polish-Russian problem. Die Neue Front (Vienna) of Ney 4, 1957, summed up the "Noscow shadow"

in the following sentence:

Poland primarily needs economic aid, but also political support against Moscow which tries in every possible way, through internal political intrigues as well as economic pressure and sabotage, to restore it to the position of a satellite, without a will of its own, as it was before.

#### Section B. AMTI-SEMITISM

#### 1. The press reports on and discusses anti-Semitism

Articles about (or mainly against) anti-Semitism in Poland have been appearing in the Polish press for a long time (see, <u>i.e.</u>, <u>The Institute Annual 1956</u>, pp. 385 ff.) There have also been numerous reports about it in the foreign press. Here is what a correspondent of the <u>Henchester Guardian</u> (April 15, 1957) wrote on the "Revival of Anti-Semitic Tendencies in Poland":

It is more than doubtful whether the special commission which has been set up by the central committee of the Polish United Workers' (Communist) party to investigate the problems of the "national minorities" will be in a position to fulfill its task of fighting the growing anti-Semitism. Of the 60,000 or 70,000 Jews in Poland, not more than 10,000 or 15,000 are prepared to await the results. The others have made up their minds to emigrate as soon as possible. A special passport office has been set up in Warsaw, and applicants can be sure of getting a passport and special emigration license which enables them to take abroad with them all their possessions and trade tools, but no money -- which would be of no value anyway.

There are several reasons why the Jews now fear an increase in anti-Semitism. One is that several of the arrested leaders of the political department of the Secret Police are Jews. Some of these will be tried soon and many Jews prefer not to wait for these trials. The atrocities committed by Rozanski have been widely publicized, and what was meant to be merely anti-Beria and anti-Stalin propaganda automatically assumed an anti-Jewish character. Jewish leaders make no secret of their opinion that Jews in Poland could feel much safer under the Stalinist regime which forced all Right-wing elements to hide their real feelings. The process of liberalization has given these elements new courage and many Jews feel that anti-Semitism is bound to grow if Poland becomes more democratic.

#### FEW REMAIN

The 60,000 or 70,000 Jews in Polend today are all that are left over from 3,500,000 before the war. More than three million were killed by the Mazis; most of the survivors emigrated during the years 1946-1950, together with those Folish Jews who had been deported or had fled to Russia during the war and who afterwards returned to Poland. In Marsaw there are now only 12,000 Jews, compared with 300,000 before the war. However, there are still large groups in Lodz and in and around Wroclaw (Breslau), and in other parts of Silesia.

Before the war Jews in Poland were an easy target for abuse. They were the small capitalists and the merchants. But this "accusation" can hardly be brought forward now; as capitalism no longer has any place in Poland, new economic reasons have to be found. One that has been brought forward is that Jews occupy the leading posts in nationalized industries, and that the direction of economic affairs was in their hands during the Stalinist period. As Hilary Minc, who was the economic dictator of Poland during the years 1945-56, is a Jew, it has been easy to combine anti-Communist feelings with anti-Semitism. It is interesting to note that in the pre-Stalinist years from 1945 until 1948 exactly the same arguments were being used, and then they created a mass-hysteria which found an outlet in the pogroms of Kielce, in 1947, where the militia made no serious attempt to intervene.

At the same time there are fairly clear indications that the Stalinist elements in Poland, who want to discredit Mr. Gomulka and his regime with every means at their disposal, are trying to use anti-Semitism as a weapon in their campaign. They would find it difficult to brand him as "a slave of Western capitalism and imperialism." In any case there would be little point; the majority of Polish people would certainly prefer to come under the influence of Western capitalism than be subjected to Russian State capitalism, and the Poles know very well what Russian imperialism can mean. Therefore, the Stalinist elements prefer to call him a slave of the Jews and to appeal to the primitive instincts of people who cannot show their real feelings, which are basically anti-Russian.

Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the growth of anti-Semitism has coincided with the slowing down of the revolution. As long as the liberation from Stalinism seemed to progress anti-Semitism was no problem. On the contrary, the mood of the population during the Suez crisis was strongly pro-Jewish and the blame was put on the Russians, who were accused of having fomented the trouble by supplying arms to Egypt. But as soon as the revolution was slowed down and the internal tensions grew anti-Semitic tendencies became stronger. Now it seems that the total or nearly total exodus of the Jews from Poland may be the price which will have to be paid for the political stabilization of the country. The following "eyewitness" report of Peter Schmid, correspondent of <u>Die Weltwoche</u> (Zurich, April 18, 1957), affords a good insight into the present state of anti-Semitism in Poland:

...A Jewish butcher who sells meet in a cooperative shop at Walbrzych (Waldenburg) started to quarrel with a Folish miner who was dissatisfied with the quality of the meat apportioned to him and had pushed it back across the counter. The butcher, an arrogant and brutal fellow, became enraged and tried to hit the customer's hand with his knife.

The news of this incident spread like wildfire through the small town. An infuriated mob gathered in front of the butcher shop and wanted to lynch the Jew who kept out of sight.

But already his insignificant person was no longer the object of the mob's fury, but all the 12,000 Jews of Walbrzych together. Thile the people rioted, the police looked on and did not interfere. Folice from neighboring towns were rushed to the scene; they, too, looked on complecently when Jewish property was destroyed. Only the arrival of soldiers from the Wroclaw (Breslau) garrison restored calm. But this fanatical outbreak had done its work: today there is hardly a Jew in Silesia who does not try to get his emigration papers for Israel or somewhere else (there are some who want to go to Switzerland)......

An extremely frank exposition of the problem of enti-Semitism by Juliusz Burgin appeared in <u>Przeglad Kulturalny</u> of Tebruary 13, 1957, under the heading "The Pest."

Here is what Mr. Burgin says (mostly in literal translation):

As late as two or three years ago, when signs of a real threat of violent nationalism in our life become more evident and frequent, some representatives of the Party and Government officially denied this. Sometimes these denials were made quietly, sometimes with indignation, and sometimes they were accompanied by benign advice to be quiet and composed, because the signs allegedly were not borne out by the facts. But these signs multiplied from day to day and an explanation of quite obvious facts was demanded. When all statements on the need to be realistic and not to exaggerate the situation failed to persuade the people, one began to hear murmurs about the hard realities of the State and of the necessity to apply an adequate policy. It was hinted that these were very delicate and complex problems, to be dealt with rather exclusively by the highest authorities. These delicate and complex problems were confided only to high officials and this, too, in great secrecy.

Yet these were not personal matters but political problems which can and should be discussed publicly. It was the problem of nationalism which increasingly assumed various aspects -- anti-German, anti-Jewish, anti-Uhrainian, anti-Uhite-Russian, and finally anti-Soviet.

dere some of our comrades in high positions really blinded to such an extent that they did not see the danger of this nationalism? It is hard to answer this question, but the fact is that for many years our Party did not fight nationalism and only lip service was paid to internationalism. One mentioned it and soon forgot it. However, in everyday life a nationalist policy was applied.

I should like to elucidate only one aspect of this nationalism. Is there anti-Semitism in Foland?

A foolish question. Of course there is. For several years, it was the policy applied unofficially but very systematically and consistently in our government life. This policy had a very well elaborate strategy. For example, in the year 1951/1952 - purging the Party apparatus of comrades of Jawish origin from the Army; in the same year the removal of the same "category" of citizens from government administration. This entire campaign (commonly called "Aryanization") was conducted on secret instructions given to the local party and other leaders. In the higher Party echelons one was taught how to count Jaws, to trace the national and even recial orogin of citizens and Party comrades and enlightened on why this should be done and given an ideological motivation for the Aryanization plan. When things came out into the open, efforts were made to cover them up. When complaints reached higher authorities, regret was expressed that... the official acted clumsily and unnecessarily brought it into the open. And one applied "smarter" methods without, however, changing the general course.

It has to be kept in mind that all this happened during the trials which were characterized as the fight against the Trotzky-Zionist conspiracy against socialism. After borrowing from the Pascist arsenal the poisoned weapon of anti-Semitism, one consciously and purposely aimed at creating in the public mind the impression that a man of Jewish origin, and especially a Communist of Jewish origin, was a synonym for a spy and traitor.

Can one really accuse some politicians of the period, which has fortunately passed, of such perfidy?

Please remember the trial of Rajk, of Slensky, the case of the Hoscow physiciens. Can one really assume that those politicians did not know that all these accusations were plain lies? Remember the atmosphere around these and similar trials. Take into account the concept of the allegedly dangerous threat of the non-existing Trotzkyist-Sionist mafia. Zionism, like any other nationalist movement, is hostile to socialism, but it does not follow that one can accuse every Communist of Jewith origin or even Jewish nationality of activity in behalf of a Trotzkyist-Zionist-imperalist agency. Similarly, if one is a Georgian, it does not follow from this fact that one must be a Georgian nationalist. He may be, and even with great success, a Great Russian nationalist.

It is known that enti-Semitism, like any nationalism, can be an ugly sentiment, but it can also be, and is, a policy.

Even from the forum of the 7th Flenum of the Communist Party some speakers tried to use the alibi prepared for years and insisted (I believe unsuccessfully) that they did not profess or support anti-Semitism, but at the same time they demended the removal of Jews from unnecessary positions which they allegedly held to the detriment of the State. The effort to capitalize on the anti-Semitic and in general nationalist policy came to these politicians at a critical moment, when it was necessary to give an account of their ugly work. They called to account and they submitted various alibis, among them of Beria, of Jews. The Jewish argument -- this is well known... It so happened at the 7th Plenum that "the Jewish debate" centered around three points: Should Polend be <u>Judenfrei</u>? Should the Endek (Nationalist Party of Foland) traditional <u>numerus clausus</u> prevail? Or should Foland become a country of Proletarian Internationalism? There were also diverse tendencies to compromise, as happens with people of not clear-cut opinions who long ago lost the tradition of ideological struggle. This controversy even found expression in the decision of the 7th Flenum, but actually it was never resolved. In practice, there remained only the nationalistic policy which quickly brought about the unusual development of enti-Semitism. Particularly active in applying this policy were those who were forced ever to look for alibis that they were not the ones guilty for the distortion of our way to Socialism.

Is there then anti-Semitism in Poland? Yes, there is, and it develops as a policy applied by certain elements and groups, a relic of the past but now revitalized by the politicians of yesterday.

This carefully sown and fostered anti-Semitism, fanned sometimes secretly and sometimes openly, is now yielding its poisonous fruit. The atmosphere for Jews -- both those who profess Jewish nationality as well as those who consider themselves foles by birth -- has become unbearable. One of the Jarsaw newspapers receives letters on anti-Semitism which are written rather clussily but are highly characteristic of our period. A Jewish worker writes: "I am a worker. I was not and I am not now in a top position in the country. I was born in Poland, as were my parents. I am of working class origin and of Jewish nationality. I belonged to the Folish Communist youth movement and all my life I have fought against Pescism. I lived in Germany and France once and there I belonged to the Communist Perty. In Spain I was a member of the Polish Brigade with the rank of a lieutenant. I received several decorations for my fight against Fascism in Spein and was a member of the Communist Party in Spain. After the war I came back to Polend. Until the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party I felt like a normal citizen of the People's Poland, for which I have fought all my life. The statements of comrades Nowak and Chelchowski were nationalistic and now we get the results. Anti-Semitism is growing and no one is trying to stop it.

"As far as I am concerned, I think, however prinfully, to leave Foland. I am a Folish citizen and Foland is my fatherland, and not Israel, with which I have nothing in common. I don't know even how to speak Yiddish well. My wife and two sons perished in Oswiecim... I am a Communist and over there a capitalist regime prevails. And what awaits me there is prison, and here in roland, death at the hands of the anti-Semites... I ask for advice, I still want to live and there is nowhere to turn.

"Yes, there is nowhere to turn ... . "

Another writes: "Internationalism -- what a beautiful-sounding word, but how ugly and distorted in our present reality. Repressions against Jews. Ho, maintain some politicians and responsible persons in our Party and Government apparatus, but at the same time they accept suggestions for dismissal of specialists of Jewish origin. At the city conference on elections the delegates find anti-Semitic leaflets in their folders (Wroclaw, December 14-15, 1956).

"The Jewish problem has become a burning one in Poland. Anti-Semitism is growing. Poland is losing prestige in the eyes of the world. Maybe you think that thirty-five to forty thousand Jews in Poland are of no importance ..... "None of the factors of the People's Government have a consistent attitude in the Jewish question... I am a candidate of the Party and my heart aches that I must reproach the Party for passivity and, in some instances, for tolerating anti-Jewish manifestations. Therefore, knowing that I cannot influence the Party, but, on the other hand, not being able to reconcile myself to the present atmosphere, I have given up the Party membership card. I do not want to belong to a Party which proclaims high international slogans and simultaneously tolerates nationalist manifestations. I am embittered by the attitude of the Party."

Leon Rosen of Wroclew, not finding enother wey, gives up his Perty membership card. However, those who are guilty of sowing nationalism in the Party, of fostering it, have not yet given up their cards as members of the high Perty hierarchy.

It is clear that such an atmosphere became unbearable for many. Attacked from Party and public platforms, eliminated publicly or quietly from work, treated differently from other citizens, removed from the army, from factories, from offices, from positions called spectrcular ones and from not spectacular ones (what a nice word grown in the gutter of our indigenous anti-Semitism!), held responsible not only for the sins of all scoundrels of Jewish origin, but even for the spread of anti-Semitism, accused by some of Stalinism and by others of activities in behalf of world imperialism, accused of communism and nationalism what should these Jews do? When they start fighting and protest loudly, demanding an internationalist policy, they are reproached for arrogence or at least lack of modesty, which allegedly is a national Jewish trait. If, on the other hand, they give up fighting and decide to withdraw or to emigrate, they are accused of cowardice and capitulation, which allegedly are also Jewish national traits.

J. Ambroziewicz, E. Gonczarski, end J. Olszewsky, writing in <u>Fo-Prostu</u> of Jenuary 6, 1957 under the title "When Ghosts Wake Up" said in part:

At the perty district conference in dersew, voices are heard that persons of Jewish origin resume their previous nemes, in order that it may be easier to determine who is a Jew (and who is not).

A group of officers propose Mr. X as deputy to the Sejm. Apparently, they have full confidence in him. His candidacy is accepted, but those who submitted it before, are now wavering: Maybe their candidate is of Jewish origin.

Members of a local committee state that their political opponent has adopted, as a method to liquidate people, the spreading of rumors that they are Jews. It appears that such an aspersion is much more dangerous than being charged with lack of professional or moral qualifications or even with criminal acts.

From Welbrzych, Dzierzoniow, Szczecin, and other towns where there is a considerable Jewish settlement, come reports of intimidations of Jewish workers, craftsmen, and their families.

What is the source of this enti-Semitism? We may see it in the debacle of the system. Anti-Semitism has served for centuries as a lightning rod for declining systems. It is no accident that it was just among those who were the chief exponents of the Stalinist system that the strongest anti-Semitic feeling burst forth. These people engineered acts to arouse old complexes and prejudices in the public mind. They propounded the idea that the Jews alone were responsible for this system of lawlessness, for loss of sovereignty, for the economic decline. They tried to justify all this by the fact that several key positions were held by Jews.

But Jews in higher positions form only a small percentage. .hat has this to do with the Jewish worker or intellectual who often fought in the front line of the battle against the Stalinist regime?

But those elements who want to make the Jews as a people responsible for Stalinism in Polend appeal to irrational emotions and old anti-Jewish prejudices, which do not require any logical motivation. The accusations are usually directed against those people who had the least in common with Stalinism, such as the Jewish shoemaker, driver, or small white collar worker.

Besides, the thesis of collective responsibility of the Jews overshedows the just thesis of individual responsibility of people for their deeds. The thesis of collective Jewish responsibility permits the Aryan scoundrel to shed his guilt end to grant himself absolution.

There are also voices which contend that the reports about anti-Semitism

are exaggerated and that they only serve the enemies of the new regime.

Here is what the Folks-Sztyme of Merch 6 writes about one such voice:

# Another Opinion About Anti-Semitism

In its column "Correspondence", the Cracow literary weekly <u>Zycie</u> <u>Literackie</u>, No. 9 of Merch 3, 1957 is published a long letter under the heading "Tolerance and Polish Anti-Semitism" by one L. Electorowicz. We would perhaps not concern ourselves with it -- much has already been written on this subject -if the writer had not expressed many false opinions.

Anxious for Poland's good reputation in the world, Electorowicz suggests that the Polish press, particularly the literary periodicals, should write less about anti-Semitism in our country. He proceeds from two premises: one, such writings contain a good deal of exaggeration; two, they are useful only to the enemies of Poland's October Revolution. The author says:

> "If the social reality corresponded to the number of the articles in the press which have lately been devoted to anti-Semitism and to the persecution of atheists, one might think that pogroms and lynchings occur every day in Poland, that graves, filled with innocent victims, are multiplying, and that we are a people of

sedists, one large gang of Fascists. Hence the conclusion that the Foles do not deserve liberty, but need a government which has a strong hand. Therefore, the bullying Stalinists were right. At least, no anti-Semitism existed in their time. The Jewish citizens did not think of leaving Foland; in the schools full religious tolerance prevailed... The press could not find words of delight for the existing situation! ... Is it not clear that the present campaign must lead to conclusions which, though well-intentioned, are exaggerated, out of proportion to the facts, and unfair to our society as a whole?"

And further:

"To be sure, anti-Semitism exists, but not to such an extent as to warrant the dramatic and alarming tone of certain articles. Anti-Semitism must be condemned and fought, but at the same time one must maintain the right proportion and apply the proper means."

It is precisely with regard to proportion that we cannot agree with the correspondent of <u>Zycie Literackie</u>. Does L. Electorowicz not feel that he, though unwittingly, echoes those who in the pre-October days, tried to belittle the wave of anti-Semitism which then arose in our country, and his views suggest that the allegedly "artificial alarm" stems from the journalists in hypersensitive Jewish groups? To stamp out the plague of anti-Semitism, the sore on the sound body of the Polish people's revolution, we must not toy with proportions. The author himself perceives it when he speaks of the "means" where he gets involved in contradictions with his preceding explanations.

A review of the polemics going on in the Polish press about anti-Semitism was given by M. Z. Laqueur in his article "Poles Ask Each Other Why Jews Leave" (The Jeruselem Post. May 24, 1957): The Polish debate on anti-Semitism continues. It is a somewhat confused discussion, for it does not follow the usual division of opinion in Poland today.

One knows that the anti-Stalinist left wing of the Polish "orkers party is against anti-Semitism, whereas the Stalinist right wing has openly come out in favor of a <u>numerus clausus</u> (or "national regulating" as the official "Trybuna Ludu" called it somewhat euphemistically the other day). The present debate, however, is among representatives of the anti-Stalinist left wing, some of whom argue that the situation has improved in comparison with the state of affairs seven, five or even three years ago. In their opinion, anti-Semitic outrages should of course be most actively combated, but there was no need to give such incidents excessive publicity; if Jews wanted to leave Poland this was highly regrettable, but they should be permitted to do so and no obstacles should be put in their way -- as had been the practice in the past. This view was voiced, for instance, in a much-discussed article in "Po Prostu." According to other writers, however, anti-Semitism continues to be a real problem and no attempt should be made to play it down. Jews should be permitted to leave Poland if they really insisted on it, but greater efforts should be made to persuade them to stay.

#### Press Blamed

This, for instance, is the view taken by two publicists, Boguslawski and Wolny, in a polemical article ("We ought not to be Jesuits") in "Przeglad Kulturalny." In their opinion the manifestations of anti-Semitism have not been exaggerated by the press. They quote a letter sent to the editors by somebody in Wloclawek who demanded that the "Yids should be annihilated" because "God himself sent Hitler to punish the Jews." There have been quite a number of such letters, and their authors have no right to speak in the name of the Polish nation. "However, let us not be Jesuits. . These letters cannot be treated as freaks from the most backward individuals in Poland. Let us face the truth. Anti-Semitism is deeply rooted in Poland . . . Is it possible that our journalists who carry on a patriotic and humanist struggle against anti-Semitism should embarrass us before the whole civilized world (as "Po Prostu" had argued)? Is it not rather the anti-Semitism which is tolerated . . . that embarrasses us? We think the latter is the case. The attempt to explain the tragic conflict of Jewish emigration as arising out of a desire for better living etc., is either stupid or mean."

The "Po Prostu" authors, Ambroziewicz and Olszewski, replied to this attack in another vehement article: What they had written was addressed to people whose minds are not darkened by pig-headedness. Boguslawski and Wolny should therefore not read this . . . Anti-Semitism was neither the exclusive nor even a paramount factor in the emigration of Jews from Poland. It was a natural process resulting from some very complicated issues; Jews did not emigrate from Poland alone, this was a process which affected all the Jewish communities in Europe and overseas. It had started after the second world war as an understandable reaction to the establishment of an independent Jewish state. In Poland, a natural tendency to emigrate had been stopped by brutal administrative methods in the past; and this explained the vehemence of this process when the administrative restrictions were at last lifted.

# Discrimination Denied

Ambroziewicz and Olszewski further reveal that they have received many letters in which it is argued that "what you write about the alleged segregation and discrimination against the Jewish population of Poland during the Stalinist period is not true." And then these letters enumerate a number of persons who occupied leading positions in the state apparatus and the security police.

"The fact is that many people of Jewish origin were in the front ranks of the Beria group. But this does not alter the fact that the Jewish population as a whole was submitted to various reprisals and discrimination. During that period all honest experts of Jewish origin were removed from prominent positions in foreign trade; the same policy was applied in the Supreme Court and in many other organizations and offices. The Bezpieka fabricated court proceedings against 'Zionists,' Jewish charitable organizations were expelled from the country, comtacts with families in Israel were looked upon as spying activities."

The writers then take issue with another article by J. Burgin "Zaraza" (the pest). According to Burgin the Polish government had participated in some official squeezing of the Jews. The general attitude was: "Let the Yid pay the money, since he wants to save his mangy life which is of no use to anyone. After all he is going to his imperialist fatherland, to Israel, so this fatherland should buy him out." The "Po Prostu" authors argue that these facts are simply untrue, that there was no fiscal discrimination against the Jews. "Burgin's article is a source of real joy to every anti- Semite. For untrue accusations are not a method of struggling against anti-Semitism but on the contrary, a method of spreading it..."

Since these articles were published "Trybuna Ludu," Gomulka's authoritative mouthpiece, has published an editorial in which it admits that anti-Semitism in Poland has "produced a feeling of insecurity among the citizens of Jewish descent and accelerated the growth of nationalist feelings among them. The trend towards emigrating originated in that way. The Jewish citizens of Poland who feel a stronger attachment to Israel than to Poland have a right to emigrate."

However, there are also some reflections about the political effect and the impression created by this emigration: "It is both wrong and pernicious if the Jews are prompted to emigrate by the phenomenon of anti-Semitism or on account of insufficient struggle against it . . One should also consider that the mass exodus of Polish Jews could be used by groups hostile to Poland to undermine Poland's good name."

The Polish Jews themselves have made no secret of the existence of anti-Semitism in Polend. Thus, for instance, the <u>Folks-Sztyme</u> of March 2, 1957, published in the course of a front-page report, titled "The Prime Minister Replies to the Questions of the Folks-Sztyme," the following questions and answers (the third question and answer relating to the achievements of the Jews in Communist Poland is omitted here):

<u>Question</u>: Comrade Frime Hinister, in your declaration (in which he vowed a "fight to the death" against every manifestation of anti-Semitism) you gave assurances that the Government would not permit harm to be done to its Jewish citizens.

Of late there has been an increase in the number of cases in which persons are dismissed from their jobs because they are Jews.

What does the Government of the Polish People's Republic intend to do to end this discrimination and to provide work for those dismissed?

Answer: I said in the Sejm (Perliament) that the Government will fight against every manifestation of discrimination. Cases of dismissal from one's job only because of one's "nationality," or, in general, taking into account such a criterion, undoubtedly are flagrant examples of discrimination. It is necessary to fight against such practice and to recognize it as non-permissible. In my view, these tendencies must also be opposed on the spot by the Farty and labor organizations, because any discrimination is contrary to our ideology as builders of Socialism.

 $\underline{/\mathbb{N}}$  or reply was given to the question about providing work for those dismissed  $\underline{/}$ .

<u>Cuestion</u>: Recently certain forms of blackmail against Jews have come to light. In the capital and other towns certain "dark persons" try to "remind" Jews that it is necessary for them to leave the country as soon as possible in order to leave their apartments to Poles.

What kind of measures will the Government apply to fight against these instigators who want to force the Jews to leave the country?

<u>Answer</u>: The cases of blackmail must be fought by the competent State organs. These cases must be met everywhere with public moral opposition.

Similarly, in the May 18, 1957, issue of the <u>Folks-Sztyme</u> there appeared a report on the speech of Hersh Smoliar, the chairman of the Cultural and Social Association before the Parliamentary Commission on the Problems of the National Minorities. In his speech Smoliar stressed the many cases in which the public prosecutors, court organs and the police did not react in time and energetically against "hooligan" anti-Semitic action and vilification of Jews. The court sentences, he charged, are too mild and too few to create the conviction that the laws of the country may not be violated with impunity. The question was also put of repairing the wrongs which happened in the past in the dismissel of Jews from their jobs. The secretary of the Association, Dr. Sfard, assailed with particular bitterness the so-called "well-mannered anti-Semitism" which committed crimes egainst the Jewish population without formally violating the laws of the land. He suggested that the Sejm should strongly condemn this form of racialism.

# 2. How does the foreign press explain the Polish enti-Semitism?

(a) Here are two articles, one from a German and the other from a Swiss paper, which try to explain the "reasons" for the present anti-Semitism.

The Versew correspondent of the <u>Stuttgerter Zeitung</u>, Johannes Maass, writes as follows in its issue of March 20, 1957:

" Poland's Jews become again Victims of Hatred and Envy "

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There were two trends discernible: First, those sectors of the Polish people which had been deprived of their farms or estates, workshops or plants, market stalls or business concerns, positions or titles, and which anyhow identified Bolshevism with Judeism in accordance with well-known analogies and so were looking for scapegoats on which directly to vent their resentment. What more plausible than to hold Jews responsible for everything, a feeling which had, of course, always existed latently. On the other hand, it was just a considerable segment within the United Workers' Party which set this enti-Semitism in motion -- et first clendestinely end secretly. and later on, when encouraged to violent anti-Jewishness by Russian Stelinism and its manifesto, quite openly. Through knowledge, ability, and an understanding attitude toward world affairs, as well as through bravery shown during the guerrilla wer, a number of outstanding Jews had achieved conspicuous positions, especially in Warsow. Their actual percentage was not unusually high; but it appeared so in the minds of just those who believed that a membership card, thunderous muddle-headedness, or blind obedience constituted the best possible certificate of ability for the claim to major positions "emong us, the Poles." Unfair methods were sometimes used, and the rest was brought about by the sinister developments of the Stalinist period, the demonstrative enti-Semitism of Hoscow, and the steadily growing economic distress. Stalin's death and the October uprising might have brought relief.

### A sediment of anti-Semitism

It was precisely the blindly stubborn and intolerant elements of Stalinism which had been deprived of power by the October upheaval. Part

of the intelligentsia and thus also the Jews had been champions and pertisens of the October uprising and of Gomulka. Small wonder, that the hatred of the dispossessed (and their desire to return to power and to be back on the "gravy train") looked for objects whose victimization would be popular. Thus the renewed and intensified anti-Semitic trends in Poland originated precisely with the former Stalinists or Natolinians (so called after their first meeting-place, the small castle of Natolin, near Warsaw). These matters played an important role during the first period of Gomulka's rule. All the methods of anti-Semitic practice were duite openly put in operation on several occasions of reshuffling within the Party -- and Gomulka had to fight them with all his authority. Perhaps, too, freedom of thought which had been restored so suddenly and after many years of silence, contributed its share: it was natural and inevitable that this freedom should be granted also to unsavory opinions, including also a residue of anti-Semitism. But it was just the influence of the political struggle around the idea of Stalin, which unleashed this trend. It is sheer nonsense on the part of a German writer (Wiebe in Aufwaerts), if, after a short and superficial visit to Polend, he thinks to have found the sources of this anti-Semitism in Catholic circles.

#### Letters with a skull

Some tangible facts may illustrate these developments: nearly all Jevish physicians in Lodz received letters with a skull which bade them to leave Poland, because the country did not need Jewish doctors. Signed: Your Polish Colleagues. This was certainly a mystification. Jews are frequently molested in the cities. Only recently, at a trial in Wroclaw (Breslau), four youths were sentenced to prison terms for physical attacks on Jews. Even the soldiers are contrainated. In the near future a court mertial will try a case, involving the distribution, in the barracks, of leaflets against Jewish officers. In some towns anti-Semitic leaflets and inscriptions made their appearances. Jewish children are insulted in the schools. Holestations and provocations are frequent occurrences. This writer personally witnessed an anti-Semitic molestation of a Swiss journalist on a Jarsaw street and also an incident in a store where a product of Israel was emphatically rejected. There are frequent family quarrels for recial reasons within mixed marriages. The number of such experiences could be multiplied. They ought not to be dramatized too much and their real importance may not be too decisive, but as a basic feature they are alarming indications.

The "East European correspondent" of the <u>Neue Berner Zeitung</u> writes as follows in its issue of April 2, 1957: "Polend Cannot Do Away ... ith Its Anti-Semitism."

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Uhat then is the matter with Polish anti-Semitism? Four facts cannot be denied: after the war anti-Semitism had disappeared from the visible surface; there were reasons for its being fostered by many sad experiences of the years 1945-1955; it is being rejected by the intellectuals and the most advanced and intelligent part of the workers as well as by the Catholic Church and by today's leaders of the ruling party PZPR, thus by those forces which support Gomulka; nevertheless, anti-Semitism continues to exist, frequently in growing measure, in those sectors of the Communist Party which have been pushed aside since last October by the moderate wing, as well as among the most outspoken foes of the PZPR within the peasants' group and the petty bourgeoisie and, finally, within the backward strate of the workers who still continue to adhere to that primitive brend of anti-Semitism practiced in the countryside.

However, similar views may be found also among the members of those classes which were formerly regarded as the "better ones."

Irrational, instinctive racism is there a given fact; and only later do they look for the reasons that may serve to explain it.

Thus, the enemies of the Jews condemn them either as Stalinists or as bourgeois foes of Communism, either as the perennial revolutionaries or as the bulwark of reaction. And to any objection they have ready the answer of the Patriarch from "Nathan the Wise" --- minus one letter : "It does not matter, one must banish(\*) the Jew."

The anti-Semites on the banks of the Vistula may, however, advance some arguments in support of their doctrine, which cannot be so easily refuted. After the terrible tragedy of the Second World War, when more than three million Jews were murdered in the Nazi gas chambers, there were at the most 100,000 Jews left in the territory of the resurrected <u>Rzeczpospolita</u> (Polish Republic) within its new boundaries -- about four per thousand of the total population, probably fewer. (We have no religious statistics and, of course, no figures regarding the "racial" identity of the inhabitants of the country.) But Jews were found in leading positions everywhere in the People's Democracy and in the ruling party.

Toward the end of the Bierut era, there were three Jews (Berman, Minc, Zambrowski) among the 13 members of the Politbureau, and eleven among the 77 members of the Central Committee. Jews, as vice ministers or directors under insignificant ministers, played the leading role in the Foreign Ministry and in the hated <u>Bezpigka</u>, the Polish Gestapo and NKVD. A similar situation prevailed in the cultural administration and in the press. The anti-Communist and severely oppressed majority of the nation had thus some reason for identifying Bolshevism with the Jews --- in accordance with Goebbels' prescription.

On the other hand, it was again the "men of alien extraction" who led the fight of the intellectuals against Stalinism; for example, the writers Slonimski, Jastrun, and Brzechwa. Within the PZPE the former Socialists Hochfeld and Drobner

<sup>(\*)</sup> In German a pun, based on the similarity of the terms "Verbrannt" and "Verbannt."

strongly supported the demands of the October uprising and Gomulka's success was achieved through the decisive influence of the attitude of General Komar, Commander of the Army of the Interior, who was also a "non-Aryan."

Thus, the Stalinists had reasons to be greatly displeased with the Jewish "traitors."

From all that arose a paradoxical situation.

The present regime sharply condemns anti-Semitism. Outspoken repudiations of racial hatred were published and continue to be published in the entire press, from the Catholic <u>Tygodnik Powszechny</u> — regarded as the mouthpiece of Cardinal .yszynski and of the episcopate -- to the organs of the intellectuals (<u>Przeglad</u> <u>Kulturalny</u>, <u>Nova Kultura</u>) and the students (<u>Po-Prostu</u>) and the leading Communist paper <u>Trybuna Ludu</u>.

Jews continue to exercise important functions in Poland. Zambrowski is a member of the now nine-man Politbureau, the Democrat Chajn of the Rada Panstwa, which acts collectively as Head of State. Hochfeld is one of the two vice-presidents of the PZPR, Slonimski has been elected head of the Writers' Association; and it should be mentioned that Gomulka's wife is also of Jewish origin.

Yet the same party circles which are putting every possible obstacle in the way of the First Secretary who has been in office since October, 1956, and which are not being regarded as having seriously abandoned Stalinism, continue to strive for the removal of the "Semites" from any position of importance and from political life in general.

Gomulka, who --- presumably much against his original intentions --- has to carry along a part of the former (?) Stalinists, was forced to yield in some regards to these demands. Thus, the secretariats of two of the most important Voivodships of the PZPR were taken away from their leaders who were not of the pure race. Drobner, the Socialist veteran from Cracow, who originally had been singled out for taking over the high dignity of Warshal of the Sejm (President of the Diet), was not named to this position owing to his origin. There are only few Jews on the list of candidates of the National Front, in comparison with the situation during 1945-1955, but admittedly still more (in excess of one per cent) than they would be entitled to by virtue of their proportion in the total population.

Anti-Semitic outbursts have frequently occurred, particularly in the Western parts of the country, and there are many incidents in the schools. The admonitions and the reproaches of the clergy as well as of the members of the Communist Party machinery have little effect on the children as well as on the adults who are contaminated by the anti-Semitic virus.

The dismal economic situation which is in contrast to the relatively more favorable position of the intellectuals -- i.e., in the minds of many of the spiritually or materially disinherited people, of the Jews -- contributes its share to a propaganda by word of mouth, spread by the Stalinists, who desire to return to supreme power. This agitation, however, meets with the energetic resistance of the entire intellectual elite of the country. (b) Seymour Friedlin (The New York Post, Nay 23, 1957) summarizes the "reasons" as follows:

Because of the brutal police regime that preceded the present Communist government of .ladyslaw Gomulka, the traditionally latent anti-Jewish feeling in Poland overflowed again.

A disproportionate number of Jews, so it appeared by the positions they held, cracked the whip over the country. When the trappings of constant police terror were dismantled by Gomulka, the pent-up anger of years roared in voices of fury.

3. The Soviet impact

The press reported on several occasions about Ehrushchev's anti-Semitic statement vis-a-vis Polish leaders. When he came to Warsaw in October, 1956 (see Section A above) he was reported to have said: "We have come in order to prevent you from delivering Polend into the hands of the Americans and Zionists."

The subsequent efforts by Soviet officials to incite against the Jews are described by A.B. Hayim ("Anti-Semitism: A Hew Soviet Export", <u>Devar</u>, May 10, 1957) in the following words:

The "love" of Mikita Khrushchev, or, as he is derisively called, Mikita <u>Kukuruznik</u> ("the corn man"), for the Jews is well known. If we return to this topic, it is because the Soviet. Union, apparently, has decided to boost the export of its anti-Semitic doctrine to the satellite countries.

In Warsaw journalistic circles, they are still talking angrily about certain recent anti-Semitic manifestations, whose source was the Soviet Government, toward the Polish Journalistic Association. It all started with the sudden remark of Victor Maslennikov, the second secretary for press relations at the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw, in the course of a conversation with officials of the association, that "the cause of the ideological tohu-bohu prevalent in the Polish press is the group of Jewish journalists, anarchists, Trotzkyites, who dominate the Polish press.

"The experience of the countries of the People's Democracies, like that of the Soviet Union itself, shows," Maslennikov told his astonished listeners, "that whenever Jews are given the floor, different theories and strange versions of Marxism-Leninism make their appearance. The Jewish intellectuals are the cause of the ideological chaos."

Among Maslennikov's listeners there were several Jewish journalists and one non-Jew. The Jews remained silent, looking at one another in embarrassment. The only one who spoke up was the non-Jew, a member of the editorial staff of <u>Slovo</u> <u>Powszechne</u>, a Catholic journalist named Jerzy Turowski, who asked, "Was not the founder of Marxism, Karl Marx, also a Jew?" "No, no," vigorously protested Maslennikov, "Marx was the son of a baptized Jew, and that is quite another thing. For instance, you are also the son of a baptized Jew"- here he turned to the secretary general of the Polish Journalist Association, Jerzy Mond --- "and we consider you a decent man and have no objections against you."

Mond, whose father was a Polish general who did not undergo baptism, kept quiet, being amazed and embarrassed. Jerzy Rawicz, the editor of the official Polish Communist Party paper <u>Trybuna Ludu</u>, also remained silent; neither did the president of the Parliamentary Correspondents' Club, Perlan, open his mouth. Only Turowski, the Catholic newspaperman, left the room.

The news of the anti-Semitic outburst of the official Soviet representative spread quickly among Warsaw's newspapermen and aroused a storm of indignation. The first storm had hardly subsided when a new bombshell, this time hurled straight from Moscow, exploded. The Polish Journalist Association received a letter from the Association of Journalists in Moscow proposing an exchange of thirty confreres between the papers of he two countries. It was suggested that thirty journalists of each country visit the newspapers of the other country and study their methods of work. The letter contained a complete program for the visit of the Polish writers to Russia, and it bore the following note on the margin: "It is desirable that the visitors should not be Jews."

A delegation from the executive committee of the Polish Journalist Association brought the letter to Jerzy Horavski, a member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, under whose supervision the press works, and demanded that the Central Committee make official representations to Khrushchev, and also that Maslennikov be declared "persona non grata" and expelled from Poland.

Horawski listened to the delegation in silence, took the letter, and forbade any independent action in the matter on the journalists' part. But this was not enough for the Russians, and they assailed the Polish Journalist Association once more. To the May First celebration in Moscow they invited Stanislaw Brodski, president of the Polish Journalist Association. During the telephone conversation between Moscow and the office of the Polish Journalist Association concerning Brodski's forthcoming visit to Moscow, the question was suddenly asked, "Is Comrade Brodski a Jew?" This question was greeted with complete silence by the Warsaw people, whereupon the Moscow spokesman hastened to say that the question did not really matter since there was no intention to change the plan for Brodski's visit to Moscow.

These three closely connected incidents had but one meaning and purpose: to export anti-Semitism from the Soviet Union to the satellite countries. And indeed, this is how the Polish press interpreted them. Lately Polish daily newspapers and weeklies have come out against the anti-Semitic wave which is engulfing the country. A writer on <u>Przeglad Kulturalny</u> wrote with bitterness: "An anti-Semitic wind is blowing from a direction from which it was least expected."

The <u>Canader Odler</u> reported on June 12, 1957 that Boleslaw Drobner gave Ben-

Gurion details about the anti-Semitic propaganda carried on by Soviet representa-

tives in Polend.

# Section C. EMIGRATION

### 1. The numbers

Large-scale emigration of Jews from Polend started in the latter part of 1956. As the paper <u>Po-Prostu</u> put it in February 1957, it became at that time "an exodus rivaling in numbers the Exodus from Egypt in biblical times," so that "Poland witnessed the self-liquidation of the Jewish community" in that country.

The exact figures of the emigrants are kept secret for obvious reasons. A. Shulman, writing in The Jewish Chronicle of May 17, had this to say about it:

It is difficult to estimate how many Jews are leaving Poland. Every Jew I asked told me only the position in his own locality: "In our town 90 per cent of the Jews have registered for emigration": "in my district 80 per cent"; "in our locality 75 per cent." Only in Warsaw did the Jews want to remain. Here they felt more secure, and many of them held important positions. But recently even Warsaw Jews have been applying in large numbers for exit permits. This is due to the increasing anti-Semitism, the concessions made by Gomulka to the Stalinists, and the obscurity of the Polish political scene.

An earlier dispatch printed in the <u>Badische Neueste Nachrichten</u> of April 13, 1957 (and elsewhere) from Paris reported the following:

1,000 Jewish emigrants from Poland arrived on Thursday in Marseille aboard the Italian steamer "Aurelia." They were taken to the reception camp "Grand Trenas" and they will resume their voyage to Israel. On the same day, another thousand Polish emigrants landed in Dunkirk and went from there by train to Marseille. Altogether, about 30,000 to 35,000 emigrants will leave Poland by ships of different nationalities, which will call for them at the ports of Gdynia and Stettin.

Under an agreement which was concluded between the Governments of Israel and Poland, about 10,000 Jews were supposed to leave Foland, but by now this figure has been greatly exceeded.

### 2. The reasons

There are no doubts as to the reasons for the exodus. In an article published in <u>Przeglad Kulturalny</u>, the above-quoted Burgin thus states the reasons and the difficulties which the Jews encountered at first:<sup>2)</sup>

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<sup>2)</sup> Since April, 1957, Folish citizens leaving Poland are not required to pay duties on personal belongings, etc.

It is a fact that the majority of Jews who survived Hitler come to the conclusion that conditions are so bad that they are unable any longer to work, to breathe, and to live in Poland, even after twelve years of the Communist regime. We face a process known in history by the name of Exedus.

Yes, it is the exodus of the Jows from Poland. Have a look at the calendar: it is 1957.

They have decided to leave. They are leaving a country which is building socialism. People who have contributed much to this building of socialism and worked very hard for it. Among those leaving are many Communists who have served very well the People's Democratic regime, as well as simple people, very good workers in everyday life. All this is terribly painful and unpleasant for people who linked their lives to the future of their Polish People's fatherland, who considered our Party as their party and who were always ready at the behest of the party to fight and to sacrifice their health and even their very lives. Now they have lost faith in their fatherland and in the internationalism of our party. They go into emile, heartbroken and with a feeling of undeserved wrong.

Some people say: The Jewish comrades show lack of steadfastness. They should not break down. They should find the strength and will to fight and to withstand. In the past they showed more than once that they could be steadfast and unyielding, particularly in the fight with fascism and on the battlefields.

Yes, they should fight; but let us remember that then, in the most difficult moments, they found support in the Party, in its idealism. And when, as a result of the Beria crimes, the Party failed, there remained the living creative force of proletarian internationalism. It never happened in the past that nationalism was proclaimed from the plenum of the Central Committee, it never happened that some party dignitarios of the high hierarchy officially preached anti-Semitism, without encountering any resistance.

The exodus of the Jews from People's Polend is a fact which constitutes a serious charge against our People's Government, against our party, and against all of us. The heart of our problem is not the behavior of the Jews. That is only the result of a certain situation in the creation of which almost all of us had a share. Rather should we strive to answer this burning question: How to counteract, how to avoid the further development of this shameful thing?

Some elements of our government which, presumably, still act on the basis of old habits and instructions, did not, despite the decision taken by the majority of Jewish citizens and Polish citizens connected with them by family ties, have the courage to fight against anti-Semitism, just as they do not combat other aspects of nationalism. Maybe it is assumed that the moment is not suitable? Maybe, some of our politicians are simply unable to conduct a fight against nationalism? I will not answer this question. It is a fact, a depressing and shameful fact, that a very strange tactic has been employed. Publicly, the existence of official anti-Semitism is denied, but secretly, instructions have been given, where necessary, not to make any difficulties in issuing emigrant passports to potential emigrants. It is known that the acquisition of an emigrant passport entails giving up Polish citizenship. In this way one gets rid of the undesired Jews for good and for ever. Towards the emigrating members of the Party one is more lenient: they receive Polish passports for two or three years. How much bitter evidence there is in this "passport police"!

This is a familiar practice, at least to any border patrol of a capitalist country. But I deem it proper that citizens of our socialist state should also know about it. So, Jews started to leave. Some of our politicians of the past season thought that we should, without any shocking repercussions, in peace, swallow the shame of Aryanization. But in the nationalist family there were some overzealous people who spoiled the whole game. They -- those pupils of the Hitler school -contrived to profit once more -- maybe for the last time -- by Jewish misery. One applied towards the emigrating Jews the rule that the ticket must be paid for in foreign currency. That such emigrating Jews should pay customs dues in the amount of three zlotys for each kilo of their belongings. That the government shipping agency Hartwig, which, by the way, refuses to insure the luggage, would take care of the shipment. That even the packing of the luggage should be entrusted to a government agency. And for everything it must be paid. And plenty!

Where can the emigrating 'ew acquire the currency for a ticket? Nobody is concerned with this. If one is a Jew, let him have relatives abroad. Besides, every Jew is a dealer in currency, a speculator, a swindler. So let him pay cash when he wants to save his damned life, which nobody needs. Finally, he is going to his imperialistic fatherland, to Israel, so let this fatherland redeem him. And where is he to get the zlotys to pay all the charges? Let him do as he pleases, but let him pay. He is virtually a traitor and actually one should treat him differently, but we are a civilized people, so only that.

Let the Jew pay. And the Jew does pay. He reads declarations about internationalism; he listens to assurances that there is no anti-Semitism in Poland; he learns that Germans leaving socialist Poland for capitalist West Germany are exempt from any charges --- and he pays and he accumulates in his heart the bitterness of a humiliated, disappointed and wronged man.

There is an essential difference between a German who goes back to his fatherland, and a Jew who is expelled from his Polish fatherland by the Nationalist beast. A difference very essential and highly burdening our country.

Hany words full of indignation have already been sold about anti-Semitism, but life goes its way and accuses us gravely. There is in anti-Semitism a human of pect, which causes one to blush whenever one talks or even thinks of it. This is a very important aspect, but not the most important one. There is first of all a political aspect involved. Can one imagine a socialist ideology permeated with nationalism? Can one build socialism on an ideology tainted with enti-Semitism? Can one think of the rebirth of the Party, of cleansing our political life without an uncompromising fight against nationalism? Hol Three times no! There have been alarning voices about the danger of contaminating the ideology of our working class, of our people. The last issue of <u>Zeszyty Teoretyczne</u> was dedicated to the problem of anti-Semitism. Lately the courts have meted out a few sentences for anti-Semitic outbursts.

But the exodus goes on. If we do not start effective work in time, we shall not be able to wash away the stain from our political conscience, even with the most beautiful words. The Warsaw paper <u>Zycie Warszawy</u> published on February 17/18, 1957, an article by Jackowski titled "They are leaving." It contains, <u>i.a.</u>, the following rather moving account of why a Jew leaves Poland:

I stand near a swaying street lamp and a man in a cap talks to me in this delightfully funny Polish about which so many jokes are made in Poland:

"I was still far in the interior of Russia, wendering over Asia and living in poverty. Over there, after the War, news spread that somewhere in the West of Foland -- in a township called Rychbach, Jews live their own life, use their own language, and adhere to their own religion. I heard that even the Mayor of Rychbach was a Jew. The papers were Jewish and so were the Society and Labor. Jews in Russia dreamed about Rychbach like a paradise on earth. People consequently thought of going there and made every effort to get there. I managed to leave and go to Rychbach and all that I heard about it was true. Jews really lived here freely according to their traditions and customs, and spoke their own language. I am a common tailor and I went to work in the local Jewish cooperative and started to produce trousers for the local population."

The street lamp over us behaves in the most unusual manner. People passing us speak Yiddish. ...here did they come from? Tew came back from concentration camps where they were imprisoned together with many Gentiles by the Nazis. Soon the town became a kind of a Jewish Mecca, attracting Jews in went of work, a house and a synagogue. They found all these here. We walked up a narrow street towards the house of the Cultural and Social Association of Polish Jews. I hear from my companion (the secretary) that many Jews left before 1950. Uhy? They longed for their relatives in Israel and for the country of the age-old Jewish dreams. Others stayed behind and led a quiet life. With the help of "Joint" money, tailoring, shoemaking, and various other co-operatives were established. Many Jews took up agriculture, while others went to work in the factories. Now almost all of them are leaving, as the worst had come.

# 3. The children aspect

A particular reason is the impact of anti-Semitism on the Jewish children. Burgin, in his above-quoted article "The Fest," points to a particular aspect of this problem:

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The introduction (under these circumstances) of so-called voluntary religious instruction in the schools made the offensive of Nationalism even sharper and gave it a specific coloring. Every child who refused to attend a "nonmendatory" class in religion is immediately branded a Jew. The onslaught of Polish reaction to force the children's souls was right away undertaken in the atmosphere of awakened anti-Semitism. The ground was well prepared by the policy of yielding to Nationalism in the past period. Today, persecution of the few Jewish children in the schools is, unfortunately, an everyday event and when anti-Semitism has no Jewish child as a victim, it finds a Polish child of parents without religious affiliation. The correspondent of the <u>Manchester Guardian</u> quoted above tells this story about the impact of the children's position:

Another reason why thousands of Jews have decided to emigrate is that, since Mr. Gomulka and Cardinel Wyszinski came to terms, religious instruction has been put on the curriculum in the public schools. A great many Jews who had adopted Polish names and thus succeeded in concealing their Jewish origins suddenly found themselves and their children in a difficult situation. They did not want to have their children attend Catholic religious instruction, but they knew that a refusal amounted to a confession to be either a Communist or a Jew. Unwilling to expose their children, who in most cases knew nothing of their Jewish origin, to persecution, they have chosen emigration as the best way out of their dilemma.

Jackowski, in the article "They are leaving" quoted above, describes the experience of a Jewish father:

"I have a little daughter at school. You probably know how Jews love their children. One day she came home from school with tears in her eyes, shivering and refusing to talk. My heart sank, and I inquired, 'What happened, little one?'

"At school they call me 'you dirty Jewess'," cried the child and broke down.

He looked at me with his penetrating eyes full of dismay and reproach. 'My daughter dirty? There is nother like her'."

A. Shulman, in the <u>Jewish Chronicle</u> referred to above, summarizes the situation succinctly, as follows:

Perticularly tragic was the effect on the Jewish children. Many of these children had not known that they were Jews, but they suddenly began to be persecuted not only by other schoolchildren but also by their teachers. These Jewish children came home with tears streaming from their eyes and asked their parents: "Why do they say that I killed Jesus? May am I different from the other children?"

# 4. The Official Attitude Toward Emigration

After printing two letters, both by non-Jews, concerning the emigration of Jews on account of anti-Semitism, the official organ of Gomulka, <u>Trybuna Ludu</u>, proceeds to comment as follows (quoted from the Warsaw <u>Folks-Sztyme</u> of February 23,

1957):

To these words of our readers who express their burning shame that in our country thousands of citizens still feel impelled to emigrate because of racial bigotry, we should like to add a few remarks. The fact that the applications for exit visas and the sentiment in favor of leaving the country have lately assumed such a mass character among the Polish Jews is indisputable evidence of how keenly they feel the multiplying manifestations of anti-Semitism. One can understand this feeling of injustice engendered by the exhibitions of anti-Semitism, which hurts one's human dignity and which is felt the more keenly by those wronged, the more attached they are to their country.

But all citizens of Jewish descent should be told: Our Party and the People's Government, relying on all the honest and healthy forces of our society, will succeed in putting an end to anti-Semitic manifestations and making all citizens feel secure in the possession of equal rights, will succeed in putting an end to every display of racial discrimination. Those who indulge in anti-Semitic chicaneries and actions will and shall be punished, and the racist theories will be relentlessly fought. In view of this, the emigration psychosis, which is in part a product of the sentiments of the moment, is baseless. This psychosis should be resisted for the sake of the good name of our country and for the sake of thousands of citizens -- Jews -- whom we want to save from wendering in foreign lands. This is the special duty of the Party activists who are in touch with Jewish circles. And above all, the emigration mood can be dispelled first of all if Polish society will unite in condemning every manifestation of anti-Semitism.

#### 5. Who emigrated

Among the emigrants are former top government officials, leading engineers, scientists, etc. According to the <u>Israelitisches Wochenblatt</u> (Zurich) of April 19, 1957, the emigrants include many members of the Yiddish theatre, the largest part of the staff of the <u>Folks-Sztyme</u>, members of the Jewish Historical Commission.

### Section D. REPATRIATION FROM RUSSIA

The agreements between the Soviet Union and Poland concerning the repatriation from the Soviet Union of former Polish citizens refer to two "nationalities" only: Poles and Jews. (See Art. 14 of the Repatriation Agreement, published in <u>Trybuna Ludu</u>, March 27, 1957.)

There are no more or less exact figures either on the total number of expected repatriates or that of the Jews. The figure of 50,000 Jews was given as a fair estimate. Repatriation has its puzzles and peculiarities. Two reporters of the illustrated magazine <u>Sie und Er</u> (Zofingen) who went to Foland to witness the repatriation reported in the April 18, 1957 issue of that magazine, that in warsaw they saw a transport of repatriates the majority of whom came from Siberian forced labor camps, in physically bad shape, and looking listless. Many did not know a single word of Folish and could give only vague answers to the question of their origin and why they were repatriated. In some cases, the impression was that they were persons of whom the Russians just wanted to get rid. According to available information, the Soviet Union also permits the repatriation of Jews who have difficulty in proving their former Folish citizenship.

The Jewish repatriates ("transmigration" is now practically impossible) encounter many difficulties in finding epartments and jobs (there also appear to be difficulties in the matter of food).

Here is what the Tolks-Sztyme of May 9, 1957 says about these problems:

Everywhere the repatriates rightly ask: "Why do not the local National Councils carry out the resolution, adopted by the Council of the Ministers, that the repatriates be provided with homes?" The Jewish Commission on Repatriation asked this question of the Government Commissioner of Repatriation as well as of the Minister on Communal Affairs. From all sides came the promise that everything would be done to solve this painful problem.

One of the principal questions confronting all Jewish repatriates is: where to find employment. This problem greatly occupies now the Cultural and Social Association of the Jews in Poland. The presidium of the Central Administrative Committee has set up a special commission on rehabilitation which has taken steps to organize various places of employment, cooperative as well as collective and individual workshops. In Warsaw, as is well known, there already exists a cooperative of various trade occupations where tailors and carpenters work, are employed and departments are planned for mechanics, radio and television technicians, photog raphers, etc., and workers in other lines.

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In its issues of May 16, 21, 22, 23 and 29, the <u>Folks-Sztyme</u> reported that the orders of the Cabinet of April 12, 1957 to allocate apartments to repatriated Jews are unfortunately not being followed everywhere.

There are no over-all figures on the numbers of repatriated Jews now in Poland. Lignice has 400 families (1,400 persons); Walbrzych, 30 families; Lodz, 150 families. In view of the difficulty of obtaining apartments, special licenses are required to settle repatriates in particular localities (for instance, in Lodz permission was received for 150 Jewish families only.)

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