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Romania, 1976-1978.

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STATEMENT BY RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER
CHAIRMAN, CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
SEPTEMBER 8, 1976

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee,

I appreciate your giving me this opportunity to present the views of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations of which I am chairman. The Conference is the coordinating body of 32 national Jewish organizations and speaks for the organized American Jewish community on this and related issues.

We are in favor of continuing the MFN status which has been conferred on Romania.

Ours is a qualified endorsement. The law's requirement of free emigration assuredly has not yet been achieved; many Romanian Jews desiring to be reunited with their families here and elsewhere are denied the right to do so. Yet we see this failing against the background of those considerable rights which are granted to the Romanian Jewish community itself. We see it also in the context of that independent foreign policy which the Romanian government has pursued and which we favor -- her efforts to normalize relations with nations outside the Soviet bloc, with our own country and with Israel. Nor are the gates of emigration entirely shut; some flow, however sluggish and uncertain, is encouraged. And so we support an additional one-year waiver of section 402, in the hope that continuing efforts by our officials will, in fact, lead to the achievement of the Trade Act's ultimate objective: a free movement of peoples.

My testimony is based not just on a careful sifting of passport and visa statistics, but also on more personal observations gleaned on a journey through Romania. I travelled there some weeks ago on the invitation of the Romanian government, her Jewish community, and with the cooperation of our State Department. I toured Bucharest and five or six centers in the northeast section of that land. I met with leaders of some twenty Jewish communities which I was

unable to visit personally. I conferred with governmental officials and party chiefs -- among them the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Deputy Prime Minister, and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. Of course, I also counselled with our own Embassy officials who were most helpful in all of these encounters and whose manifest devotion to the moral concerns of our government I have come to respect and value greatly.

The Romanian Jewish community enjoys many rights. There are synagogues and communal centers. Worship is unrestricted, liturgical materials are at hand, and even religious instruction is permitted. Canteens have been established in every major Jewish population center and free kosher meals are provided to one and all, even, by special transport, to the home and bedridden. Special medical and dental care is available, and food and clothing are distributed regularly. Several old-age, nursing homes are in operation and much needed for a population whose median age is sixty-five. All of these institutions and activities are administered by the local Jewish community with the approval and cooperation of the Romanian government. They are given considerable financial support by the Joint Distribution Committee, an American Jewish charitable institution, whose efforts are facilitated by the MFN status which Romania now enjoys.

These rights which the Romanian government accords to its Jewish citizens are on a full par with the rights given to her other minority groupings. Yet the concept of human rights, as we perceive it in its fullness, must encompass the right of emigration. And it is on this score, and this score primarily, that our testimony is qualified.

The facts speak for themselves. When Romania was originally granted most-favored-nation status, congress asserted and administration witnesses agreed that further renewal of this special relationship must depend on a steady flow of emigration. The House Committee on Ways and Means, in offering its concurrence, actually foresaw a dramatic rise in this emigration, based on its upward trend

during the weeks preceding last year's hearings.

But there has been no upswing in Romanian emigration. In the twelve months preceding the approval of MFN, 2,592 Romanian Jews were allowed to leave; in the twelve months thereafter, emigration declined by nearly one hundred souls. Reports for the first seven months of 1976 allow us to project no more than 2,300 emigrants, still a further marked decline. If those figures which swelled during last year's hearings and on which the House Committee based its projections had been realized -- an average of 307 per month for the two months preceding and three months following the hearings -- the annual rate of emigration would have approached 3,700, precisely the same number of Jews who left Romania during 1973 and 1974. Thus the current emigration rate is actually 37.5 per cent below what might have been expected if the rate which Romania "demonstrated" to congress had been sustained.

Former Romanian Jews now living in Israel and elsewhere insist that many of their relatives still in Romania want to be reunited with them, and indeed many have indicated to Romanian authorities that they have a desire to do so. Many more undoubtedly want to join their relatives abroad but have not made formal application to leave because of the difficulties which still inhere in the emigration process: the requirements of prior approval from several national and local authorities, lengthy interviews probing motivation, risk of job loss, indefinite delays. Frequently passports are fully processed, even to the point of having visas entered by the Israeli Consulate, only to be withheld at the very last moment for weeks and months on end, with no perceivable pattern, and for no apparent reason.

A governmental policy of restricted, carefully controlled emigrations -- which these statistics and procedures could well be interpreted to reflect -- is clearly inconsistent with the letter and the spirit of the 1975 Trade Act. This is why we qualify our approval of the President's proposal that he waive the

requirements of section 402, which we support on other, weighty grounds, with the request that the emigration figures be kept under continuing careful review and that our government's representatives continue to bend every effort in order to make certain that the practices of Romania will lead substantially to the achievement of a full and free emigration.

I cannot conclude my testimony without once again expressing my admiration and gratitude to the members of our State Department and in particular to our representatives in Bucharest whose words and actions bear testimony to the fact that insofar as the United States is concerned interests in the extension of trade and political sway do not supercede our concern for the extension of human rights, and that among these rights, the free movement of peoples is an ideal to which our national honor is pledged.

May 21, 1976

His Excellency, Corneliu Bogdan
Ambassador of Roumania to the United States
Embassy of Roumania
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Ambassador Bogdan:

I am so glad that we finally had a chance to meet and I must say that my preconception of your excellence, based on prior private reports, has been confirmed. You seem to be as good as they say you are and I really regret that your tour of duty in the United States will end so soon so that our association will only be of relatively short duration.

As we told you at our meeting, we share your earnest hope that there be continued progress in the favorable relationship which obtains between your country and the United States. I hope that you will find it possible to help us establish your government's earnestness in helping on the immigration issue. We fully agree with you that the number's game is foolish to play and that this particular problem must be seen in the context of an overall approach manifested in many spheres. Still, the United States Congress is concerned only with the problem of immigration and they will insist on our reassurances on this score.

I double checked the issue which Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson raised and our records do indeed indicate that there are some six hundred (600) people who are ready to leave this very moment, the bulk of them having already been processed both by your government and by the Israeli Consulate and yet they are still unable to leave. The elimination of this particular log-jam would go some way toward the solution of our mutual problem.

Once again I want to say how pleased and privileged I was to meet you. I want to wish you well as you turn to your new responsibilities.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Chairman

cc: Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson
Mr. Yitzhak Rager
Rabbi Israel Miller
Mr. Yehuda Hellman

התאחדות עולי רומניה בישראל
HITACHDUT OLEI ROMANIA B'ISRAEL
Jerusalem ירושלים

כ"ג באייר תשל"ו
23.5.1976 ירושלים,
ת.ד. 1483 P.O.B.

לכבוד
ועידת הנשיאים בארה"ב

א.מ.נ.

אשחקד הפנינו חשומת לבכם למצב העליה מרומניה. פועלכם מלא את
לבנו חקוות לאחר ההבטחות שהשגתם הן דרך הממשל האמריקאי והן ישירות
מן הרומנים, ועל כך ברכנו אתכם בלבנו.

למרבה הצער, הסתיימה שנת 1975 במספר הנמוך ביותר של עולים שידענו
מארץ זו זה שנים רבות. גם 1976 עד כה מצטיינת בירידה תלולה ומדאיגה
במספר היוצאים מרומניה לישראל.

קשיים חדשים ברישום ליציאה, הכבדה בפורמליות, פרסומים בעחונות
המקומית, לראשונה זה שבע עשרה שנה, המכוונים נגד הרוצים לצאת, כולם
מיועדים להפחיד, להרתיע וכחוצאה מכך להמעים מספר מגישי הבקשות.

לפי מיטב ידיעתנו, הנזונות בראש וראשונה מפניות המשפחות המפורדות
בארץ, אך גם ממכתבים המגיעים מרומניה, ברור לנו ללא צל של ספק שרבות
יהודים נפשם יוצאת להתאחד עם משפחותיהם, מהן הופרדו בכורח הנסיבות
ואחודם נמנע חרף רצונם העז.

לא עשינו פעולות ראוה, אם כי נצלנו כל הזדמנות להבהיר לרומנים
כאן, בשיחות שקטות, את עמדתנו הנחרצת, הדורשת קיום ההבטחות לבצוע המדיניות
ההומניטרית המוכרזת ע"י מתן אפשרות לאחוד משפחות ואנו פונים אליכם
עתה, כאשר מתחדש הדיון במעמד רומניה כמדינה מועדפת ביותר, שתפעילו את
השפעתכם הישירה על הרומנים ועל הממשל בארה"ב, כדי לשכנע שלא נשקוט
עד שדרישה הומניטרית זאת לא תבוא על ספוקה.

ברגשי כבוד ובברכת אחים,

צבי רוזן

נצי"ר

June 2, 1976

Mr. Tzvi Rosen
Hitachdut Olei Romania B'Israel
P.O. Box 1483
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Rosen:

I have your letter of May 23 and want to assure you we are aware of the decline in emigration from Romania. We are working very closely with all interested parties in the United States and have even made inquiry with the Romanian government.

I assure you of our interest and concern in this connection.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Chairman

cc: Mr. Yehuda Hellman

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NN/ES

No. 6593

August 7, 1976

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Chairman, Conference of Presidents
of Major American Jewish Organizations
515 Park Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

It was a real pleasure meeting you in New York on August 5, 1976 when we had the opportunity to discuss matters of general and mutual interest.

It is my opinion that our discussions were interesting and constructive and consider that we must keep in permanent contact and see each other frequently, for discussing any matter when our presence, advice and views sharing is required and needed.

I take the opportunity to reiterate my invitation to you and your wife for a Romanian afternoon and dinner at my residence in Washington, at your convenience.

In the mean time I wish you a nice and very succesful trip in Romania.

Looking forward to see you again,

Sincerely yours,



Nicolae Nicolae
Ambassador

August 25, 1976

Mr. Stefan Andrei
Secretary of the Communist Party
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Mr. Andrei:

My heartfelt thanks for receiving me on my recent journey to Romania and my visit to Bucharest. You were most gracious to give me so much time and I appreciate especially the frankness of your approach.

I share your conviction that there is no reason why we cannot cooperate with one another and that given such cooperation there is little that cannot be achieved.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

August 24, 1976

Mr. Gheorghe Nenciv, President
Department of Religious Affairs
St. Snagov 40
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Mr. Nenciv:

I am deeply grateful to you for sponsoring our visit to your land and for the personal time you gave me during my visit as well as the many courtesies which were shown to us by you and through your good offices.

I found our conversation most helpful and I do hope that we will have an opportunity in the not-too-distant future to resume it.

We are admiring of the religious rights which are granted to the Jewish community, thanks to your Government and through the instrumentalities of your position. This enhances our regard for Romania and our determination to work in cooperation always.

With warmest wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

August 24, 1976

Rabbi Moshe Rosen
Chief Rabbi
Bucharest, Romania

My Dear Rabbi Rosen:

I am deeply grateful for your warm and gracious hospitality and for your many courtesies to me during my visit to Romania.

I am admiring of your efforts in Romania and for the Jewish community. There is very little doubt that you have accomplished much in most difficult times and places. The entire Jewish world has to be indebted to you.

I really do not know how to evaluate my visit fully. I know that it was not entirely without its impact and I hope some positive results will flow from it. I approach all matters with two concerns, the assured continued support and vitality of the Romanian Jewish community as well as the free opportunity for those who might have the hope to be reunited with families in other lands. If both of these purposes can be furthered I will indeed be satisfied.

With repeated thanks for your kindnesses and with every good wish, I am,

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

P.S. The enclosed letter awaited me on my return from Romania and I share it with you in the hope that you might possibly be of help.

August 24, 1976

Mr. Jon Patan
Vice Prime Minister
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Mr. Patan:

I am exceedingly grateful to you for receiving me when I was in Bucharest and I meant what I said: I do respond both to your pragmatism and the warmth of your human approach. It is clear that you are a kindred spirit.

I deeply appreciate your offer to be of help and eagerly await, through the United States Embassy, your response to my request.

It was a joy and a privilege to meet you as well as to visit your great land.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

September 7th, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

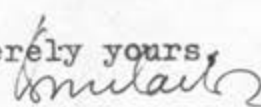
Dear Rabbi Schindler:

First of all I would like to thank you for your nice letter and for the warm words about our delightful evening.

It was a real pleasure for my wife and myself to meet you and your gracious wife.

With warmest personal regards and best wishes to you and Mrs. Schindler.

Sincerely yours,


Nicolae M. Nicolae
Ambassador

PERSONAL &
CONFIDENTIAL

August 25, 1976

Ambassador Simcha Dinitz
Embassy of Israel
1621 22nd St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Simcha:

Thank you for your helpfulness yesterday.

You were good. My acknowledgements were not formal, but truly reflective of my response to your briefing.

If you do write a report home in re my Rumanian briefing, by all means feel free to include my recommendation that the Eastern European section should be fully integrated into the Foreign Ministry. My fleeting exposure to its problems convinces me of the wisdom of this move. Relations with other governments and their embassies invariably are involved and the structural separation of these entities leads to a confounding of policies -- never mind the confusion which is the inevitable consequence of this artificial segregation. I am not arguing for different people -- they are honorable and well intentioned. I am arguing for integration, and coordination and central supervision.

I guess this recommendation won't make me popular either - but what the hell. My standing in the polls is low enough as it is, so I'll persist in expressing what I feel.

Again, my thanks.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022
Plaza 2-1616
Cable Address: COJOGRA

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

American Israel Public
Affairs Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Mizrahi Women's
Organization
American Zionist Federation
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women
Bnai Zion
Central Conference of
American Rabbis
Council of Jewish Federations
and Welfare Funds (observer)
Hadassah
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish Reconstructionist
Foundation
Jewish War Veterans
of the U.S.A.
Labor Zionist Alliance
Mizrahi-Hapoel Hamizrachi
National Committee for
Labor Israel, Inc.
National Council of
Jewish Women
National Council of
Young Israel
National Federation of
Temple Sisterhoods
National Jewish Community
Relations Advisory Council
National Jewish Welfare Board
North American Jewish
Youth Council
Pioneer Women
The Rabbinical Assembly
Rabbinical Council of America
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish
Congregations of America
United Synagogue of America
Women's American ORT
Women's League for
Conservative Judaism
World Zionist Organization
American Section, Inc.
Zionist Organization of America

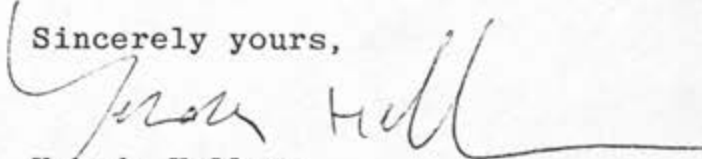
September 13, 1976

Subcommittee on Trade
House Committee on Ways and Means
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

We thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed testimony which we have submitted to the House Committee on Ways and Means's subcommittee on Trade as part of the subcommittee's one-day public hearing on continuing MFN status for Romania, to be held on Tuesday, September 14, 1976.

The statement by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, represents testimony on behalf of the Presidents Conference and its 32 constituent bodies.

Sincerely yours,


Yehuda Hellman
Executive Director

SENT TO:

Congressmen on the Subcommittee on Trade

Encl.
YH:jj

Phil M. Landrum
Sam Gibbons
Joseph E. Karth
Richard F. VanderVeen
Dan Rostenkowski
James R. Jones
Abner Mikva
Joseph Fisher

Otis Pike
Henry Helstoski
Barber Conable
Bill Archer
Guy VanderJagt
Bill Frenzel
John Duncan

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022
Plaza 2-1616
Cable Address: COJOGRA

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

American Israel Public
Affairs Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Mizrahi Women's
Organization
American Zionist Federation
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women
Bnai Zion
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Mizrahi-Hapoel Hamizrachi
National Committee for
Labor Israel, Inc.
National Council of
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National Council of
Young Israel
National Federation of
Temple Sisterhoods
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National Jewish Welfare Board
North American Jewish
Youth Council
Pioneer Women
The Rabbinical Assembly
Rabbinical Council of America
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish
Congregations of America
United Synagogue of America
Women's American ORT
Women's League for
Conservative Judaism
World Zionist Organization
American Section, Inc.
Zionist Organization of America

September 13, 1976

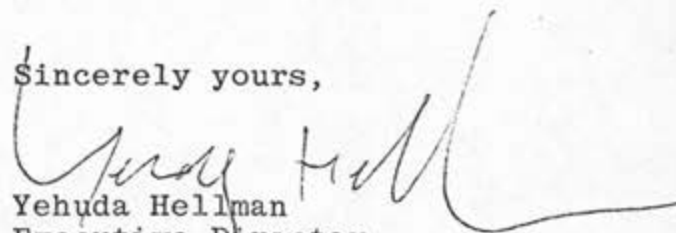
Congressman William J. Green, Chairman
Subcommittee on Trade
Committee on Ways and Means
U.S. House of Representatives
1102 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Green:

We thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed testimony which we have submitted to the House Committee on Ways and Means' subcommittee on Trade as part of the subcommittee's one-day public hearing on continuing MFN status for Romania, to be held on Tuesday, September 14, 1976.

The statement by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, represents testimony on behalf of the Presidents Conference and its 32 constituent bodies.

Sincerely yours,


Yehuda Hellman
Executive Director

Encl.
YH:jj

cc: John M. Martin, Jr.
Harry Lamar

John M. Martin, Jr., Chief Counsel
Committee on Ways and Means
U.S. House of Representatives
Room 1102 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3625

Harry Lamar
Subcommittee on Trade
233 Cannon Office Build.
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3943

NITELETTER

September 7, 1976

Rabbi Moshe Rosen
Jewish Federation
Budapest, Romania

Conference accepted my recommendation to approve renewal MFN stop
However urging that matter of immigration be kept under controlled
review.

Schindler

telephoned 8/7/76
cc: Rick Brown

*Will dictate
on this*

August 26, 1976
Island No. ----

Dear Alex

I hope your visit to Roumania and to Austria was a success. The preliminary publicity this visit was given, could not have been harmful.

In the meantime, on three successive days, the Haaretz was reporting on the Consul General. Things apparently have reached a head and you felt constrained to take action. The statement you made that your contacts are with Simna and not with the Consulate--without referring to the latter--was excellent, and the reader in Israel could easily comprehend what was going on. I do hope that your colleagues on the Conference support your position, with the result that that fellow will be cut to size, and, before long, will evaporate.

I will be writing on this matter to Navon and ask him to put it on the agenda of the Foreign Affairs Committee--if it is not resolved by the time the Knesset reconvenes.

Now that the Kansas City operation is behind us, you must have your hands full with the two rivals for high office, neither of whom will ignore the Jewish vote.

A Georgian Bay island, about five acres in size, surrounded as it is by other rock and wood islands--and with neither telephone and electricity--is an ideal place for a truly restful vacation. About the 8th of September we expect to return to ~~New York~~. Toronto.

Are the Breira people causing you difficulties? I hope the Conference is a reasonably harmonious body and your relations with Simna are good.

Warmest regards to you and Rhea in which Ayala joins.

Cordially,



S.Z. Abramov,
c/o Conreal
Suite 202
32-34 Front street, West
Toronto, Ont.
Phone No. (416) 922-88-05

September 7, 1976

Zalman Abramov, M.K.
c/o Conreal
32-34 Front Street, West
Suite 202
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Dear Zalman:

First of all let me note how delighted I was to hear that you are well and happy. Happiness has a way of radiating from those who possess it to those who stand near and both Rhea and I are glad not just for your sake but for ours too.

The Austrian trip was successful. I conveyed the message which I sought to bring and of course reported fully on my conversations to all interested parties.

Romania, too, was a success if success is measured by interest and the seriousness of the conversations which ensued. I saw quite a bit of Romanian Jewish life in the five days that I was there and also had negotiations with top Administration and Party officials.

The immigration picture is not good, it isn't bad but it could be much better. There is very little doubt in my mind that the Government has directed a restricted, controlled, "rhythmic" immigration lest any kind of mass exodus from even one community create a determined and like feeling in other groupings, particularly Germans desiring to go to West Germany. This controlled immigration is at variance with the intent of American law, nonetheless I have determined to back MFN for one more year and this for the following reasons:

- a) They hold 65,000 Jews hostage and could withdraw extensive rights which the Romanian Jewish community now enjoys.
- b) There is some annual flow of immigration, in my judgment approaching 15% of those who will ultimately want to go. This too could be shut off should we take adversary positions on MFN.
- c) AIPAC informs me that the anti-MFN votes are not there, In any event.
- d) Joint informs me that their considerable aid to the Romanian Jewish Community is facilitated by the MFN agreement.

So there we are. In a word, I am going to try the carrot rather than the stick and a year from now we'll know whether or not we were successful.

Zalman Abramov, M.K.
September 7, 1976
Page -2-

The Ben-Ari matter is an annoyance and I am even beginning to feel sorry for him. I really did not bring the matter to the newspaper, but our disagreements were an open matter from both sides so that when an Israeli journalist asked me "is there a conflict in the relationship between Conference and Consulate," I replied "How can there be a crisis in a relationship where there is no functional relationship? We relate to Dinitz and Herzog." That reply opened up the floodgates which I wish to God would stop but I guess the press has nothing better to print. Fortunately the entire matter was kept out of the local press at my urging and with an assist from Itzhak Hamlin and I'd just as soon have it that way.

The family is well and preparing to return to normal fall and winter activities, school for the kids, extensive travel for me, etc. etc. It was wonderful having a brief time, at least, with all of us at home and enjoying each other.

Rhea joins me in sending love to you and Ayala.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

ROMANIAN LIBRARY

866 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

Phones: 935-1067; 935-1068

September 27, 1976.

Your Excellency:

I read with great satisfaction your statement before the Finance Senate Committee and I would like to express all my gratitude to you for your personal opinion regarding the realities in contemporary Romania.

I appreciate very much your help.

I am very grateful to you and I would be delighted if you could give me a chance to meet you in person to discuss with you several problems.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



Emilia Gheorghe,
Director.



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, Romania

Cc: Fedligur
Baron 10/10/76

October 4, 1976

Rabbi Alexander Schindler

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I thought you might be interested in an aspect or so of my discussion last week with Stefan Andrei, my first since I returned to Bucharest.

He commented first of all on how pleased he was to have talked with you, saying among other things how impressed he was with your intelligent approach to the problems you discussed. He also said he felt your testimony during the Senate hearings was very fair. He was glad to hear that you might be back here on a visit next spring and said he wanted to be sure you saw President Ceausescu then.

For my part, I pressed him for building up a reserve of approvals so people could leave when their personal situations permitted and at the same time avoid the undesirable consequences of the drops in numbers that have plagued us these last two springs. I also urged him to see what could be done about cutting down the processing time which in the case of emigration to the States, for example, takes at least nine months and an average would be even more. I'll be following up with him and others (I've already talked with Patan and am seeing the new Israeli Ambassador, Shamay Cahana, this week.)

I very much enjoyed my lunch with you and Mr. Hellman and once more want to let you know how gratified I am for your efforts both to help and to understand.

Sincerely,

Harry G. Barnes, Jr.

October 19, 1976

His Excellency, The American Ambassador
Harry G. Barnes, Jr.
Embassy of the United States of America
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Ambassador Barnes:

Many thanks for your letter of October 4th and for keeping me posted on your conversations with Stefan Andrei. I was pleased with the report and reaction to my testimony.

I have spoken with Ambassador Nicolae and he is pressing me to return to Bucharest sooner than this Spring, it may well be that he misunderstood his boss but in conversations with me he has suggested a meeting with President Ceausescu in November. My present plans call for me to stop in Romania en route home from Israel where I will be on the 20th of November. According to Nicolae, the President would like to see me on the 25th and 26th of November and I am making plans accordingly.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

STATEMENT BY JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY AND STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET JEWRY, BEFORE THE TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, MONDAY, JUNE 27, 1977.

IMPROVING ROMANIAN EMIGRATION POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

- I. Expansion and sharpening of monitoring facilities.
- II. U.S. - Romanian discussions to eliminate elements of intimidation and over-complexity from emigration procedures.

Mr. Chairman, this is the third year of Congressional hearings to determine Romania's eligibility to be exempt from the force of section 402 of Title IV of the 1974 Trade Reform Act, on the understanding that "substantial progress" is being made toward Romanian emigration policies and procedures devoid of harassment and intimidation and fear. We hope that this time members of the Trade Committee will find ways of insuring real progress.

Romania has MFN status under False pretenses

In 1975, after having heard the assurances of former Undersecretary of State A. Hartman and of former Romanian Ambassadors C. Bogdan and I. Datcu, I did not testify. Unfortunately, after a brief respite, my phone lines once more became burdened with complaints of endless harassments. I regret that my analysis of Romanian emigration statistics, of the various types of harassment and their consequences in my 1976 testimony to the Trade Subcommittee of the Senate (Sept. 8, '76) and of the House (Sept. 14, '76) is still perfectly valid. My conclusion was that in the light of the facts, a straightforward waiver would "need some justifying" indeed. At the time I suggested the establishment of Congressional monitoring and review facilities. The suggestions, expanded in a letter to the Committee a few days later, were ignored and I am under the impression that after the hearings were completed, no committee discussions of any kind were held. The only effort made to deal with this question of monitoring was incorporated into House Resolutions 596 & 7, initiated by Congressmen Koch, Drinan and Dodd.

Seven months later, my testimony of March 15, 1977 before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, could find no improvement. Quite the contrary. I related an incident which took place in Bucharest during July 1976 at the very time the Romanians knew that the Senate and House hearings had been postponed until the beginning of September to give them a chance to improve their performance. "We went to the State Committee for Visas and Passports to plead for our reunion. . . we were given a chilly reception. . . When I alluded to the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accord and other international agreements which Romania is a party to, the official said HE COULD NOT CARE LESS ABOUT SUCH AGREEMENTS AND THIS HELSINKI BUSINESS DIDN'T MEAN A THING AS FAR AS THEY WERE CONCERNED."

The conclusion was inescapable: Romania is in

- cont'd -

violation of the family reunion emigration provisions of Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act and is enjoying MFN trading status and other economic benefits under false pretenses.

Bucharest less responsive in 1977

Furthermore, the Romanians appear to be substantially less responsive this time around. There are fewer flashy "approvals" (which incidentally may often not turn into actual exit permits for a very long time). They point to an "increase" of Romanian migration to the U.S. between January 1 and May 31. On examination, the "increase" turns out to be 28! (472 to 500). For the same period, the flow to Israel has halved to 458 from 853. If this is maintained for the rest of the year, it will be the second time in three years that the flow to Israel has halved. The 1973 and 1974 figures were in the 4000 range; for 1975 and 1976, they were 2000. Now they seem to be shooting down to the 1000 range for 1977. It is further ironic that Israel with by far the greatest human base for family reunion from Romania should now have a smaller flow of migration than the U.S. Romanian motives are obvious.

Few in Washington have heard of the public campaigns against emigration in Romania this year. Romanian diplomats blandly assert that there is really no problem and that the sources of emigration, particularly within the elderly Jewish community, are drying up. These cruel falsehoods ring hollow in the ears of those of us in intimate touch with the situation. Mr. Chairman, I find it curious that my phone lines never hum with the pleas of persons trying to get their relatives out of neighboring Hungary which has a Jewish community of like size!

The ominous words of the woman who wrote to us last year are coming true: "I believe the new strategem of the Romanian authorities is to refuse the petitioners the right to file for travel documents and when questions from abroad arise, the answer may be, 'Sorry, but the people you mention never filed an application, and we don't force our citizens to emigrate!'" It is true that there is now a highly intimidating series of processes before the application forms even become available.

Despite the massive violations indicated, President Carter, in his letter of June 2, 1977, followed his predecessor in recommending the extension of the waiver for another year. He hopes thereby to provide an "incentive" for improved "performance". With one large exception, the wording of his letter is the same or similar to that of Mr. Ford's last year. There is the same emphasis on good trade relations as an encouragement to Romania to maintain her independent style foreign policy. While this is a worthy aim, we should beware of the myth, still subscribed to by many in Washington, that if we do not appease the Romanians they will be driven into the arms of Moscow.

The President asserts that "overall emigration [to Israel] has risen markedly since the implementation of the U.S. - Romanian Trade Agreement." This is incorrect, especially if seen in the "overall" perspective of the declines since 1974; a halving twice since that time.

- cont'd -

President Carter's three-part warning to Bucharest -- emphasis on "close monitoring"

The President's letter contained a radical innovation, however -- a three-part warning to the Romanians indicating that he was seeking improved "performance". He intended --

- 1 - "to monitor closely compliance with the objectives of section 402".
- 2 - If performance was unsatisfactory, he reserved the right to "reconsider my recommendation".
- 3 - "We will bring to the attention of the Romanian government any actions or emigration trends" not "conforming to past humanitarian assurances".

After my long campaigns in Congress, the State Department and, recently, in the National Security Council, for such monitoring, I have at last become more hopeful that such facilities will shortly be established by the Administration in Bucharest and Washington, supplemented by expanded Congressional review and monitoring mechanisms.

In my opinion, once Bucharest realizes that we intend

- a) to follow up continuously on a case-by-case basis
- b) to insist on a U.S.-Romanian discussion of the various categories of difficulties,

the signal will finally get through that we are really serious in this area.

Let us briefly examine these two sections further.

- A - Continuous comprehensive monitoring will have to include --
1. more detailed and frequent reports from our embassy in Bucharest, relating also to would-be emigrants to lands other than the U.S. If additional staff is required, this would be in line with some recent recommendations for more utilization of staff for human rights work abroad.
 2. expansion of the Administration's monitoring and review facilities in Washington.
 3. expansion of Congressional review and action procedures.
 4. persistent Administration intervention with the Romanians, assisted by steady Congressional pressures.
- B - Initiation of U.S.-Romanian discussions about the various difficult categories as --
1. simplification of family reunion emigration procedures. For example, a simple letter of intent might be regarded as the first recognized step to emigration.
 2. reunion of separated couples (the President's second annual report to the Helsinki Commission mentions the present number in relation to the U.S. as being 71; the second highest number reported is 11 for East Germany); the extreme difficulty of marriage with former Romanians and, of course, with foreigners.
 3. job displacement and demotion.
 4. discrimination against children of prisoners, sometimes even former prisoners.
 5. discrimination against relatives of former high officials.

6. Special hardship cases of former prisoners, now elderly and ailing. They are doomed to a kind of eternal limbo, unable to join their children abroad, unless they can pay impossible fines. A group of these people underwent "scapegoat" trials in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

To sum up, what do we want from the Romanians?

- 1 - Early permission to leave for those waiting more than a year.
- 2 - Cessation of the various harassments outlined above.
- 3 - Adequate emigration --
 - maintain steady growth to the U.S.
 - revert to the 1973/4 levels of 300 - 400 monthly to Israel.

CONCLUSION

The Romanians know that our attitude to them is fundamentally moderate and positive. Our recent unconditional gift of \$20 million is surely indicative of this. We need not fear therefore that our signals to them about the seriousness of our concerns in this area will be misjudged, and that the Romanian government will rush panic-stricken beneath the sheltering wings of the Kremlin. In the final analysis, the Romanians need us -- politically and economically -- far more than we will ever need them. In my opinion, most of these petty oppressions will disappear once they are convinced that we are willing to firmly back up our views.

Mr. Chairman, we look forward to your Committee's detailed recommendations to help the President implement his proposals for "close monitoring" and appropriate interventions with the Romanians. Thank you very much.

* * *

Note: Lists of would-be emigrants to the U.S., Canada and Israel who are having difficulties are appended. Many have been trying to leave for years.

NOTE: RIBICOFF'S COMMENT TO BIRNBAUM WAS THAT THE
RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN HIS WRITTEN STATEMENT
ARE CONSTRUCTIVE AND WILL BE PASSED ON TO THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT BY JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER
FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY AND STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET
JEWRY, BEFORE TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE,
JUNE 27, 1977.

IMPROVING ROMANIAN EMIGRATION POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

- I. Expansion and sharpening monitoring facilities.
- II. U.S. - Romanian discussions to eliminate the elements of intimidation and over-complexity from emigration procedures.

Romania has MFN status under false pretenses

The past few months have seen major public campaigns against emigration by the Romanian government, a further startling decline in Romanian emigration to Israel (the figures are down by half, the second time in the last three years), an "increase" of 28 in migration to the U.S., and no letup in the ceaseless stream of reports of fear, harassment, job displacements. Clearly, Romania has been enjoying MFN trading status and attendant economic benefits in recent years under false pretenses.

President Carter's three warnings to Romania

Despite these massive violations, the President has recommended the extension of the waiver for another year in the hope of providing an "incentive" for better "performance". He made it plain however that he intended --

- 1 - "to monitor closely compliance with the objectives of section 402".
- 2 - if "performance" was unsatisfactory, he reserved the right "to reconsider my recommendation".
- 3 - "We will bring to the attention of the Romanian government any actions or emigration trends" not "conforming" to past "humanitarian assurances".

If the members of this Trade Subcommittee accept the President's recommendation, they should strive hard to insure that --

- A - the facilities for "close monitoring" of which the President speaks will become operational in a way that they have not been before.
- B - "the actions or emigration trends" which are not satisfactory will really be taken up with the Romanians with a new kind of forcefulness.

SUMMARY

How do we deal with the Romanians?

A) "Close Monitoring"

- 1) Expansion of the Administration's monitoring facilities in Bucharest and Washington, with frequent detailed reports, followed by reviews, leading to action.

- cont'd -

Romania - Summary .2

- 2) Expansion of Congressional review and action facilities.
- 3) Persistent Administration intervention with the Romanians, to be complemented by steady Congressional pressures on them.

B) Initiating U.S.-Romanian Discussions About the Various Types of Difficulties

Once again, Congressional pressures can be most helpful to the Administration's negotiations. Here are some of the categories for discussion --

- 1) Simplification of emigration procedures.
- 2) Reunion of separated couples; difficulties in marrying non-Romanians.
- 3) Job displacements and demotions.
- 4) Discrimination against children of prisoners.
- 5) Discrimination against relatives of former high officials.
- 6) Special hardship cases of elderly former prisoners.

What do we want from the Romanians?

- A) Early permission to leave for those waiting more than a year.
- B) Cessation of the varied harassments.
- C) Adequate emigration flows --
 - to the U.S., maintain steady growth
 - to Israel, revert to the 1973/4 levels of 300 - 400 monthly.

CONCLUSION

The Romanians know that our attitude to them is basically moderate and positive. Our recent unconditional gift of \$20 million after the earthquake is surely an expression of this. We need not fear therefore that our signals to them about how seriously we want them to take our concerns in this area will be misunderstood, and that the Romanian government will rush panic-stricken beneath the sheltering wings of the Kremlin. In the final analysis, they need us -- politically and economically -- much more than we will ever need them.

In my opinion, most of these petty oppressions will disappear once the Russians are convinced that we are ready to take firm measures to back up our views.

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 3. job displacement and demotion.
 4. discrimination against children of prisoners, sometimes even former prisoners.
 5. discrimination against relatives of former high officials.

Romanian Jewish Immigration to Israel

Approximate Annual Totals

1971	1,900
1972	3,000
1973	4,000
1974	3,700
1975	2,000
1976	2,000
1977 (thru May)	458

Romanian Jewish Immigration to Israel

Monthly Totals

1975

	<u>Number of Immigrants</u>
January 1975	62
February	41
March	102
April	60
May	46
June	199
July	403
August	238
September	262
October	350
November	130
December	<u>115</u>
Total 1975	2,008

1976

January 1976	328
February	232
March	99
April	51
May	143
June	211
July	237
August	238
September	117
October	118
November	79
December	<u>136</u>
Total 1976	1,989

1977

January 1977	46
February	62
March	113
April	132
May	<u>105</u>
Total thru 5/31/77	458

Romanian Immigration to the United States

Annual Totals

	Fiscal Year	Calendar Year
1965	274	--
1966	104	--
1967	19	--
1968	27	68
1969	154	142
1970	372	373
1971	629	362
1972	269	348
1973	367	469
1974	511	407
1975	312	890
1976	1,339	1,021
thru 5/77	941	496

Romanian Immigration to the United States

Monthly Totals

1975

	<u>Immigrant Visas Issued*</u> <u>By Embassy Bucharest</u>
January 1975	27
February	13
March	14
April	24
May	20
June	29
July	110
August	182
September	181
October	131
November	62
December	97
Total 1975	890

1976

January 1976	74
February	87
March	130
April	97
May	77
June	111
July	96
August	104
September	74
October	40
November	66
December	65
Total 1976	1,021

1977

January 1977	69
February	59
March	138
April	101
May	129
June 1-17	67
Total thru 6/17/77	563

*Includes third country processing, but excludes dual nationals



For
VANIK

Mrs. Edith J. Miller
The Union Of American
Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y.

10021

*with
the Compliments of the
Embassy of Israel
at Washington*

*as per our telephone
conversation.*

David

December 8, 1977

Mr. Alfred H. Moses
888 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Al:

I, too remain concerned regarding the plight of the Jewish community of Romania.

You are right in suggesting that a meeting be held with Ambassador Nicolae. My schedule is a bit tight and the week of December 12 is out of the question as I will be in Poland on a special mission for the Federation of Polish Jews of the U.S.A. Perhaps it will be possible to set up a get together for the week of December 19. On my return from Poland I will be in touch with you to determine possible dates.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

ALFRED H. MOSES
888 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

December 3, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Chairman
President's Conference of the Major
American Jewish Organizations
515 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Alex:

The plight of our fellow Jews in Romania still concerns me. When I was recently in Israel for AJC, Nechemia Levanon brought us up to date on recent developments. Essentially, Levanon reiterated the facts you and I discussed in Washington in September.

Several days later when we met with Mr. Begin, I asked him about the non-Sadat portion of his Romanian visit and particularly about Jewish emigration. I was anxious to learn whether there had been any shift in the Israeli approach to the matter. As you know, our government has unofficially, and off the record, indicated that it is perplexed, and perhaps annoyed, by the Israeli's refusal to furnish the names of persons seeking to emigrate and by what the U.S. considers to be a policy shrouded in mystery. In response, Begin stated that Ceausescu had indicated he would be helpful "in the re-unification of families." Begin added that the figures for November and December would tell whether Ceausescu's statement had meaning.

A few months ago, Ceausescu made a blistering statement to the Romanian Communist Party attacking persons seeking to emigrate. The thrust of his remarks was directed against the Hungarians and, perhaps secondarily, the Germans but the policy implications covered all "cults." The "re-unification of families" is the Romanian government's buzz word for any exception to this policy.

I think it would be advisable if two or three of us were to meet again with Ambassador Nicolae. I have not talked with him since he returned to Washington in mid-September. I plan to call him to suggest a luncheon date for the week of December 12 or 19. If you plan to be in Washington any time during those two weeks and could possibly spare time for a lunch with the Ambassador, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,



CHARLES A. VANIK, OHIO, CHAIRMAN
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

SAM M. GIBBONS, FLA.
DAN ROSTENKOWSKI, ILL.
JAMES R. JONES, OKLA.
EBNER J. MIKVA, ILL.
JOSEPH L. FISHER, VA.
OTIS G. PIKE, N.Y.
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ED JENKINS, GA.

WILLIAM A. STEIGER, WIS.
BILL ARCHER, TEX.
GUY VANDER JAGT, MICH.
BILL FRENZEL, MINN.

Ex Officio:
AL ULLMAN, OREG.
BARBER B. CONABLE, JR., N.Y.

NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS

AL ULLMAN, OREG., CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

JOHN M. MARTIN, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL
J. P. BAKER, ASSISTANT CHIEF COUNSEL
JOHN K. MEAGHER, MINORITY COUNSEL

SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF
HAROLD T. LAMAR
DAVID B. ROHR
MARY JANE WIGNOT

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

December 13, 1977

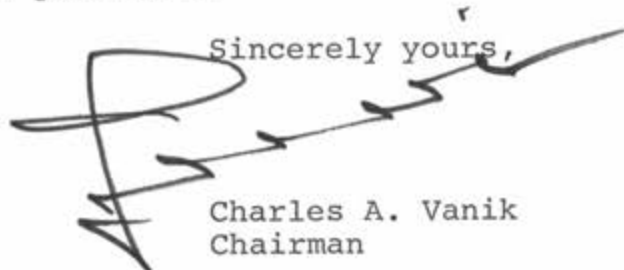
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

This is in response to your letter of November 10
regarding Romanian-Israeli emigration.

Thank you for sending me the letter from Mr. Rosen.
The information is most useful in our continuing oversight of
Romanian emigration practices.

Sincerely yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'C. Vanik', written over the typed name.

Charles A. Vanik
Chairman

CAV:JA:sac

November 10, 1977

The Honorable Charles A. Vanik, M.C.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Vanik:

The enclosed letter has reached me from Israel. I am
sharing it with you as it may be of interest.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

(Translated from the Hebrew)

ORGANIZATION OF IMMIGRANTS FROM ROMANIA IN ISRAEL
Jerusalem

Rabbi A. Schindler
Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major
American Jewish Organizations
New York, New York

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

As you are well aware, the community of immigrants from Romania in this country numbers several hundred thousand.

Very many of our members appeal to us concerning their relatives who wish to emigrate to Israel but refrain from submitting formal applications for fear of the authorities who deal severely with applicants, and knowing especially the varied obstacles placed in the way of those who have decided to apply.

It is our estimate that we would see at least 25,000 Jews leaving (Romania) if all those who wish to emigrate were allowed to go.

It is strange to note that, according to the statement of the Romanian Government, only about 25,000 Jews were registered at the last population census, while to the best of our knowledge the number of Jews (including dependents eligible under the Israeli "Law of Return") is over 60,000.

We thank you for your efforts and ask you to sustain them until a solution is reached to the painful problem of family re-unification.

Sincerely,

Zvi Rosen
Chairman

התאחדות עולי רומניה בישראל
HITACHDUT OLEI ROMANIA B'ISRAEL
Jerusalem ירושלים

כה' באב תשל"ז

9.8.1977 ירושלים,

ת.ד. 1483 P.O.B.

לכבוד
רביי שינדלר
יו"ר מועדון הנשיאים באה"ב

כידוע לך היטב מונה קהילת יוצאי רומניה בארץ מאות
אלפי יהודים.

הכונים מבין חברינו פונים אלינו בדבר קרוביהם הרוצים
לעלות ונמנעים מלהגיש בקשה פורמלית מפחד השלטון הנוהג ביד קשה עם
המגויסים, ביחוד לנוכח הקשיים הכרובים העומדים בדרכם של אלה שכבר
החליטו להגיש.

הערכתנו היא שאילו נהן לעלות לכל אלה הרוצים בכך היינו
עדים ליציאתם של לפחות 25,000 יהודים.

מוזר להוכח שבמפקד האחרון נרשמו לפי הודעת ממשלת רומניה
רק כ-25,000 יהודים, בו בזמן שלפי מיטב ידיעתנו מספר היהודים (והנלוים
אליהם על פי חוק השבות) הוא למעלה מ-60,000.

אנו מודים לך עבור מאמציך ומבקשים אותך להמשיך בהם עד
להשגת פתרון לבעיה הכאובה של אחוז המשפחות המפורדות.

בכבוד רב,

צבי רון יו"ר
צ. רון



(Translated from the Hebrew)

ORGANIZATION OF IMMIGRANTS FROM ROMANIA IN ISRAEL
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Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major
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We thank you for your efforts and ask you to sustain them until a solution is reached to the painful problem of family re-unification.

Sincerely,

Zvi Rosen
Chairman

JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA

Arrivals in Israel and Visas issued by the Israeli Embassy in Rumania

Figures from January through September, 1977

	<u>Arrivals</u>	<u>Visas</u>
January	46	93
February	62	214
March	113	231
April	132	26
May	105	75
June	109	206
July	70	288
August	113	76
September	181	79
	<u>931</u>	<u>1,288</u>

Figures of past years' arrivals in Israel from Rumania

1976 - 2,073
1975 - 2,187
1974 - 3,700
1973 - 4,000

June 6, 1977

H.E. The American Ambassador Harry G. Barnes
Embassy of the United States of America
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Harry:

It was good hearing from you and I was pleased to learn that you will be in the States this summer. Hopefully, it will be possible for us to get together during your stay.

My travel plans for June and July call for me to leave the States on June 21st for meeting in Amsterdam and then head to Israel for a series of meetings early in July. On July 9th and 10th I must be in London for meetings of our World Union for Progressive Judaism and I should be heading home a day or two thereafter. Thus, it is feasible that we might meet the week before you return to Bucharest on July 20th. Needless to note, I'll be happy to come down to Washington for a meeting. If you prefer New York that's fine too. But at any rate I am marking my schedule for a possible get together with you the week of July 11th to 15th or on the 18th or 19th. Please let me know if this suits your convenience.

With earrest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Bucharest, Romania

May 25, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I just had word yesterday that the House Hearings on Renewal of MFN are scheduled for July 14 and this reminded me that I hadn't heard from you in a long time about some of the problems we discussed during your visit last Fall. Is there anything about which you can write me? If the mails seem not the best way to be in touch I would hope in any event to see you while I am in the States in July. I expect to get to Washington late on the 6th, be in New York the 11th and 12th to attend some of the sessions of the joint U.S.-Romanian Economic Council, go back to Washington for another week or so and leave for Bucharest the afternoon of the 20th. From my standpoint, it would probably be most useful to have a chance to see you in New York before I return to Washington. Let me know what suits you.

With warm regards,


Harry G. Barnes

*Suits me to meet him
here. Tell him of my summer
plans. Ann - a.*



AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
444 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W., SUITE 412
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
Telephone (202) 638-2256

July 22, 1977

Attached is Rabbi Miller's testimony for the Presidents Conference, submitted to Vanik's Subcommittee, and my summary of the highlights of that hearing.

Regards.

With the compliments of

JUNE A. ROGUL

Legislative Liaison

file

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY
OF RABBI ISRAEL MILLER FOR THE
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
BEFORE THE HOUSE TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE

JULY 18, 1977

1. We recognize the extensive religious and cultural liberty which the Romanian Jewish community has enjoyed and also appreciate the independent foreign policy pursued by Romania in moving to normalize its relations with the United States, Israel and other nations of the non-communist world.
2. We are greatly disturbed, however, by the decrease in Jewish emigration from Romania during the last year. This downward trend is in sharp contradiction to the large numbers of Jews who have indicated they want to leave Romania to reunite with their families in Israel. Current Romanian emigration performance does not comply with the provisions of Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act, which calls for liberalized Romanian emigration as a condition for receiving MFN.
3. We are distressed by both the continued existence of obstacles built into the visa application process and the atmosphere of intimidation confronting those desiring to leave. This reduces the number of individuals who actually apply for exit visas. Accordingly, the most significant standard for judging Romanian emigration performance must be the number of Jews who actually leave Romania.
4. Both Congress and the Administration have indicated their dissatisfaction with the recent Romanian emigration performance. We are encouraged by the language in the President's request to Congress where he states his intention to monitor closely Romanian compliance and, "should performance not accord with the intent of this provision", to "reconsider" his positive recommendation on extending the waiver authority. Accordingly, we would expect that if significant improvement in emigration performance does not occur in the coming 12-month period, the President and Congress will take appropriate action to terminate MFN next year.
5. If Congress agrees to extend the waiver authority for another 12 months and the emigration performance does not improve significantly, the Jewish community will support the termination of MFN when it comes up for renewal next year. We will be closely watching for a liberalization of the visa application process and a lessening of the atmosphere which inhibits Jews from applying to leave.

STATEMENT OF RABBI ISRAEL MILLER
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
BEFORE THE HOUSE TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE
JULY 18, 1977

Mr. Chairman:

I appreciate this opportunity to present the views of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. The Conference is composed of 32 national Jewish organizations. I am the immediate past Chairman of the Conference.

As was noted in our past testimony on the question of renewal of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status for Romania, there have been aspects of Romanian policy which are indeed worthy of commendation. We have welcomed the increasingly independent foreign policy which the Romanian Government has pursued, and its efforts to maintain friendly relations with the United States, with Israel, and with other western nations. We are also appreciative of the religious and cultural rights extended to the Romanian Jewish community. The American Jewish community has demonstrated its concern for Romania and has expressed its appreciation to Romania with tangible assistance in response to the earthquake devastation in that country during the past year.

We point out these positive elements of Romanian policy because they deserve mention. We wish we could similarly report positively on Romanian performance in an area under consideration here today, that of Romanian Jewish emigration. Regretably, the facts do not permit us to do so.

Background

As you will recall, when MFN for Romania was first being considered by the Congress in the summer of 1975, the relevant House and Senate Committees agreed

to the extension with the understanding that the emigration performance would improve and the emigration figures continue to rise in proportion to the number of individuals indicating their desire to leave. In taking favorable action on MFN, Congress accepted the State Department's urging that actual future Romanian performance be used as the measure by which to judge that country's compliance with the provisions of Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act.

When MFN extension came up for renewal last year, we noted with regret that there had not been an increase in the level of Romanian Jewish emigration. In fact, there was actually a slight decline in the emigration figures below the level for the 12 months preceding MFN extension (2,501 Jews left during August, 1975 through July, 1976 as compared with 2,592 Jews during August, 1974 through July, 1975).

Since the renewal of MFN last September, the emigration situation has deteriorated markedly. During the last eleven months, only 1,255 Jews have been allowed to leave for Israel. Projecting this rate for a full 12-month period (August, 1976 to July, 1977), the Jewish emigration total will not even reach 1,400. This level would represent a drop of more than 1,100 individuals -- or 45 percent--below that for the previous 12 months and an even greater drop below that for the year prior to the initial granting of MFN.

It is significant to note that the Jewish emigration level for the pre-MFN calendar years of 1973 and 1974 was about 3,700 per annum. This level was reduced to approximately 2,000 a year during 1975 and 1976, and at the current year's rate will reach only 1,150 for 1977. Thus, instead of improving following the extension of MFN to Romania, the permitted Jewish emigration rate has dropped sharply and is being maintained at a low level. This situation surely

does not demonstrate Romanian compliance with the liberalized emigration practices required by Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act.

When we look at the number of Jews wishing to emigrate, Romanian performance becomes particularly distressing. While there are no exact figures, our best estimates are that between 60,000 - 70,000 Jews remain in Romania, not the 25,000 recently claimed by the Romanian authorities. While a sizeable portion of this population is elderly and expected to choose to live out their days in Romania, it is estimated that about half of the Jews still in Romania desire to emigrate to Israel. This estimate was substantiated in a letter of May 8, 1975, sent by the Confederation of Romanian Immigrants in Israel, at the time of Congressional hearings on the extension of MFN status to Romania. This letter stated that "to the best of our knowledge, there are 30,000 - 40,000...cases" of Jews still in Romania who have been trying to get visas to reunite with their relatives "and only a very small percentage receives a positive response". Since the receipt of that letter, fewer than 5,000 Jews have actually been permitted to leave for Israel. At the rate of emigration permitted during the last two calendar years (approximately 2,000/year), it would take some 15 to 20 years for all the Jews desiring to leave for Israel to emigrate from Romania.

Obstacles to Emigration

The Romanians have tried to minimize the size of the Jewish population which wishes to leave both by arbitrarily lowering its "official" figures as to the number of Jews still in Romania and by asserting that only a few thousand Jews a year are applying for exit visas. To understand the true situation, we must look at the climate the Romanian authorities have created.

While many Jews have formally applied for exit visas and either been refused or not answered by the authorities, thousands more have been discouraged from applying by the obstacles built into the application process. Those who seek an application for a passport and exit visa are confronted by official committees which probe their motivation and try to dissuade them from applying. Individuals who persevere in the process may find they suddenly lose their jobs and are permitted only menial work for as long as they remain in Romania, which may be indefinitely. If their passport is not vetoed by any of the various national and local authorities which must pass judgment on the emigration request, the passport is given to the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest, which issues a visa for Israel. Even a fully-processed passport with visa, however, may be arbitrarily withheld from the applicant at the last moment by Romanian officials. Those who have applied to leave may wait indefinitely with no word as to the final decision. Others are refused permission, reapply, and are refused again, for no apparent reason. Since the emigration rate is carefully controlled, many wishing to emigrate hesitate to subject themselves to harassment and a prolonged state of uncertainty by applying. These facts cause us to reiterate that the sole standard for judging Romanian emigration performance must be the number of Jews who actually leave Romania.

Conclusions

The poor showing on emigration over the last two years leads us to conclude that the Romanian Government believes Congress will continue to renew MFN automatically regardless of performance in this area. This attitude violates the spirit of the trade agreement and disregards the strong Congressional commitment to the principle of freedom of emigration.

The Administration and Members of Congress have both clearly expressed their dissatisfaction with Romania's poor emigration performance during the last two years. In President Carter's request to Congress, it is significant that in stating his intention to give the Romanians the opportunity to prove directly to his new Administration a willingness to comply with the law, he carefully qualified his recommendation for MFN extension. He has stated the Administration's determination to monitor closely Romanian compliance with Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act and warns that "should performance not accord with the intent of this provision, I would want to reconsider my recommendation". He has also specified that the Administration "will bring to the attention of the Romanian Government any actions or emigration trends which do not seem to conform to the assurances which they have provided in the past to treat emigration matters in a humanitarian manner...".

Rather than a pro forma request to extend MFN, the President has chosen to be consistent with his Administration's concern for human rights. The message is clear and the Administration has put the Romanian Government on notice that compliance is expected.

If MFN is extended for another year and significant improvement in Romanian emigration performance does not occur during that period, we would expect the President and the Congress to take appropriate action to terminate MFN next year.

The Jewish community would support the termination of MFN under these conditions. We will be watching closely for a true liberalization of the visa application process and an easing of the present atmosphere of intimidation confronting those desiring to apply to leave. These changes must be made so that Jews in Romania will feel free to exercise their freedom to emigrate.

ATTACHMENTS

Appendix A: Romanian Jewish emigration figures

Appendix B: Obstacles to Romanian emigration and recommendations for removing them

PERMITTED ROMANIAN EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL
(ARRIVALS IN ISRAEL)

APPENDIX A

YEARLY TOTAL

1973-77

1973	3,700
1974	3,700
1975	2,140
1976	2,035
1977	1,150 (Projected)

COMPARISON OF EMIGRATION BEFORE AND AFTER MFN EXTENSION

(MFN EXTENDED AUGUST 1975)

ONE YEAR PRE-MFN

ONE YEAR POST MFN

SECOND YEAR POST MFN

1974	Aug.	612
	Sep.	328
	Oct.	267
	Nov.	200
	Dec.	200
1975	Jan.	70
	Feb.	45
	Mar.	100
	Apr.	80
	May	50
	June	210
	July	430

1975	Aug.	250
	Sep.	295
	Oct.	360
	Nov.	140
	Dec.	110
1976	Jan.	350
	Feb.	243
	Mar.	103
	Apr.	51
	May	140
	June	222
	July	237

1976	Aug.	238
	Sep.	117*
	Oct.	118
	Nov.	79
	Dec.	136
1977	Jan.	46
	Feb.	62
	Mar.	113
	Apr.	132
	May	105
	June	109

TOTAL 2,592

TOTAL 2,501

1,255 - Subtotal for 11 months
1,370 = Projected total for 12 months, 8/76-7/77

Emigration performance is actually poorer with MFN in effect than before MFN extension. The projected emigration to Israel for 12 months (August 1976 - July 1977) represents a drop of 47% below that for the 12 months prior to MFN extension and a 45% drop below the level for the first 12 months post MFN.

*Note decline in emigration beginning in September which coincides with assurance of MFN renewal following September 8 hearings by Senate Finance Committee.

July, 1977

OBSTACLES TO ROMANIAN JEWISH EMIGRATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REMOVING THEM

Guidelines for Measuring Romanian Emigration Practices

We define as obstacles to emigration any procedures or other barriers which restrict an individual from exercising freely his right to leave Romania for the country of his choice.

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed by 35 nations at Helsinki in 1975, set forth certain international standards concerning family reunification and other human rights. Since Romania was a signatory to this most recent multilateral accord, it is appropriate to refer to relevant provisions of the Final Act which can serve as guidelines by which to measure the reasonableness of Romania's emigration procedures and practices.

The section on Human Contacts of Basket Three of the Final Act calls on the participating states "to facilitate free movement...among persons...and to contribute to the solution of the humanitarian problems that arise in that connexion (sic)".

Specifically, the portion dealing with Reunification of Families calls on the participating nations to:

- *deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family;
- *deal with applications in this field as expeditiously as possible;
- *lower where necessary the fees charged in connection with these applications to ensure that they are at a moderate level;
- *confirm that the presentation of an application concerning family reunification will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicant or of members of his family.
- *Applications for the purpose of family reunification which are not granted may be renewed at the appropriate level and will be reconsidered at reasonably short intervals by the authorities of the country of residence or destination, whichever is concerned; under such circumstances fees will be charged only when applications are granted.
- *Persons whose applications for family reunification are granted may bring with them or ship their household and personal effects.

Obstacles to Emigration

To the best of our knowledge, the following emigration procedures currently exist in Romania. They present obstacles to unrestricted emigration and serve to intimidate visa applicants and discourage others from applying to leave.

1. The Pre-Application Process

Before an individual is even allowed to apply for an exit visa, he must successfully complete an intimidating pre-application process. He first goes

to the local police station to obtain pre-application forms ("FISA") on which he must fill in the name, address, age and place of work of all his relatives both in Romania and abroad.

The necessary visit to the police station is in itself intimidating. It is often difficult for an individual to obtain the required information about all his relatives, particularly those living in other countries. Sometimes, the required pre-application forms are not available at police stations outside the major cities.

Next, all adult members of the family desiring to leave must appear before a Committee consisting of 8 to 14 people, including representatives of the army, the police, security police, the individual's place of work, management of his apartment house, and the Communist Party. They try to convince him not to apply for a visa to leave Romania.

Each adult in the family must appear separately. The extreme pressure placed on the individual forces many to renounce their intention to apply for a visa. Family dissension is sometimes provoked when one member of a couple is courageous enough to persist in seeking a visa but his spouse is frightened into agreeing to stop the process.

2. Arbitrary Judgments as to Who Can Apply

Those who are not intimidated by the pre-application process wait for a decision as to whether they will be permitted to apply for an exit visa. An individual may either receive permission to fill in an application; be denied permission to make application if the Committee feels he hasn't proved good reason for wanting to emigrate; or receive no reply at all. This procedure provokes much anxious uncertainty for the individual. If he is refused permission to apply or receives no answer, there is no appeal process to which he can turn.

3. Burdensome Documentation Requirements

Along with the application form, one must submit various forms which are often hard to obtain. These include, among others: marriage or divorce certificate; approval from the management of his apartment building; approval from his place of work and certification that his work has not dealt with State secrets; assurances that all his taxes and utility bills are paid; educational diplomas.

4. Costly Fees

A single individual has to pay approximately a month's salary to cover all the fees necessary before he can emigrate (e.g., costs of passport, renunciation of citizenship, etc.). The head of an average household has to pay at least a quarter of his yearly salary in order for his family to emigrate.

5. Uncertainty of Application Process/Indefinite Time Period

If the application is rejected, there is no mechanism by which the applicant can appeal the decision. If the application is approved, a passport is

issued. The passport is routed through various national and local government agencies, and can be withheld at any point in the process, even after it has been sent to the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest and that Embassy has issued a visa for the applicant. The applicant never knows if he will be allowed to emigrate until he actually receives the passport at the end of the process. There are no definite, regular time intervals between the steps of the application process, each one of which may take months. Many Jews who have applied to emigrate to Israel have been waiting for a year for either permission to leave or a response to their request to be allowed to apply to leave. Others have been waiting for years.

6. Sanctions Against Applicants

Many visa applicants face retribution from the Government. A Communist Party worker or a Government worker in an area such as education or communication immediately loses his job when he applies for an exit visa. A worker in a technical specialty, particularly if he is in an administrative position, can invariably expect to be demoted. A student is expelled from his university.

7. Lack of Time to Prepare for Departure

When an applicant is finally notified his application has been approved and receives his passport, he is given only a few days until he must leave the country. Because of the uncertainty of the decision during the application process, it is only at this point that he will begin to conclude his personal affairs, dispose of items he can't take out of the country, pay final bills, fix up his apartment, etc. Often he does not have time to obtain personal documents, such as diplomas, which he will need in his new country, since he must get them certified from both Education and Foreign Ministries but can only apply to them after he has received his passport.

8. Limitations on Money and Property Taken out

The emigrant can take with him no money and no personal items of value. He must pay custom duty on his own used household goods.

Recommendations for Removing Obstacles to Emigration

Generally, the recommendations below are listed in order of priority, with the most important ones first. Highest priority is given to those changes which would have the greatest impact in increasing the number of visa applicants and, hopefully, thereby increasing the emigration flow. Consideration was also given as to which recommended changes lend themselves to monitoring from the West, so that compliance by Romania can be measured.

1. Everyone who wants to should be able to submit freely and without intimidation an application for an exit visa. The Romanian Government should allow this unrestricted application policy to be made known publicly and be discussed openly in the media and elsewhere. The pre-application process, which screens out many would-be applicants, should be abolished.

(NOTE: The pre-application process was initiated after both the initial extension of MFN and the signing of the Helsinki accord. Its introduction goes counter to the Helsinki accord and Jackson amendment which call for facilitating freer emigration.)

2. At the same time, sanctions against those who apply to leave (i.e., demotion or dismissal from jobs, expulsion from universities, etc.) and other forms of harassment should be terminated.

3. An appeal process should be set up to provide recourse for those individuals refused permission to emigrate. The reasons for denial should be made clear to the applicant and should not be arbitrary.

4. The application process should be shortened and facilitated (e.g., through reducing the amount of required documentation). The time period for the whole process should be regularized. The applicant should receive a definite answer as to whether he has permission to leave as soon as the application has been approved, so that he can make plans for his departure (NOTE: "approval" actually is given by the appropriate authorities prior to the passport being routed to the various government agencies). It would seem reasonable to expect that the process from submission of an application until the applicant is permitted to leave the country should be completed within 2-3 months.

5. An emigrant should be allowed to take with him his money and his personal effects, which may represent his lifetime savings. He should not be required to pay duty on his already used household goods.

6. The cost of fees involved in the emigration process should be reduced.

Recommendations for Monitoring Romanian Compliance

1. Expanded monitoring by the Administration in Bucharest and Washington, combined with on-going discussions with the Romanians regarding compliance with the recommendations to liberalize emigration procedures.

2. Periodic review by the appropriate Congressional subcommittees, perhaps on a quarterly basis, of Romanian compliance and the level of emigration figures. Congressional communication with Romanian Government representatives, as appropriate, regarding the findings of the review.

As a basis for the review, the subcommittees might require periodic written status reports from the State Department, as well as requesting reports from private groups monitoring the emigration situation. Information to measure Romanian compliance should also be obtained through questionnaires and interviews routinely administered to emigrants who have left Romania.

HEARINGS ON MFN EXTENSION TO ROMANIA BEFORE HOUSE TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE
July 18, 1977

HIGHLIGHTS

Members Present: Vanik, Chairman; Frenzel, Jones, Jenkins, Gibbons

VANIK OPENING STATEMENT:

Disturbed by fact that emigration figures rise only just prior to MFN consideration in Congress. Notes decline in numbers to Israel. Cites obstacles in the visa application process. Points to President's language in waiver extension notification concerning monitoring of emigration performance and "reconsideration" of waiver request in the event of lack of compliance with the law. Wants definition of the Administration's intended monitoring system.

ADMINISTRATION PANEL:

(Nimetz, State; Stroh, Commerce; Hufbauer, Treasury; Lande, Special Trade Representative's office; Ambassador Harry Barnes)

Nimetz: Administration will intensify discussions with Romanians regarding specific emigration cases. We get summary of cases from Barnes and will review these on a six month basis rather than waiting for a whole year to do so. We will also review emigration to Israel on a six month basis. We will consult with Subcommittee before six months. Interested in discussing with Romanians streamlining of emigration process. Jewish emigration issue is complicated by our not knowing how many Jews actually want to leave; number of Jews remaining in Romania relatively small. Jewish emigration is a matter mainly between Israel and Romania, although U.S. is involved.

Barnes: Periodic lists of cases submitted to Romania over last six months have become more useful; cases are being solved faster; Romanians are taking lists as a measure of their compliance with Section 402. Since Israel doesn't submit specific lists, it is more difficult to determine satisfactory resolution of emigration problems.

CONGRESSMEN TESTIFYING:

Paul Findley, Ed Derwinski and John Breaux spoke in favor of the MFN extension.

Chris Dodd spoke of the disappointing emigration figures, cited fact that many others are intimidated from applying. While he had co-sponsored Ed Koch's letter saying he'd favor terminating MFN if emigration and human rights don't improve, he will go along with the President for another twelve months extension. He recommends the Administration review emigration performance on a quarterly basis and that outside, independent groups (such as Amnesty International) be allowed to go into Romania and look at the emigration situation.

Larry McDonald spoke in behalf of his Resolution of Disapproval of the waiver extension. (The Subcommittee met later in the day and unanimously voted against his resolution.)

RABBI MILLER TESTIMONY:

Jones asked if Miller is satisfied the Administration will aggressively monitor the situation in the coming year. Miller said State Department has been sympathetic, but the emigration record has been poor. He hopes State will be more aggressive with the Romanians this year.

Vanik asked about the religious and cultural conditions for Jews in Romania, about which Miller answered we have no complaints and cited the facilities, etc. which the Jews have there. He stressed that our sole complaint is that those wishing to leave be allowed to.

Frenzel came up to us privately during the hearing. He may go to Romania with Vanik later in the year and said it would be very helpful to him to have lists of names of Jews who want to emigrate. He would also personally like to see some tangible evidence that there are Jews who want to get out.

LIST OF WITNESSES ATTACHED.

Frederick D. Hunt, Washington, D. C.

✓ B. Niculescu, President, American-Romanian Cultural Foundation

✓ Jacob Birnbaum, National Director, Center for Russian and East European Jewry, and also on behalf of Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry

✓ Fannie Bigio, Washington, D. C.

✓ Florian M. Galdau, Chairman, American Romania Committee for Assistance to Refugees

✓ Anchidim Useriu on behalf of Washington Romanian Committee for Human Rights

✓ Laszlo Hamos, Chairman, Committee for Human Rights in Romania

✓ Michaela Iancu on behalf of Committee for the Defense of Romanian Transylvania

✓ Jacob H. Gilbert, Counsel for Ion Ungureanu

James H. Hines

X = didn't appear *final*

LIST OF WITNESSES
TO APPEAR BEFORE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
ON A PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION TO
CONTINUE NONDISCRIMINATORY (MFN) TREATMENT
WITH RESPECT TO THE PRODUCTS OF THE SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

MONDAY, JULY 18, 1977 - 10:00 A.M.

ROOM 1100 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, MAIN COMMITTEE HEARING
ROOM

PANEL OF ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS:

- ✓ Matthew Nimetz, Counselor of the Department of State,
accompanied by Harry G. Barnes, Jr., Ambassador to Romania
+ Ambassador Barnes
- ✓ Edward H. Stroh, Deputy Director, Bureau of East-West Trade,
Department of Commerce
- ✓ Gary Hufbauer, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Trade and Raw
Materials, Department of the Treasury
- Stephen Landes - Assistant STR*
Richard Rivers, General Counsel, Special Representative for
Trade Negotiations

* * * *

- ✓ Paul Findley, M.C. (Illinois)
- X Mario Biaggi, M.C. (New York)
- ✓ Edward J. Derwinski, M.C. (Illinois)
- ✓ John B. Breaux, M.C. (Louisiana)
- ✓ Larry McDonald, M.C. (Georgia)
- X Christopher J. Dodd, M.C. (Connecticut)
- ✓ Rabbi Israel Miller on behalf of Conference of Presidents of
Major American Jewish Organizations
- ✓ Max N. Berry, Executive Director, East-West Trade Council
- Milton F. Rosenthal, Chairman, U.S. Section, Romanian-U.S.
Economic Council
- Hugh P. Donaghue, Vice President, Control Data Corporation
- John Kyle, Vice President, Occidental Petroleum, Island Creek
Coal Company
- John O. Logan, Chairman of the Board, UOP, Inc.
- ✓ Gerald T. Williams, President, Promethean Corporation
- X Laurence W. Spungen, Vice President, Peer Bearing Company
- ✓ William F. Moody, President, Moody International
- X George Dobrea, Vice President, Governmental Affairs,
Greater Cleveland (Ohio) Growth Association
- ✓ Dr. Emanuel Merdinger, Gainesville, Florida
- ✓ Thomas A. Kosik, Arlington, Virginia -
- ✓ Dr. Titus Podea, New York, New York

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July 6, 1977

The Honorable Abraham Ribicoff
Chairman, International Trade Subcommittee
Finance Committee
U.S. Senate
Room G-204 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Ribicoff:

During your June 27 Subcommittee hearing on renewal of MFN for Romania, you asked Dr. William Korcy, who testified on behalf of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, to provide you with a list of major obstacles to Romanian Jewish emigration and recommendations for eliminating them.

Accordingly, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents, has asked me to forward the enclosed paper. We hope this will be of use to you and your Subcommittee.

Sincerely,

June A. Rogul
Legislative Liaison

JAR:tad
Enclosure

July 5, 1977

OBSTACLES TO ROMANIAN JEWISH EMIGRATION AND
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CORRECTING THEM .

Guidelines for Measuring Romanian Emigration Practices

We define as obstacles to emigration any procedures or other barriers which restrict an individual from exercising freely his right to leave Romania for the country of his choice.

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The necessary visit to the police station is in itself intimidating. It is often difficult for an individual to obtain the required information about all his relatives, particularly those living in other countries. Sometimes, the required pre-application forms are not available at police stations outside the major cities.

Next, all adult members of the family desiring to leave must appear before a Committee consisting of 8 to 14 people, including representatives of the army, the police, security police, the individual's place of work, management of his apartment house, and the Communist Party. They try to convince him not to apply for a visa to leave Romania.

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2. Arbitrary Judgments as to Who Can Apply

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Along with the application form, one must submit various forms which are often hard to obtain. These include, among others: marriage or divorce certificates; approval from management of his apartment building; approval from his place of work and certification that his work has not dealt with State secrets; assurances that all his taxes and utility bills are paid; educational diplomas.

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Many visa applicants face retribution from the Government. A Communist Party worker or a Government worker in an area such as education or communication immediately loses his job when he applies for an exit visa. A worker in a technical specialty, particularly if he is in an administrative position, can invariably expect to be demoted. A student is expelled from his university.

7. Lack of Time to Prepare for Departure

When an applicant is finally notified his applications has been approved and receives his passport, he is given only a few days until he must leave the country. Because of the uncertainty of the decision during the application process, it is only at this point that he will begin. Often he does not have time to obtain private documents, such as diplomas, which he will need in his new country, since he must get them certified from both Education and Foreign Ministries but can only apply to them after he has received his passport.

8. Limitations on Money and Property Taken out

The emigrant can take with him no money and no personal items of value. He must pay custom duty on his own used household goods.

Recommendations to Facilitate and Liberalize the Emigration Process

Generally, the recommendations below are listed in order of priority, with the most important ones first. Highest priority is given to those changes which would have the greatest impact in increasing the number of visa applicants and, hopefully, thereby increasing the emigration flow. Consideration was also given as to which recommended changes lend themselves to monitoring from the West, so that compliance by Romania can be measured.

1. Everyone who wants to should be able to submit freely and without intimidation an application for an exit visa. The Romanian Government should allow this policy to be discussed openly and in the media. The pre-application process, which screens out many would-be applicants, should be abolished.

(NOTE: The pre-application process was initiated after both the initial extension of MFN and the signing of the Helsinki accord. Its introduction goes counter to the Helsinki accord and Jackson amendment which call for facilitating freer emigration.)

2. At the same time, sanctions against those who apply to leave (i.e., demotion or dismissal from jobs, expulsion from universities, etc.) and other forms of harassment should be terminated.

3. An appeal process should be set up to provide recourse for those individuals refused permission to emigrate. The reasons for denial should be made clear to the applicant and should not be arbitrary.

4. The application process should be shortened and facilitated (e.g., through reducing the amount of required documentation). The time period for the whole process should be regularized. The applicant should receive a definite answer as to whether he has permission to leave as soon as the application has been approved, so that he can make plans for his departure (i.e., "approval" actually is given by the appropriate authorities prior to the passport being routed to the various government agencies). It would seem reasonable to expect that the process from submission of an application until the applicant is permitted to leave the country should be completed within 2-3 months.

5. An emigrant should be allowed to take with him his money and his personal effects, which may represent his lifetime savings. He should not be required to pay duty on his already used household goods.

6. The cost of fees involved in the emigration process should be reduced.

Recommendations for Monitoring Romanian Compliance with Recommendations

1. Expanded monitoring by the Administration in Bucharest and Washington, combined with continued discussions with and pressure on the Romanians to comply with the recommendations to liberalize emigration practice.

2. Periodic review by the appropriate Congressional subcommittees, perhaps on a quarterly basis, of Romanian compliance and the level of emigration figures. Steady Congressional pressure on the Romanians, complementing that from the Administration, to comply with recommended changes and improve emigration flow.

As a basis for the review, the subcommittees might require periodic written status reports from the State Department, as well as reports from private groups monitoring the emigration situation. Information to measure Romanian compliance should also be obtained through questionnaires and interviews routinely administered to emigrants who have left Romania.



AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
Telephone (202) 638-2256

July 1, 1977

Attached is the testimony as subcommitted by Bill Korey for the Presidents Conference on MFN extension to Romania. For your information, I have also enclosed a summary of the highlights of the hearing plus three additional statements of interest.

With the compliments of

JUNE A. ROGUL

Legislative Liaison

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY
OF DR. WILLIAM KOREY FOR THE
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE
JUNE 27, 1977

*free
Romania*

1. We recognize the extensive religious and cultural liberty which the Romanian Jewish community has enjoyed and also appreciate the independent foreign policy pursued by Romania in moving to normalize its relations with the United States, Israel and other nations of the non-communist world.
2. We are greatly disturbed, however, by the decrease in Jewish emigration from Romania during the last year. This downward trend is in sharp contradiction to the large numbers of Jews who have indicated they want to leave Romania to reunite with their families in Israel. Current Romanian emigration performance does not comply with the provisions of Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act, which calls for liberalized Romanian emigration as a condition for receiving MFN.
3. We are distressed by both the continued existence of obstacles built into the visa application process and the atmosphere of intimidation confronting those desiring to leave. This reduces the number of individuals who actually apply for exit visas. Accordingly, the most significant standard for judging Romanian emigration performance must be the number of Jews who actually leave Romania.
4. Both Congress and the Administration have indicated their dissatisfaction with the recent Romanian emigration performance. We are encouraged by the language in the President's request to Congress where he states his intention to monitor closely Romanian compliance and, "should performance not accord with the intent of this provision", to "reconsider" his positive recommendation on extending the waiver authority. Accordingly, we would expect that if significant improvement in emigration performance does not occur in the coming 12-month period, the President and Congress will take appropriate action to terminate MFN next year.
5. If Congress agrees to extend the waiver authority for another 12 months and the emigration performance does not improve significantly, the Jewish community will support the termination of MFN when it comes up for renewal next year. We will be closely watching for a liberalization of the visa application process and a lessening of the atmosphere which inhibits Jews from applying to leave.
6. Since there is still time before the Subcommittee needs to decide whether to recommend a resolution disapproving the MFN extension request, we recommend that this body not make an immediate decision. We suggest that the Subcommittee use the next few weeks to monitor emigration performance closely as an indicator of the Romanian Government's intention to comply with the provisions of the Trade Reform Act in the future.

STATEMENT OF DR. WILLIAM KOREY FOR THE
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE
JUNE 27, 1977

Mr. Chairman:

I appreciate this opportunity to present the views of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. The Conference is composed of 32 national Jewish organizations. I serve as Director of the International Council of B'nai B'rith, one of the constituent organizations of the Conference.

As was noted last year in our testimony on the question of renewal of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status for Romania, there have been aspects of Romanian policy which are indeed worthy of commendation. We have welcomed the increasingly independent foreign policy which the Romanian Government has pursued, and its efforts to maintain friendly relations with the United States, with Israel, and with other western nations. We are also appreciative of the religious and cultural rights extended to the Romanian Jewish community. The American Jewish community during the past year has demonstrated its concern for Romania in response to the earthquake devastation in that country.

We point out these positive elements of Romanian policy because they deserve mention. We wish we could similarly report positively on Romanian performance in an area under consideration here today, that of Romanian Jewish emigration. Regretably, the facts do not permit us to do so.

Background

As you will recall, when MFN for Romania was first being considered by the Congress in the summer of 1975, the relevant House and Senate Committees agreed

to the extension with the understanding that the emigration performance would improve and the emigration figures continue to rise in proportion to the number of individuals indicating their desire to leave. In taking favorable action on MFN, Congress accepted the State Department's urging that actual future Romanian performance be used as the measure by which to judge that country's compliance with the provisions of Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act.

When MFN extension came up for renewal last year, we noted with regret that there had not been an increase in the level of Romanian Jewish emigration. In fact, there was actually a slight decline in the emigration figures below the level for the 12 months preceding MFN extension (2,501 Jews left during August, 1975 through July, 1976 as compared with 2,592 Jews during August, 1974 through July, 1975).

Since the renewal of MFN last September, the emigration situation has deteriorated markedly. During the last ten months, only 1,146 Jews have been allowed to leave for Israel. Projecting this rate for a full 12-month period (August, 1976 to July, 1977), the Jewish emigration total will not even reach 1,400. This level would represent a drop of more than 1,100 individuals -- or 45 percent--below that for the previous 12 months and an even greater drop below that for the year prior to the initial granting of MFN.

It is significant to note that the Jewish emigration level for the pre-MFN calendar years of 1973 and 1974 was about 3,700 per annum. This level was reduced to approximately 2,000 a year during 1975 and 1976, and at the current year's rate will reach only 1,100 for 1977. Thus, instead of improving following the extension of MFN to Romania, the permitted Jewish emigration rate has dropped sharply and is being maintained at a low level. This situation surely

does not demonstrate Romanian compliance with the liberalized emigration practices required by Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act.

When we look at the number of Jews wishing to emigrate, Romanian performance becomes particularly distressing. While there are no exact figures, our best estimates are that between 60,000 - 70,000 Jews remain in Romania, not the 25,000 recently claimed by the Romanian authorities. While a sizeable portion of this population is elderly and expected to choose to live out their days in Romania, it is estimated that about half of the Jews still in Romania desire to emigrate to Israel. This estimate was substantiated in a letter of May 8, 1975, sent by the Confederation of Romanian Immigrants in Israel, at the time of Congressional hearings on the extension of MFN status to Romania. This letter stated that "to the best of our knowledge, there are 30,000 - 40,000...cases" of Jews still in Romania who have been trying to get visas to reunite with their relatives "and only a very small percentage receives a positive response". Since the receipt of that letter, fewer than 5,000 Jews have actually been permitted to leave for Israel. At the rate of emigration permitted during the last two calendar years (approximately 2,000/year), it would take some 15 to 20 years for all the Jews desiring to leave for Israel to emigrate from Romania.

Obstacles to Emigration

The Romanians have tried to minimize the size of the Jewish population which wishes to leave both by arbitrarily lowering its "official" figures as to the number of Jews still in Romania and by asserting that only a few thousand Jews a year are applying for exit visas. To understand the true situation, we must look at the climate the Romanian authorities have created.

While many Jews have formally applied for exit visas and either been refused or not answered by the authorities, thousands more have been discouraged from applying by the obstacles built into the application process. Those who seek an application for a passport and exit visa are confronted by official committees which probe their motivation and try to dissuade them from applying. Individuals who persevere in the process may find they suddenly lose their jobs and are permitted only menial work for as long as they remain in Romania, which may be indefinitely. If their passport is not vetoed by any of the various national and local authorities which must pass judgment on the emigration request, the passport is given to the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest, which issues a visa for Israel. Even a fully-processed passport with visa, however, may be arbitrarily withheld from the applicant at the last moment by Romanian officials. Those who have applied to leave may wait indefinitely with no word as to the final decision. Others are refused permission, reapply, and are refused again, for no apparent reason. Since the emigration rate is carefully controlled, many wishing to emigrate hesitate to subject themselves to harassment and a prolonged state of uncertainty by applying. These facts cause us to reiterate that the sole standard for judging Romanian emigration performance must be the number of Jews who actually leave Romania.

Conclusions

The poor showing on emigration over the last two years leads us to conclude that the Romanian Government believes Congress will continue to renew MFN automatically regardless of performance in this area. This attitude violates the spirit of the trade agreement and disregards the strong Congressional commitment to the principle of freedom of emigration.

The Administration and Members of Congress have both clearly expressed their dissatisfaction with Romania's poor emigration performance during the last two years. In President Carter's request to Congress, it is significant that in stating his intention to give the Romanians the opportunity to prove directly to his new Administration a willingness to comply with the law, he carefully qualified his recommendation for MFN extension. He has stated the Administration's determination to monitor closely Romanian compliance with Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act and warns that "should performance not accord with the intent of this provision, I would want to reconsider my recommendation". He has also specified that the Administration "will bring to the attention of the Romanian Government any actions or emigration trends which do not seem to conform to the assurances which they have provided in the past to treat emigration matters in a humanitarian manner...".

Rather than a pro forma request to extend MFN, the President has chosen to be consistent with his Administration's concern for human rights. The message is clear and the Administration has put the Romanian Government on notice that compliance is expected.

If MFN is extended for another year and significant improvement in Romanian emigration performance does not occur during that period, we would expect the President and the Congress to take appropriate action to terminate MFN next year.

The Jewish community would support the termination of MFN under these conditions. We will be watching closely for a true liberalization of the visa application process and an easing of the present atmosphere of intimidation confronting those desiring to apply to leave. These changes must be made so that Jews in Romania will feel free to exercise their freedom to emigrate.

There is still some time left before the September deadline by which the Senate must act to pass a resolution disapproving the current MFN extension request. We therefore recommend that the Subcommittee not make an immediate decision on the President's request. We respectfully suggest that during the next few weeks the Subcommittee watch to see whether there is significant improvement in the emigration figures. This period would provide a good indicator as to whether the Romanian Government will demonstrate to the new Administration its intention to comply with the Act, or whether it will continue to disregard both the law and the principles governing the MFN status it now enjoys.

Attached on Appendix A are relevant figures on Jewish emigration from Romania.

PERMITTED ROMANIAN EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL
(1973-77)

YEARLY TOTAL

1973	3,700
1974	3,700
1975	2,140
1976	2,035
1977	1,100 (Projected)

COMPARISON OF EMIGRATION BEFORE AND AFTER MFN EXTENSION

(MFN EXTENDED AUGUST 1975)

<u>ONE YEAR PRE-MFN</u>			<u>ONE YEAR POST MFN</u>			<u>SECOND YEAR POST MFN</u>		
1974	Aug.	612	1975	Aug.	250	1976	Aug.	238
	Sep.	328		Sep.	295		Sep.	117*
	Oct.	267		Oct.	360		Oct.	118
	Nov.	200		Nov.	140		Nov.	79
	Dec.	200		Dec.	110		Dec.	136
1975	Jan.	70	1976	Jan.	350	1977	Jan.	46
	Feb.	45		Feb.	243		Feb.	62
	Mar.	100		Mar.	103		Mar.	113
	Apr.	80		Apr.	51		Apr.	132
	May	50		May	140		May	105
	June	210		June	222			1,146 - Subtotal for 10 months
	July	430		July	237			
TOTAL		2,592	TOTAL		2,501			1,375 = Projected total for 12 months, 8/76-7/77

Emigration performance is actually poorer with MFN in effect than before MFN extension. The projected emigration to Israel for 12 months (August 1976 - July 1977) represents a drop of 47% below that for the 12 months prior to MFN extension and a 45% drop below the level for the first 12 months post MFN.

*Note decline in emigration beginning in September which coincides with assurance of MFN renewal following September 8 hearings by Senate Finance Committee.

HIGHLIGHTS OF HEARINGS ON ROMANIAN MFN RENEWAL BEFORE
THE SENATE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE
JUNE 27, 1977

Senators Present: Ribicoff, Chairman; Packwood, Curtis. Hansen and Byrd joined after Conference-of-Presidents testimony.

RIBICOFF:

Ribicoff's opening statement focused on his disappointment with Romanian performance on emigration to Israel. He scored the visa application procedures which discourage applicants and criticized the fluctuations in monthly emigration levels.

During the hearings, Ribicoff was critical of the fact that he doesn't hear anything from the Administration about Romanian emigration until MFN extension comes up, and then the State Department assures his Subcommittee that "everything will be all right". He urged them to press the Romanians all during the year to facilitate the visa application process and improve the emigration performance. He questioned whether the U.S. should continue to give Romanian MFN when that country does not live up to the understandings in keeping with Section 402 of the Trade Act.

Ribicoff bemoaned getting the same testimony from the business community representatives each year. He asked the business groups to stress with the Romanians the need to allow free emigration and end harassment of would-be emigrants. Saying the results are not in yet on whether the Jackson amendment or private diplomacy is the more effective approach to improve emigration, he challenged businessmen to demonstrate their contention that diplomacy is better.

PACKWOOD:

Stressed throughout the need for Romanian movement on emigration and the appropriateness of tying human rights to trade. Was hard on the business community representatives and sarcastic with them when they would not commit themselves to a position as to whether non-economic issues (i.e., human rights) should be tied to trade. Sarcastically told Max Berry (testifying as Director, East-West Trade Council) he was "delighted" Berry had finally come around to the position that he no longer favors abolishing Jackson-Vanik, and tried unsuccessfully to get Berry to suggest what other human rights might be linked to trade.

CURTIS:

Focused on his concern with countries not permitting visits of its citizens to close relatives in U.S., and plugged his bill (S.1713 to amend Section 409 of Trade Act) which would deny MFN credits to countries unless they permit citizens to visit or emigrate to join very close relatives in the U.S.

KEY WITNESSES:

MATTHEW NIMETZ (State Department):

Asserts that Romanian emigration performance over past year has contributed to achieving the objectives of Section 402 of Trade Act. Cites Presidential language that Administration will monitor Romanian compliance closely and says State would recommend Carter "reconsider" his recommendation to extend waiver authority in case of non-compliance. Says the problem with assessing emigration performance regarding Israel "is complicated by uncertainty regarding the number of Romanian Jews who actually wish to depart...At times the debate over the conflicting figures has diverted attention from the central humanitarian issues". His testimony language is disturbing in that it implies that the indefiniteness of the numbers and the lack of clarity regarding Israel-Romanian agreements on emigration make it difficult for the State Department to really do anything to help increase emigration to Israel (see pp. 11-12 of written statement attached).

ALAN REICH (Commerce Department):

Reported that Romanian-U.S. bilateral trade has expanded steadily since MFN extension on a mutually beneficial basis, and Dick Rivers submitted written testimony on the trade figures.

BILL KOREY

Responding to Ribicoff's question as to why the Jewish emigration figures have declined, Korey pointed to the intimidating visa application process as a large part of the reason. Ribicoff asked how we reconcile our desire to correct the emigration obstacles with the right of a government to handle its own emigration procedures. Bill responded that the procedures should not discourage or intimidate or harass applicants, or in any other way violate the principles and spirit of Section 402.

Ribicoff asked Korey to submit a list of the obstacles to emigration used by the Romanians and suggestions for correcting them so as to be in compliance with Section 402. (I will prepare the submission.)

Curtis asked about cases we know of concerning individuals wanting to visit relatives in other countries, and Korey replied we are not concerned with this issue.

Packwood asked if the Jewish community is going along with another year's extension of MFN. Korey explained that while we are not specifically recommending extension, we are willing to follow the President's lead on this. Referring to Carter's qualified recommendation for extension, Korey said we would be willing to go along with the additional year but would recommend a cut-off next year if there's no improvement by then. He also recommended that the Committee's taking the maximum time available for deciding what

action to take on the MFN request, in order to test Romanian performance during the next month.

Anticipated Action:

Ribicoff stated the Subcommittee would not make an immediate decision on MFN extension. Instead, it will report to the full Finance Committee on the hearings and take up the issue with the Committee at an unspecified time. A Committee staff person subsequently informed me that it is likely no action in the Senate Committee will occur until after Vanik's trade subcommittee has had a chance to look at the issue. Vanik is planning to hold Subcommittee hearings on July 18. The deadline by which either House must pass a Resolution of Disapproval to block MFN renewal is September 1.

Attachments: List of witnesses
Ribicoff opening statement
Nimetz testimony
Korey testimony
Birnbaum testimony

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Hearings on
The President's Authority To Waive Section 402 of the Trade
Act of 1974 and For Most-Favored-Nation Status for Romania

WITNESS LIST

ADMINISTRATION PANEL -

Mr. Matthew Nimetz - Counselor of the Department of State
Mr. Alan Reich - Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of
Commerce for East-West Trade
Mr. Richard Rivers - General Counsel, Office of the Special
Representative for Trade Negotiations

Dr. William Korey - Director, B'nai B'rith International
Council

Mr. Max Berry - Executive Director, East-West Trade Council

didn't show Mr. Andrew J. Biemiller - Director, Department of Legislation
AFL-CIO

Mr. Milton F. Rosenthal - Chairman, U.S. Section of Romanian-
U.S. Economic Council

Mr. Jacob Birnbaum - The Center for Russian and East European
Jewry

Mr. Hugh Donaghue - Vice President and Assistant to the
Chief Executive Officer, Control Data Corporation

Mr. Andrei Aszody - New York, New York—

Mr. John O. Logan - Chairman, UOP, Inc. (*Petroleum Co. doing business*

Mr. Szabolcs J. Mesterhazy - Grosse Pointe Park, Michigan *(Romania)*

Mr. Adalbert Feher - New York, New York

Mr. Laszlo Hamos - Committee for Human Rights in Romania

Mr. Barbu Niculescu - President, American-Romanian Cultural
Foundation, Inc.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR RIBICOFF

Hearings on
The President's Authority To Waive Section 402 of the Trade Act
of 1974 and For Most-Favored-Nation Status for Romania

The Senate Subcommittee on International Trade today conducts a hearing on the subject of trade with Romania. These hearings will focus both on continuing most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Romania and, more importantly, on extending the President's authority to waive the freedom-of-emigration provisions of the Trade Act of 1974.

Romania is the only nonmarket economy country which has been granted nondiscriminatory, or most-favored-nation, trade treatment under the authority of the Trade Act of 1974. The Trade Act establishes certain conditions for the granting of most-favored-nation treatment, most significantly the condition of freedom of emigration.

In extending the President's authority to waive the freedom-of-emigration provisions of the Trade Act last year, Congress expressed concern over the then low levels of emigration.

This year, I have to say I am disappointed with the performance of the Romanians on emigration. While emigration rates to several countries, including the United States, continue at last year's levels, the rate of emigration to Israel has dropped significantly. During the last five years, an average of 2,800 people have been able to emigrate to Israel each year. In 1976, the number was 2,000. This year, the emigration rate is down by almost a half from last year.

The significant decline in emigration to Israel is very disturbing. Not only have emigration trends to that country differed sharply from the trends to other countries, but the decline in emigration to Israel represents a serious falling-off in the rate of Jewish emigration.

Also, I continue to be concerned by the sharp fluctuations in the monthly levels of emigration as well as the long delays in processing applications and other problems with Romanian emigration procedures.

In my discussions with representatives of the Romanian government, it became clear that one of the factors limiting emigration rates is the small number of applications being filed.

I have looked into the application procedures, and frankly I can see that a great many people must be discouraged from even trying to emigrate. So I am not surprised at the relatively small numbers of applications filed.

I hope these hearings can focus on some of the problems with the emigration procedures as part of our overall review of Romanian performance on emigration.

With respect to trade between the United States and Romania, it is clear that both the overall volume of trade and the level of imports from Romania have increased steadily and dramatically during the last few years. I hope we will hear testimony today on the role which most-favored-nation treatment and other discretionary trade preferences granted Romania have played in

helping to bring about the recent increases in trade between our two countries.

Each witness's testimony will be reprinted in the record of these hearings. All statements received by the Subcommittee will be turned over to the State Department with instructions that each statement be evaluated and, wherever appropriate, that the State Department raise matters of concern directly with the Romanian Government.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE MATTHEW NIMETZ,
COUNSELOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have this opportunity to testify on behalf of continued extension of most-favored-nation treatment for Romania.

I would like to discuss with you the foreign policy framework in which our relations with Romania are set and thereby suggest the reasons why we believe that waiver of Section 402 of the Trade Act is warranted.

The dominant theme of Romania's foreign policy continues to be a desire to maintain a high degree of independence in both its political and economic relations with other countries. President Carter took note of this theme in making his determination that continuation of the waiver is justified. In his recommendation to the Congress, the President said, "I believe that a further extension of U.S.-Romanian economic relations can help to promote a continuation of such independent policies and that the Trade Agreement, non-discriminatory tariff treatment and authority to extend Commodity Credit Corporation and Export-Import Bank credit are essential to maintain and expand our present over-all bilateral relationship with Romania."

Because of the determination with which it seeks to maximize its independence, Romania has gone well beyond its

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

American Israel Public
Affairs Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Mizrahi Women
American Zionist Federation
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women
Bnai Zion
Central Conference of
American Rabbis
Council of Jewish Federations
and Welfare Funds (observer)
Hadassah
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish Reconstructionist
Foundation
Jewish War Veterans
of the U.S.A.
Labor Zionist Alliance
Mizrahi-Hapoel Hamizrachi
National Committee for
Labor Israel, Inc.
National Council of
Jewish Women
National Council of
Young Israel
National Federation of
Temple Sisterhoods
National Jewish Community
Relations Advisory Council
National Jewish Welfare Board
North American Jewish
Youth Council
Pioneer Women
The Rabbinical Assembly
Rabbinical Council of America
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish
Congregations of America
United Synagogue of America
Women's American ORT
Women's League for
Conservative Judaism
World Zionist Organization
American Section, Inc.
Zionist Organization of America

July 28, 1977

*Do not send
your file -*

The Honorable Abraham A. Ribicoff
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Ribicoff:

I am really sorry that I was not able to be at the meeting of your Senate Finance Committee this year when the issue of MFN for Romania was discussed. Unfortunately, I was much preoccupied with Middle Eastern matters during the post-Begin election trauma.

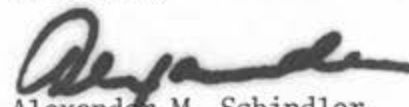
I read the testimony, of course, which was offered by Bill Korey and I also received a report concerning Rabbi Miller's testimony before the parallel House Committee.

You will be exceedingly pleased to learn that the updated six months' figure for exit visas granted by Romania to members of her Jewish community has jumped dramatically. In fact, the six months' figure this year is almost 65% of last year's total. This figure, somewhat in excess of 1,000, should make possible a total emigration of over 2,000 Jewish families which is within the range of what we project, albeit the actual emigration figure for the first six months is still not too encouraging. Yet, emigration invariably follows visas and is a good indication of what the future will bring.

I myself plan to go to Bucharest some time in the not too distant future just to have a personal look and see.

I hope these comments are of some help to you and your country in reaching a decision.

Sincerely,



Alexander M. Schindler

AMS:vm

cc: The Honorable Nicolae M. Nicolae

fellow members in the Warsaw Pact and in COMECON--the Communist economic group--in expanding its ties with the West and with the world's developing countries. Romania was the only COMECON country to join the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It leads the other COMECON countries in the proportion of trade that it conducts with the West. It is also a participant in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Romania is also continuing its efforts to structure its relations with its Eastern European neighbors along lines that tend to increase its freedom of action on the world stage. For example, Romania continues to restrict its participation in Warsaw Pact military exercises and has no Soviet troops stationed within its borders. In addition, Romania continues to champion the right of each Eastern European country to set its own goals and priorities according to its own interests.

Romania's independence is also reflected in its continued ability to maintain good relations with countries that have widely differing social and economic systems--with the United States, the People's Republic of China, Israel, and the Arab countries. Unlike other Warsaw Pact countries, Romania did not break diplomatic relations with Israel upon the outbreak

NIGHTLETTER

August 19, 1977

Honorable Menachim Begin
Prime Minister
Jerusalem, (ISRAEL)

Profoundly grateful for all your courtesies during my visit.

It occurs to me that in preparation for your Romanian Journey it would be well if you were to have a long session with Dick Veltz, the new charge-d'affairs of the American Embassy in Israel. Dick was stationed in Romania for a number of years and is thoroughly familiar with the personalities of the Romanian Government as well as with the problems of the Jewish community. I found him to be a thoroughly decent human being who did his utmost to fend for Jewish rights including emigration. A conversation with him would be most helpful for you.

Again deepest thanks and warm regards.

Alexander Schindler

of Arab-Israeli hostilities and maintains constructive relations with the Israelis. Romanian petroleum products, such as fuel oil, continued to flow to the United States during the oil embargo.

As you know, Romania was the only country to negotiate a trade agreement with the United States and to receive MFN under the terms of Section 402 of the Trade Act. In this respect as well, Romania has demonstrated a readiness to strike out on its own path.

We believe it is in the interest of the United States to encourage this independence by continuing to grant Romania MFN and access to U.S. Government credits. We also believe that good relations with Romania contributes to our policy of reducing East-West tensions. Accordingly, the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement and MFN play an important role in our foreign policy. Conversely, abrogation of the Trade Agreement and withdrawal of MFN would set back our bilateral relations with Romania and might discourage other Eastern European countries from pursuing closer ties with the United States.

I would like to review for you briefly some of the developments in U.S.-Romanian relations that have taken place since the Senate Finance Committee last reviewed the question of extending MFN to Romania, in September 1975. On November 21,

1976 U.S. Secretary of Commerce, Elliot L. Richardson, and Romanian Deputy Prime Minister, Ion Patan, Co-Chairmen of the United States-Romanian Joint Economic Commission, signed a ten-year agreement on economic, industrial and technical cooperation. The agreement was signed at the Third Session of the Commission in Bucharest. It reaffirms the support of both countries for the expansion of economic relations. This agreement is intended to supplement, and not to replace, the U.S.-Romanian Trade agreement, concluded with Congressional approval in August, 1975. It sets forth general guidelines for long-term arrangements between firms and enterprises of the two countries. It protects investors against expropriation or impairment of their contractual rights by government action, and contains measures for improving business facilities and the provision of commercial information. We expect this agreement to contribute to the steady growth of trade between the United States and Romania.

At the same time, we have continued the wide range of programs in the academic, scientific, commercial and cultural fields, some officially sponsored and some private, which have served to expand our relations with Romania and to broaden the range of contacts between the governments and the citizens of our two countries.

We have also maintained a useful dialogue with the Romanian leadership on issues that concern us. We have, for example, made very clear to the Romanian authorities that this Administration and this Congress remain deeply committed to the support of human rights, both in the United States and abroad. As in the past, we have found that our relations with Romania are sufficiently mature to enable us to discuss usefully even issues on which we do not share the same perspective. We also continue to find a willingness on the Romanian side to resolve in a humanitarian way issues about which we have expressed our concern. Only in the framework of a firm relationship, of which MFN forms a part, can such discussions take place, often with favorable results.

We have also held frequent discussions with Romania on the implications of the Helsinki Final Act and the follow-up meetings which have recently begun in Belgrade. While here again our perspectives are not always the same, the exchanges have been useful, and I might point out that the Romanian leadership has affirmed its commitment in this context to help the reunification of divided families.

As this Committee is aware, there is concern on the part of members of Congress and the Hungarian-American community with the Romanian Government's treatment of its ethnic minority.

This concern has focussed on allegations of discrimination in education, culture, the economy, and the use of the Hungarian language. We have discussed this question on several occasions with Romanian authorities. Like all governments, however, including our own, the Romanian Government has preferred to deal with the problems of minorities as an exclusively domestic question. Recently, however, the Romanian and Hungarian Governments have publicly recognized the existence of a minority question in their respective countries. In a joint communique issued on June 17, President Ceausescu of Romania and General Secretary Kadar of Hungary declared that the existence of ethnic minorities in Romania and Hungary "is a major factor in the development of friendly relations between the two countries." The two sides agreed to approach this problem in accordance with the international norms adopted by the United Nations for the protection of the rights of ethnic minorities. We are encouraged that the two governments primarily concerned have openly discussed the problem, and we hope that this statement will lead to positive steps by both governments to improve the conditions of their minorities. We believe that such a cooperative approach on the part of the Romanian and Hungarian governments offers the best prospect for progress. At the same time we recognize our obligation to lend whatever positive encouragement we can.

I would like now to touch on a few significant aspects of U.S.-Romanian trade, which may be of interest to the Committee.

In 1976 U.S. trade with Romania reached an all-time high of \$448 million, which represents an increase of almost 40% over the 1975 two-way figure. There was a trade surplus in our favor of over \$50 million. This trend of increasing bilateral trade has continued into 1977, as has the U.S. positive trade balance, and at the present rate we could expect U.S.-Romanian trade to approach \$600 million for 1977. I think it is quite clear that this growth has occurred in large measure as a result of our having accorded Romania MFN and of the positive climate for American firms which this action has produced in Romania. The Romanian Government has stressed its interest in developing and expanding our trade relations even further. We believe that an expansion of our commercial relations can play a significant role in encouraging Romania's economic and political independence.

The recently concluded arrangement between Romania and the Island Creed Coal Company of West Virginia is a good example of Romanian interest and ability to enhance its independence of action in the commercial field. Under the terms of this long-term contract, Romania will purchase a

minimum of 14 million tons of coal -- with an option to buy considerably more over the next 30-40 years -- for an advance payment of \$53 million and subsequent payments which could reach as much as \$2 billion. These purchases will permit Romania to lessen its dependence for this vital raw material on the Soviet Union and other suppliers.

I would like to note that extension of the Section 402 waiver for Romania will also permit the United States to continue both the CCC and Export-Import Bank credit programs in Romania, which have supported our agricultural commodity and machinery exports.

I have dealt only in rough outline with the important subject of our trade relations with Romania, but the statement which Mr. Reich of the Commerce Department has submitted to you provides a more detailed description. I think that Mr. Reich and Mr. Rivers would also be pleased to answer any questions you have on trade or commercial matters following my presentation.

Mr. Chairman, you and other members of your Subcommittee are aware of the efforts of the State Department, and those of Ambassador Barnes and our Embassy in Bucharest, to help resolve the many hundreds of emigration and humanitarian cases that have come to our attention. Because of the general

waiver authority granted to the President under Section 402 of the Trade Act, and its application to Romania, it has been possible to pursue our interests in easing emigration restrictions in the context of good U.S.-Romanian relations. Consequently, I am pleased to say that a good proportion of these cases have been favorably resolved.

We continue to believe that the understanding that we reached with the Romanian Government on this matter satisfied the provisions of the Trade Act. We believe that the Romanian performance on emigration during the past year has contributed to the achievement of the objectives of the Act.

As President Carter stated in his request for extension of his waiver authority, we intend to monitor closely Romanian compliance with the objectives of Section 402. Should performance not accord with the intent of this provision, we would recommend reconsideration of his recommendation. In addition, we will bring to the attention of the Romanian Government any actions or emigration trends which do not seem to conform to the assurances which they have provided in the past to treat emigration requests in a humanitarian manner. We will continue to keep the Congress informed of the results of this monitoring success.

I should point out that Romania does not encourage emigration by its citizens. We still hear complaints, perhaps as the result of arbitrary decisions by local authorities. The bureaucratic procedures remain burdensome and time-consuming and could well be streamlined and speeded up. Further, approval of each request to emigrate is not assured, particularly for persons without relatives in other countries.

The Romanian Government has demonstrated, however, an understanding of the importance we place on emigration and a willingness to discuss our concerns whenever we raise them. In addition, Romania accepts a commitment to help carry out the reunification of divided families, as provided in the Helsinki Final Act.

Mr. Chairman, we have provided for you and your Subcommittee statistics which enable us to assess Romania's emigration performance. If we look at the totals for the first five months of this year and last year, we can see that the rate of emigration to the United States is now running slightly above last year's rate. That is, in the period January 1 - May 31, 1977, 496 persons emigrated from Romania to the United States, as compared to 465 during the same period last year. In addition to being slightly above

last year's rate, this emigration level is considerably above emigration rates in the pre-MFN years.

In addition to monitoring emigration from Romania to the United States, we have also followed closely the progress of Romanian emigration to Israel. Here the results are not nearly as encouraging. The five-month total for 1977 is only 458 persons, compared to 853 in 1976.

The problem of assessing Romanian emigration performance with regard to Israel is complicated by uncertainty regarding the number of Romanian Jews who actually wish to depart. As you know, Romania has in the post-war period followed a liberal policy toward Jewish emigration. Well over 300,000 Jews have been permitted to emigrate to Israel. Many of those who remain are quite elderly, and may not wish to emigrate. While we believe that there are Jews in Romania who wish to emigrate but feel prevented from doing so, we have no accurate way of determining how many wish to depart. At times the debate over the conflicting figures has diverted attention from the central humanitarian issue.

In this situation, we believe our best approach is to concentrate our efforts on securing improved Romanian performance.

In the final analysis, we recognize that an acceptable level of emigration from Romania to Israel is the principal

concern of the two countries involved. Only the Israeli authorities can determine which Romanians who apply to immigrate to Israel are qualified to do so. It is our impression that Romanian and Israeli authorities conduct periodic discussions on emigration. At the same time, we intend to keep this matter constantly before the Romanian Government -- but in the context of good relations, not confrontation.

I would also like to mention that there are signs of greater Romanian willingness in recent months to permit increased emigration to other countries. For example, in the case of the Federal Republic of Germany -- the destination of the largest proportion of Romanian emigrants -- emigration has increased greatly this year compared to 1976. During the first four months of this year, some 4,300 Romanians arrived to settle in the Federal Republic, and Romanian statistics show that over 5,600 persons left Romania for West Germany up to June 14. This is more than double the number of Romanians who, according to German statistics, settled there in all of 1976. I must add, however, that the number of Romanians emigrating to West Germany in 1976 -- 2,720, according to German figures -- was relatively low. In 1974, for example, German figures record 5,400 Romanian immigrants.

We believe that the positive effect which the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement has had on trade, emigration, and our general bilateral relations with Romania fully justifies continuation of the Agreement. The Agreement has provided an additional stimulus to Romanian independence. In addition, our resulting improved relations with Romania have enabled us to further other worthy humanitarian objectives. We therefore support extension of the President's waiver authority and its application to Romania.

January 16, 1980

Mr. Pedro Schein
Absorption Center
Merkas Klita Apt. 353
Kiriat-Yam B
Haifa, Israel

Dear Mr. Schein:

It was a great joy to receive your letter from Israel!
I am truly happy to learn that you, your wife and your
daughter have finally been reunited with your family
in Israel.

Your letter of thanks is much appreciated. However,
you should know that the real thanks are the very fact
that you have realized your dream of reunion in the land
of our people.

With all good wishes and a hearty mazal tov, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Mr. Pedro Schein
Absorbition Center
Merkaz Klita Apt. 353,
Kiriath-Yam B'
Haifa, Israel

20th. December 1979

Rabbi Alexander Scheindler
Union of American - Hebrew Congregation
838 Fifth Avenue,
New York 10021
U. S. A.

Dear Rabbi Alexander Scheindler,

With great pleasure I wish to inform you that I've arrived Israel atlast with my wife Henriette and my daughter Florina a month ago united again with my family.

Thanking you very kindly for your assistance. Due to your most sincere help I could leave Romania and be in Israel today. My entire family shall always remember you and pray for your health so that you may be able to help more Jews with similar problems like mine, to come to Israel. God Bless You and kindest regards to your family.

Yours faithfully,

Pedro Schein



cc
Mr. J. Nathanszen

May 3, 1977

Mr. Tamburu Vladimir
Bd. Miciurin 13/A
71314 Bucuresti I
R.S. Romania

Dear Mr. Vladimir:

Thank you for your letter of April 14th. It was very kind of you to write to me and I am deeply grateful for your having printed my father's poems. Thank you again.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

November 10, 1977

Mr. Aron Croitoru
Rehi Sevet Dan 32/1
Amisav Mabara
Petah Tikva, Israel

Dear Mr. Croitoru:

Your letter of October 24, 1977 has been forwarded to me and
I hasten to respond.

Regretfully, I am unable to be of assistance to you. My work
in behalf of the Presidents' Conference is related only to
organizational and political matters. We are restricted by
our mandate from becoming involved in personal matters such
as housing in Israel. This is a matter you must work out
directly with the authorities in Israel.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

FROM THE DESK OF

IRVING KESSLER

Alex:

Croitoru is an immigrant, many years in Israel, who has written to everyone about his problems. He has no claim on the Jewish Agency.

IK

NO

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC.



Dear Sirs

LE PRESIDENT,

ALEXANDER SINDLER

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC.

515 Park Avenue

NEW YORK NY 10022 U.S.A.

America

Dear Sirs

24-10-77

Le President Alexander Sindler
United Israel appeal INC.
NEW YORK

I am sending you this letter with
the request to intervene in my mater in order
to solve my housing Problem

Faithfully yours

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Prof. [unclear]", with a stylized flourish extending to the right.

Subject: Application for obtaining
a flat.

Dear Sirs,

The undersigned Kopyturo Aharon ~~Israel~~, of Petach Tikva, ^{ISRAEL} Amishav, 32/1, Shevet Dan Street, Identity Card No. 6885553, brings to your information the following:

When I arrived to Israel together with my family, I received a flat in the above mentioned address, it is a place settled by a primitive population including all kinds of robbers and criminals, which we have nothing common with them, therefore I refused to have a flat in this zone.

Amidar representative calmed me in explaining to me (in this he lied) that this flat is temporary only, and that because of lack in flats, I must agree to have it, and that later I shall receive a new and bigger flat.

The climate was rainy and my son was sick, for this I admitted to his explanations, but I fell in the net, as since then I am running and running asking the change of flat.

I have submitted tens of applications to different bodies and treating in this problem, but all was in vain, because, since the moment you arrived to Israel, no one pays attention to you, as "the negro has done his duty"...

I did not know that here in Israel, only by way of PROTECTION it is possible to obtain something. The Israeli press reports that against bribery, people obtained flats according to their request, and to prove it to you I am sending you an article from the Roumanian newspaper "Nuestra Vitae".

To my big sorrow I had no PROTECTION. Therefore I shall describe to you in the following lines what happened to me:

After long years of struggle and suffering, the Prime Minister's Office advised me that I shall have a flat in Petach Tikva, at 36 Katz street.

The flat pleased me, therefore I agreed to have it. So I appeared in Amidar's offices at Petach Tikva, ready to obtain the flat.

But Amidar's clerk looked at me up and down and when he has found out that he in fact does not know me, i.e. I have no PROTECTION, and I am not ready to give bribery, suggested to change the flat promised to me with another flat which is also in the same Katz St. on the other side of the street, No. 96. I would like to point out that this flat is an old one, even smaller than my present flat, containing two rooms. In the above mentioned flat there are only one and half rooms.

The clerk asked me to deliver him my flat against the flat situated in a poverty quarter in the end of the city at the spot called MAABARA Ahadot Yashan. He had a solution to the problem, that the flat is smaller, so that with his big toupet, suggested to me, that our son, then aged 18 years, may sleep with us together in the same room.

I have absolutely refused to have this flat, so there is a question: are we indeed animals? why do we merit such a behaviour? The truth is that we are the sacrifices of the PROTECTION.

After an additional suffering, the Housing Office advises me in 1976, that it is decided to give me a flat in one of the buildings built in Nave Kabush. I waited nearly one year till the finishing of the erection of the a/m buildings, and when I went to Amidar to receive the flat, then the same happening repeated again, like the past. They changed my flat in Nave Kabush with a flat in Fedja.

Having no other alternative, I agreed to receive this flat, but the clerk asked me to buy it, and in case that I have no sufficient money to buy it, he consoled and claimed me, saying that he will look for an old flat, surely will be suitable for me.

I don't understand why they ask me only to buy the flat. I am aware that in the new buildings in Nave Kabush 207, there are flats containing 3 rooms which were given to elder families consisting of 2 persons, and they were not obliged to buy the flat.

The reason of the injustice caused to me is not comprehensive to me at all. I am totally salary-worker, and have no sources which may supply me money for the flat.

In my residence in Amishav Quarter, there are tens of families which are not new immigrants. They received new flats with no need to buy them. Only me, I am requested to buy the flat. Against monthly rent I am ready also to receive a flat, and in this, Amidar will keep its promise, a promise given to me when coming to Israel, that when the time will come I shall receive a bigger and newer flat than this received prealably.

In Roumania I was inspector in the Ministry of finance, and lived in a clean quarter, an honourable population and therefore I also gained honour; I am not accustomed and cannot be accustomed to live in conditions so primitive near types which are so far of culture life.

In Roumania I have not obeyed to advices they gave me, not to come to Israel, and now, when I see to where I arrived, I am sorry that I have not attributed importance to those advices.

I immigrated to Israeli gayly, knowing that I come to my own land, but found here a foreign country, foreign people, and the Institutions oblige me to live in primitive conditions when restraining my rights I am entitled to, being a new immigrant.

I am not the enemy of the country. My son is serving in Zahal (Army) as technician, electronician, and serves faithfully his cluntry. But facing the refusal of the Institutions (Population Committee, Housing Office) to resolve my problem, I was compelled to apply to foreign embassies in Israel and abroad, to explain my problem.

I see myself obliged in future to ask the release of my son from the army Zahal in order to leave Israel. The studies of our son have been financiated by our very proper money, but now the State makes use of his knowledges, But this country does not fulfil its duties towards his parents, then he also is not obliged to fulfil his dities towards his State.'

I send you this letter asking you to send it to EMBASSY
OF ISRAEL - USA

and they will send it to the Institutions which will treat my problem.

I beg you as well to let me know about the receipt of the letter, so I shall know that it has not been censored and that I should not take special other means in order that it reaches your hands.

Faithfully yours,



בא בצאן שלאלו שיש להם
פראקציה (קטלי המרד, וקולל בוסד)
מפגש פנוי, סלביה מרקולד ואגריס
ניגנו בירור בשני מליון לי בצבון קל-אקיה
וצאן בשכר בורה ~~הפג~~ סילי מניון
שלמיסכנים הללו אין מאיפה לטלם.
לעומת זאת באנו צאן מח"בית יאלת חב
אמ'דר. ליאו ביורה קאנה בשכונה מלונלה
בהר.

לא עפ היס מילד הפראקציה ב'טילד
לא כיצד מלקים את כספי המזבית
הניסלטים ל'טילד, לאלו שיש להם פראקציה.
בא בצאן שאנשים פטולים במיון
משאירים מאחור קטבוס במאסו, ובלילוק.

מפוס אין המזבית מתעניין בוסד
הניסלטים ל'טילד ?



August 19, 1977

Mr. I. Silens
U.S. Department of State
Romanian Desk
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Silens:

It was good talking with you the other day and I am grateful for your counsel.

Enclosed is a copy of a nightletter I have just sent to Prime Minister Begin which is self-explanatory. I do hope that he will arrange to meet with Dick Veitz.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 15, 1977

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I trust that you have received my earlier letter summarizing the status of our preparations for Belgrade and enclosing the President's semi-annual report on CSCE. I also said in that letter that you would be invited to a meeting in the Department of State in advance of this fall's review conference at Belgrade.

Cabinet

The morning of Friday, September 9, has been set aside for this meeting and a registration form is enclosed which we hope you will return promptly. It would be helpful if you could arrive at 9:00 a.m. as we hope to begin the meeting promptly at 9:30 a.m. and conclude at noon. You will be met at the Diplomatic (C Street) entrance by State Department officers.

(M)

We believe that the preparatory Belgrade Conference went well and that it has set the stage for an honest review of implementation within a well structured and businesslike format. We look forward to a full and informed exchange of views with you in the hope that this will help our delegation prepare for the main Belgrade Conference which is scheduled to begin on October 4.

In the interest of assuring as much time as possible for the give and take of a broad and informal discussion at the September 9 meeting, we would appreciate your mailing to us (with your registration form) any prepared statements you may wish to submit. This would give our panel members time to consider them in advance and an opportunity to respond to them during their opening remarks.

I look forward to your attendance.

Sincerely,

Matthew Nimetz

Matthew Nimetz
Counselor

Enclosures:

1. Registration form
2. Return envelope

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022
Plaza 2-1616
Cable Address: COJOGRA

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

American Israel Public
Affairs Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Mizrahi Women
American Zionist Federation
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women
Bnai Zion
Central Conference of
American Rabbis
Council of Jewish Federations
and Welfare Funds (observer)
Hadassah
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish Reconstructionist
Foundation
Jewish War Veterans
of the U.S.A.
Labor Zionist Alliance
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Union of Orthodox Jewish
Congregations of America
United Synagogue of America
Women's American ORT
Women's League for
Conservative Judaism
World Zionist Organization
American Section, Inc.
Zionist Organization of America

July 28, 1977

The Honorable Abraham A. Ribicoff
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Ribicoff:

I am really sorry that I was not able to be at the meeting of your Senate Finance Committee this year when the issue of MFN for Romania was discussed. Unfortunately, I was much preoccupied with Middle Eastern matters during the post-Begin election trauma.

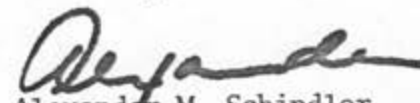
I read the testimony, of course, which was offered by Bill Korey and I also received a report concerning Rabbi Miller's testimony before the parallel House Committee.

You will be exceedingly pleased to learn that the updated six months' figure for exit visas granted by Romania to members of her Jewish community has jumped dramatically. In fact, the six months' figure this year is almost 65% of last year's total. This figure, somewhat in excess of 1,000, should make possible a total emigration of over 2,000 Jewish families which is within the range of what we project, albeit the actual emigration figure for the first six months is still not too encouraging. Yet, emigration invariably follows visas and is a good indication of what the future will bring.

I myself plan to go to Bucharest some time in the not too distant future just to have a personal look and see.

I hope these comments are of some help to you and your country in reaching a decision.

Sincerely,


Alexander M. Schindler

AMS:vm

cc: The Honorable Nicolae M. Nicolae

April 21, 1977

Mr. Jacob Birnbaum
656 West 162nd Street
New York, New York 10032

Dear Mr. Birnbaum:

I have tried to reach you by telephone several times but have failed to reach you. My schedule is extremely hectic and I have been travelling all over the country. I do not appreciate your remarks which imply that I am not concerned with matters of Klal Yisroel.

My life is on a schedule which covers morning, noon and night for seven days a week, at no inconsequential sacrifice to either my health or my family. Only last week one of my five youngsters cried and when I asked him why he said, "because I have no father."

It is for this reason and this reason alone that I am not at my desk when you call and why I cannot make twenty telephone calls a day on the chance that you are in. The many times I have called your number there was no answer or it was busy.

To save us both grief, why don't you just note on paper what you know and wish to share with me and send it to me in an envelope marked personal and confidential. Although I must note that I am in constant communication with David Pedahzur, with Chaim Baer, with the State Department and the Romanian Embassy and I can't conceive of any information you might have which I do not already know.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Chairman

cc: Mr. Chaim Baer
Mr. Yehuda Hellman

The Center for Russian and East European Jewry

National Director's Address and Phones: 656 West 162nd Street • New York, N.Y. 10032 • (212) 928-7451 (212) 799-8902
Office Address and Phone: 200 West 72nd Street • New York, N.Y. 10023 • (212) 799-8900

April 15, 1977

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Dear Rabbi Schindler, *YKS*

March 17/76
It is over a month since I first called to speak to you on an important matter. I have asked for a brief phone appointment. Though you are exceedingly busy, I find the total lack of response somewhat inexplicable and, personally, quite discouraging. Our last conversation took place nearly nine months ago and there were were not more than two or three previous to that, conversations which may not have been entirely unhelpful to you.

The purpose of my call has been to make you aware of one or two possibly significant developments. I do not want anything from you. Where a matter of KlalYisroel is concerned I have to persist, I suppose. I must confess however that I am not accustomed to this type of experience from a co-worker.

Let me set down my immediate numbers once more:

928. 7451. If the 928 number is very busy, the following may be called, though some waiting may be required : 795. 8867.

Sincerely,

Jacob Birnbaum
Jacob Birnbaum
National Director



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, Romania

December 21, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

Just a short note in response to yours of November 30 which made it through sleet and snow - something must have been in the way - three weeks later, reaching us today. I trust by now you've had not only Dick Scissors' letter of December 1 on the question of the problems Century Gloves Corporation has been having but also that the firm has been contacted by representatives of ARPIMEX. If either or both of these assumptions are false and you want us to do something else, please let us know.

As I wrote you earlier, Betsey and I enjoyed immensely having you and Rhea here and therefore very much share your hope that we will have a chance to have a number of meetings in a variety of places in the future.

I am anxious to learn of anything you can tell me about your visit to Israel and your perceptions of the Romanian scene at this remove.

With very best regards to you and Rhea,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Harry G. Barnes, Jr.".

Harry G. Barnes, Jr.

cc AVI

December 23, 1976

Mircea Raceanu, First Secretary
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
1607 23rd Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Raceanu:

It was very thoughtful of you and Ambassador Nicolae to send me the wonderful wines. I am deeply grateful for your kindness and your good wishes.

Mrs. Schindler joins me in wishing you and your dear ones all the best at this holiday season.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

November 30, 1976

His Excellency, The American Ambassador
Harry Barnes
Embassy of the United States of America
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Harry:

I'm just back from Israel and I hasten to express my deepest gratitude to you for your many kindnesses and personal courtesies to me during my visit to Bucharest. It was wonderful having an opportunity to meet with you and to come to know you,, Rhea and I enjoyed being with you and your lovely Betsy and we hope there will be many such meetings in the future.

You will recall my discussing the matter of Century Gloves Corp. of Newark, New Jersey and the problem they have had with orders being filled. I had written to Ambassador Nicolae and enclose herewith a copy of his response. If you can further enlighten me I would be most grateful.

With repeated thanks for your graciousness and with warmest regards to you and Betsy, in which Rhea joins me, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

REGISTERED
SPECIAL DELIVERY

November 5, 1976

Mr. G. Anghel
Embassy of Romania
1607 23rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Anghel:

In accordance with our telephone conversation of this morning, I enclose herewith passports for Alexander M. Schindler and Thea Schindler. As you know they will be visiting Romania in November at the invitation of your President and thus require visas for their visit.

At the moment the exact dates for their visit have not been finalized, the suggested times are November 15-17 or November 27-28. Therefore, it would be helpful if the visas could be for a period covering all of these dates. The Schindlers will be leaving the country on the 14th of November and thus it is imperative that we receive the visas as soon as possible.

With appreciation for your assistance and with kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

Encl.

Send Passport
Embassy

Spec Del.

1607 - 23rd St NW
DC
20008

Written Involat
not neces

Call from Nicholas
official -

December 15, 1976

His Excellency The Romanian Ambassador
Nicolae Nicolae and Mrs. Nicolae
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Ambassador and Mrs. Nicolae:

Mrs. Schindler joins me in extending to you and your dear ones our warm good wishes for the holiday season. May the New Year be one of great fulfillment and happiness.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



*The Ambassador
of the Socialist Republic of Romania
and
Mrs. Nicolae
send Greetings of the Season
and Best Wishes for the New Year*

Wnt

nr.501/1976

București, 6 septembrie 1976

D-nei
BLIMETA BAINGLAS
Ulpan Tabor
Mercaz Clita
NATZURET ILIT - ISRAEL

. Scrisoarea dv., fără dată, prin care îmi solicitați să intervin ca ginerele dv., neevreu, să primească aprobarea de a pleca definitiv în Israel, ne-a uimit și considerăm că e necesar să facem unele precizări :

- 1). Eretz-Israel se reclădește pentru a fi o țară a evreilor și nu un loc de refugiu pentru alții cari vor să-și părăsească Patria respectivă, din diverse motive.
- 2). "Reunirea familiilor" la care vă referiți, solicitând ca fiica dv. să se poată reuni cu soțul ei, nu se referă la un asemenea caz. Ea se referă la reunirea familiilor evreiești și nu a acelor care au părăsit judaismul.
- 3). Nu v-a silit nimeni să plecați din România. Dacă dv. și fiica dv, v-ați hotărât să plecați, ați scos pașapoartele, ați luat biletele de avion, etc. , știind că cererea ginerelui dv. a fost refuzată, înseamnă că ați acceptat această situație și nu puteți afirma că "au trecut 40 de zile și încă n-a venit".
- 4). Fiica dv. a avut în fața ei alternativa : Ori își părăsește poporul, credința și familia și rămâne lângă soțul ei, poporul său, credința și familia sa, ori își părăsește soțul și pleacă în Israel.
- 5). Adresați-vă "senatorilor și Rabinilor americani" așa cum ați fost sfătuită dar nu uitați să le spuneți că nu e vorba de o cauză evreiască, ci de cu totul altceva.
- 6). În orice caz, este ilariant să vă adresați Rabinului-Sef, cerându-i ca el să vă ajute pentruca :
 - a). fiica dv. să aibă o familie neevreiască ;
 - b). Eretz Israel să devină loc de adăpost pentru neevrei.

Greșiți când afirmați că "am putere" și "un cuvânt al meu ar face minuni". Dacă însă ași avea putere, ași împiedica împlinirea a ceea ce cereți dv.


Sefrabin Dr. M. Rosen

Romania
Trip

Mrs.

Blimeta Beinglas

Ulpan Tabor

Nazareth Elit

Your letter, without date, wherein you ask me to intervene so as your non-Jewish son-in law can receive the visa for Israel, has astonished us and we think that we have to clarify certain points :

1. Israel is rebuilt in order to be a country for Jews and not a refugee center for others, who want to leave their homeland for different reasons.

2. The "family-reunion" you are talking about in asking for your daughter to be reunited with her husband, does not include such a case. It refers to Jewish families only, and not to those who have left Jewery.

3. Nobody forced you to leave Romania. If you and your daughter decided to go away, got your passeports and your tickets, knowing that your son-in-law's request has been denied, it means that you have accepted the situation and you cannot say that " 40 days have passed and he is not here yet".

4. Your daughter had two alternatives ! or to leave her people, faith and family and stay by her husband, his people, faith and family, or to leave her husband and go to Israel.

5. You can turn to Senators and rabbis in the U.S.A. as you have been advised but don't forget to mention that not a Jewish matter is involved here, but something completely different.

6. Anyway, it is ridiculous to turn to the chief rabbi for help

a. so that your daughter could raise a non-Jewish family.

b. Israel should become a shelter for non-Jewish people.

You are wrong in assuming that I am powerful and that one word of mine could do wonders. But if I had such power, I certainly would have done anything to prevent the fulfilment of your wish.



Mrs.
BLIMET, BEINGLAS
ULPAN TABOR
Merkaz Olita
HATZERET ILIT - ISRAEL

December 23, 1976

His Excellency, The Romanian Ambassador
Nicolae M. Nicolae
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Washington, D.C. 20008

My Dear Mr. Nicolae:

I want to express my deep appreciation to you and Mr. Raceanu for your thoughtful gift. I shall open the wonderful wines for a very special occasion and I know I shall enjoy them very, very much.

Mrs. Schindler joins me in wishing you and your dear ones a very happy holiday season, and a wonderful New Year.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Mircea Raceanu

First Secretary

Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania

1607 - 23rd St., N. W.

Washington, D. C. 20008

232-4747

Nicolae M. Nicolae

Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Washington, D. C.

November 30, 1976

Dr. Jov Somesfalaen
Hotel Opera
Broadway and 76th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

Dear Dr. Somesfalaen:

I'm just back from my overseas journey and I hasten to respond to your letter of November 10.

Evidently there was some misunderstanding on your part. When you telephoned my office you indicated you wished to meet with me to discuss property in Romania which had belonged to your family for over 300 years and which was confiscated by the government. As my assistant told you when you called, I simply cannot become involved in such matters and there is nothing I or the Presidents' Conference can do to be of aid to you. I do regret this but I simply cannot become involved. As you know, my dealings with the Romanian government are limited to seeking the reunification of families.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Chairman

bcc: Yehuda Hellman

Hotel Opera
Broadway & 76th Street
suite 1909
New York, N.Y. 10023
November 10, 1976

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Conference of Presidents
515 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

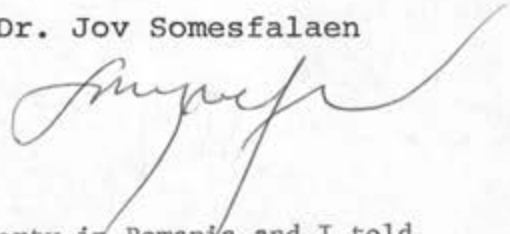
About three weeks ago, I phoned your office to ask for an appointment to see you about the situation of Jews in Rumania. I am a recent refugee from that country.

I was told that you were quite busy, and that your office would contact me right after the presidential elections. They didn't. When I called today, I was told you had left the country, and would return in December.

I hope that you will instruct your office to set up an appointment for me as soon as possible upon your return.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Jov Somesfalaen



NOT SO! He's the one with family property in Romania and I told him you could not become involved in such matters.....it's not a request for reuniting of a family, it's for land.

^E
Put this in writing -
to him.

Dr. Job Somegallean =
Romanian - New American
Lawyer. =

Wants to see you.

787-1900 7/1909

Letter to Romanian Govt.

Property confiscated -
in family over 300 yrs.

give back - House.

not yet - others have
written.

ROMANIAN EMIGRATION
SINCE 1963

1963	13,000	
1964	26,000	
1965	11,000	
1966	3,600	
1967	800	
1968	220	
1969	1,400	
1970	5,200	
1971	1,650	
1972	2,650	
1973	3,700	
1974	3,700 (total for year)	
Aug.	612	
Sep.	328	
Oct.	267	
Nov.	200	
Dec.	200	
1975	2,140 (total for year)	
Jan.	70	
Feb.	45	
Mar.	100	
Apr.	80	
May	50	
Jun.	210	
Jul.	430	
Aug.	250	
Sep.	295	
Oct.	360	
Nov.	140	
Dec.	110	
1976		
Jan.	350	
Feb.	243	
Mar.	103	
Apr.	51	
May	140	
Jun.	222	
Jul.	237	

PRE MFN

POST MFN

1. The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations is the coordinating body of 32 national Jewish organizations and speaks for the organized American Jewish community on this and related issues.
2. The Conference endorses the administration's proposal to waive the requirements of section 402 of the 1975 Trade Act for one more year.
3. The Conference appreciates the extensive rights which the Romanian Jewish community enjoys, rights which are "fully on a par with those accorded to her other minority groupings." The Conference also favors Romania's "independent" foreign policy which seeks to "normalize" relations with nations outside the Soviet bloc -- with our own country and with Israel.
4. The Conference is distressed to note that emigration expectations have not been fulfilled. There has been a decline in the total number of Romanian Jews permitted to leave, a decline which takes on dramatic proportions when measured against the flurry of departures during the months immediately preceding and following last year's hearings on the basis of which the original waiver was approved.
5. The Conference therefore qualifies its endorsement of the 402 waiver renewal with the urgent request that emigration figures be kept "under continuing review" and that our government's representatives "bend every effort" to make certain that the Trade Act objective of free emigration be, in fact, attained.
6. The Conference is grateful to the State Department, and in particular to our representatives in Bucharest "whose words and actions bear testimony to the fact that insofar as the United States is concerned interests in the extension of trade and political sway do not supercede our concern for the extension of human rights, and that among these rights, the free movement of peoples is an ideal to which our national honor is pledged."

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER

CHAIRMAN, CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

BEFORE THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

SEPTEMBER 8, 1976

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER

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BEFORE THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

SEPTEMBER 8, 1976

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STATEMENT BY RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER
CHAIRMAN, CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
September 14, 1976 \

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee,

I appreciate your giving me this opportunity to present the views of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations of which I am chairman. The Conference is the coordinating body of 32 national Jewish organizations and speaks for the organized American Jewish community on this and related issues.

We are in favor of continuing the MFN status which has been conferred on Romania.

Ours is a qualified endorsement. The law's requirement of free emigration assuredly has not yet been achieved; many Romanian Jews desiring to be reunited with their families here and elsewhere are denied the right to do so. Yet we see this failing against the background of those considerable rights which are granted to the Romanian Jewish community itself. We see it also in the context of that independent foreign policy which the Romanian government has pursued and which we favor -- her efforts to normalize relations with nations outside the Soviet bloc, with our own country and with Israel. Nor are the gates of emigration entirely shut; some flow, however sluggish and uncertain, is encouraged. And so we support an additional one-year waiver of section 402, in the hope that continuing efforts by our officials will, in fact, lead to the achievement of the Trade Act's ultimate objective: a free movement of peoples.

My testimony is based not just on a careful sifting of passport and visa statistics, but also on more personal observations gleaned on a journey through Romania. I travelled there some weeks ago on the invitation of the Romanian government, her Jewish community, and with the cooperation of our State Department. I toured Bucharest and five or six centers in the northeast section of that land. I met with leaders of some twenty Jewish communities which I was

unable to visit personally. I conferred with governmental officials and party chiefs -- among them the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Deputy Prime Minister, and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. Of course, I also counselled with our own Embassy officials who were most helpful in all of these encounters and whose manifest devotion to the moral concerns of our government I have come to respect and value greatly.

The Romanian Jewish community enjoys many rights. There are synagogues and communal centers. Worship is unrestricted, liturgical materials are at hand, and even religious instruction is permitted. Canteens have been established in every major Jewish population center and free kosher meals are provided to one and all, even, by special transport, to the home and bedridden. Special medical and dental care is available, and food and clothing are distributed regularly. Several old-age, nursing homes are in operation and much needed for a population whose median age is sixty-five. All of these institutions and activities are administered by the local Jewish community with the approval and cooperation of the Romanian government. They are given considerable financial support by the Joint Distribution Committee, an American Jewish charitable institution, whose efforts are facilitated by the MFN status which Romania now enjoys.

These rights which the Romanian government accords to its Jewish citizens are on a full par with the rights given to her other minority groupings. Yet the concept of human rights, as we perceive it in its fullness, must encompass the right of emigration. And it is on this score, and this score primarily, that our testimony is qualified.

The facts speak for themselves. When Romania was originally granted most-favored-nation status, congress asserted and administration witnesses agreed that further renewal of this special relationship must depend on a steady flow of emigration. The House Committee on Ways and Means, in offering its concurrence, actually foresaw a dramatic rise in this emigration, based on its upward trend

during the weeks preceding last year's hearings.

But there has been no upswing in Romanian emigration. In the twelve months preceding the approval of MFN, 2,592 Romanian Jews were allowed to leave; in the twelve months thereafter, emigration declined by nearly one hundred souls. Reports for the first seven months of 1976 allow us to project no more than 2,300 emigrants, still a further marked decline. If those figures which swelled during last year's hearings and on which the House Committee based its projections had been realized -- an average of 307 per month for the two months preceding and three months following the hearings -- the annual rate of emigration would have approached 3,700, precisely the same number of Jews who left Romania during 1973 and 1974. Thus the current emigration rate is actually 37.5 per cent below what might have been expected if the rate which Romania "demonstrated" to congress had been sustained.

Former Romanian Jews now living in Israel and elsewhere insist that many of their relatives still in Romania want to be reunited with them, and indeed many have indicated to Romanian authorities that they have a desire to do so. Many more undoubtedly want to join their relatives abroad but have not made formal application to leave because of the difficulties which still inhere in the emigration process: the requirements of prior approval from several national and local authorities, lengthy interviews probing motivation, risk of job loss, indefinite delays. Frequently passports are fully processed, even to the point of having visas entered by the Israeli Consulate, only to be withheld at the very last moment for weeks and months on end, with no perceivable pattern, and for no apparent reason.

A governmental policy of restricted, carefully controlled emigrations -- which these statistics and procedures could well be interpreted to reflect -- is clearly inconsistent with the letter and the spirit of the 1975 Trade Act. This is why we qualify our approval of the President's proposal that he waive the

requirements of section 402, which we support on other, weighty grounds, with the request that the emigration figures be kept under continuing careful review and that our government's representatives continue to bend every effort in order to make certain that the practices of Romania will lead substantially to the achievement of a full and free emigration.

I cannot conclude my testimony without once again expressing my admiration and gratitude to the members of our State Department and in particular to our representatives in Bucharest whose words and actions bear testimony to the fact that insofar as the United States is concerned interests in the extension of trade and political sway do not supercede our concern for the extension of human rights, and that among these rights, the free movement of peoples is an ideal to which our national honor is pledged.

ROMANIAN EMIGRATION

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	Jul.	237

PRE MFN

POST MFN

40 Prospect Park West
Brooklyn, New York 11215
September 10, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Many, many thanks for supporting my position
regarding Romania in your testimony before
the Senate Finance Committee.

Thank you also for your letter regarding the
subject.

Kind greetings to you.

Shalom! Norok! Happy New Year!

Respectfully yours,

Angela Slutsky
(Mrs. Leo Slutsky)

September 9, 1976

Mrs. Leo Slutzky
40 Prospect Park West
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215

Dear Mrs. Slutzky:

Thank you for your letter in regard to Romania. I did support
your position in my testimony before the Senate Finance Committee.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

40 Prospect Park West
Brooklyn, New York 11215
September 7, 1976

BY HAND

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I write to you as an American citizen, very proud of my country, to respectfully ask you to help grant favored nation status to Rumania, the country of my birth.

I left Rumania as a child and have no relatives there, but I visited there several times to learn more about my roots. I traveled about the country freely and had access to synagogues and Jewish community centers in many cities and also visited the Synagogue in Bucharest that has been declared a national landmark. My husband and I visited the Jewish Library and Historical Archives. We attended many performances of the Yiddish State Theater. As you undoubtedly know, the first Yiddish theater in the world was established in Rumania in 1876 and is still flourishing. They have performed to great acclaim in Israel, Europe and the United States.

I very recently returned from another trip to Rumania during which I had some fine Kosher meals in the Jewish Community Center in Bucharest and saw a rehearsal by a group of young Jewish singers and musical performers. They rank favorably with any in the United States. The Yiddish State Theater was celebrating its Centennial and I attended every performance in the capital and in Iasi.

Rumania has cultural and diplomatic relations with Israel, and the citizens of both countries travel back and forth between them. El Al Airlines maintains a large office in Rumania.

Rumania is the only Socialist country that grants all the above privileges to its citizens and visitors.

Any consideration granted to this deserving country will be greatly appreciated by me.

Thank you very much for your assistance.

SHALOM!

Respectfully yours,

Angela Slutzky
Angela Slutzky
(Mrs. Leo Slutzky)

AS:jcr

September 9, 1976

Mr. Kenneth Wallach
AIPAC
1341 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Ken:

I want to express my deepfelt appreciation to you for all your help and most especially in regard to my testimony before the Senate Finance Committee on MFN. I am grateful to you.

A copy of my testimony is enclosed herewith.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

September 2, 1976

His Excellency, The Romanian Ambassador Nicolae Nicolae
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ambassador Nicolae:

Mrs. Schindler and I want to express our sincere gratitude to you for a most delightful evening. Your kind reception was much appreciated and we thoroughly enjoyed being with you and your charming wife. We thank you both for your warm and gracious hospitality.

It is my fond hope that we will see each other soon again and that I may have the pleasure of reciprocating your kind hospitality.

With every good wish and warmest regards, to you and Mrs. Nicolae, in which Mrs. Schindler joins me, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

August 24, 1976

Mr. Vasile Gliga
Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Mr. Gliga:

I am most beholden to you for the earnestness and warmth of your reception. The sincerity of your questions touched my spirit and I was deeply moved.

I do hope that we will be able to see one another soon again. It was a joy to be with you and in your beautiful country.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

March 13, 1978

Ing. T. Blumenfeld, President
Mr. Emil Sechter, Secretary-General
Federation of Jewish Communities
in Bucharest and Romania
Str. Sf. Vineri 9-11/Sector 4
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Friends:

It is my hope that you will pardon the long delay in responding to your gracious letter of January 18. My travels during the past months have been exceedingly heavy and I have also been seeking to ascertain the possibility of being in Bucharest this July.

I was, of course, delighted to learn of the lovely tribute to Rabbi Dr. Rosen. It is richly-merited and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be able to share in the celebration of his thirtieth anniversary. Alas, I fear it will not be possible for me to be with you. I must be in Jerusalem this July for a series of important Jewish organizational meetings and my travel schedule simply precludes being in Bucharest. I do sincerely regret not being able to share in the simcha. Please convey my deepest regrets and my warm good wishes to Dr. Rosen.

With every good wish for a very meaningful and beautiful tribute and with warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

FEDERAȚIA COMUNITĂȚILOR EVREIEȘTI
DIN REPUBLICA SOCIALISTĂ ROMÂNIA
CANCELARIA ȘEF RABINULUI
București — Str. Sf. Vineri 9 - 11 — Sector 4
Telefon : 15.50.90

ב"ה

הסתדרות הקהלות היהודיות
ברישובליקה הסוציאליסטית רומניא
לשכת הרב הכולל d.p.

nr.62/1978

January 18, 1978.

Rabbi Alex. Schindler,
President of the Presidents Conference
of Major Jewish Organisations
515 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Roumanian Jewry are now preparing to celebrate a particularly important event in their life: thirty years since the election of Dr. Moses Rosen as Chief Rabbi of the Roumanian Jewish Communities.-

We do not think it is necessary to emphasize that in this span of time, our teacher and Rabbi, through his vision, his dedication and courage completed a work which conferred on him an important place in the history of the Jewish people.-

The worldwide prestige our spiritual leader enjoys which gives him an outstanding place in world Judaism, is also well-known.-

Therefore we are pleased to address you our official invitation to honour by your and your distinguished Lady's presence this high day of ours.-

The festivities will take place on July 3rd and 4th in Bucharest.-

For the honourable guests interested, we will make the necessary travel arrangements to visit the main Jewish Communities in Roumania on the 5th and 6th July, 1978, in order to enable them to directly get acquainted with the present life of those communities.-

We will, of course, be only too glad to offer you our warmest hospitality over the whole period mentioned above.-

We would be grateful to you for receiving confirmation of your acceptance, if possible by end-february.-

We shall subsequently arrange for the complete programme of the festivities to be sent to you.-

Looking forward to your reply at your earliest convenience, we are sending you our brotherly greetings and best wishes.-

On behalf of the Organizing Committee:

SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
FEDERATION OF JEWISH COM-
MUNITIES IN ROUMANIA

EMIL SECHTER

PRESIDENT OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY
IN BUCHAREST,

ING. T. BLUMENFELD

January 18, 1978

George Anghelescu, Counselor
Embassy of the Socialist
Republic of Romania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Anghelescu:

I have just returned from a journey overseas and found your letter of January 5 awaiting me. It distresses me that time precludes my wishing you well personally before you return to Romania for your new assignment. Hopefully, during a future visit to your country it will be possible to see each other again.

You have been most gracious and helpful in all of our dealings and I want to express my appreciation for your spirit of cooperation. It was good working with you and I, too, have fond memories of a fine association.

I want to extend my warm good wishes to you and your dear ones for the future. May you have good health, happiness and fulfillment.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 5, 1978

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am leaving the United States on January, 1978
upon completing my mission here.

In saying good-bye to you I want to thank you so
much for your cooperation and assistance and also for the
support you have provided to developing good relations
between Romania and U.S.A.

Personally, I will keep a good and long memories
of our working together and permit me to wish you and your
family the best wishes for every day of the New Year.

Sincerely yours,
George Anghelescu
Counselor

January 18, 1978

Dr. Arnulf M. Pins
JDC-ISRAEL
Sderot Herzl 81
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Arnulf:

It was good hearing from you and I appreciated your comments regarding Israel and the American Jewish community. When you note things look different, I hope you mean they look better! Be assured I try my very best and I look upon my service as chairman of the Presidents' Conference as a service of the heart.

With fondest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE INC.

ג'וינט - ישראל
JDC - ISRAEL

SDEROT HERZL 81, JERUSALEM TEL. 527156 - 533041 שדרות הרצל 81, ירושלים, טל.

December 19, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Conference of Presidents
515 Park Avenue
New York City, New York 10017

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I have followed with interest and pleasure the sensitive and effective way the problems of Israel have been handled by the American Jewish community. From here it looks very different than it used to.

I am sure that a good deal is due to the leadership you have given to it.

I just wanted to let you know.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Arnulf M. Pins

AMP/np

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc.

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60 East 42 Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

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Cables: Jointdisco New York

December 28, 1977

Ms. Edith Miller
Assistant to the President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

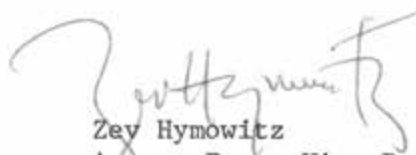
Dear Ms. Miller:

I am in receipt of the two letters that you have received from an Israeli family seeking financial assistance for their family in Rumania. This matter will be taken care of by our office.

Thank you for advising Mr. and Mrs. Heller and Mr. and Mrs. Weisman that their requests have been turned over to JDC.

All good wishes.

Cordially,



Zev Hymowitz
Assoc. Exec. Vice President

ZH/myk



The Joint Distribution Committee receives its funds chiefly from American Jewry through the United Jewish Appeal. The JDC also receives smaller amounts from the Central British Fund, Jewish Trust Corporation for Germany, Ltd. of England, United Jewish Relief Agencies of the Canadian Jewish Congress, and communities in Latin America.

December 20, 1977

Mr. Zev Hymowitz
Joint Distribution Committee
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Hymowitz:

It was good chatting with you this morning. In accordance with our conversation, I enclose herewith the two letters received from Israeli families seeking financial assistance for mishpochah in Romania. Thank you for your prompt and positive response and your eagerness to be of help.

We shall advise Mr. and Mrs. Heller and Mr. and Mrs. Weissman that their requests have been turned over to the Joint Distribution Committee.

With gratitude and kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

Encl.

December 20, 1977

Mr. and Mrs. David Weissman
Rehov Zahal 15/3
Kyryat Yam B
Haifa, Israel

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Weissman:

We have your letter seeking assistance for Mr. and Mrs. Jacob of Bucharest. Our organization is not in a position to be of service in such situations, no matter how worthy the cause. We are, therefore, sending your letter on to the Joint Distribution Committee.

The JDC is the organization which sees to the needs of our people in communities such as Bucharest. Please be assured they will look into the situation and do their utmost to provide aid for your family in their plight.

With kindest greetings and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

December 23, 1977

Mr. and Mrs. Erich Heller
Rehov Hamelhahrevim 144/8
Beer-Sheva, ISRAEL

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Heller:

We have received your letter seeking assistance for your sister and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Armutlisky of Bucharest. Our organization is not in a position to be of service in such situations, no matter how worthy. We are, therefore, sending your letter on to the Joint Distribution Committee.

The JDC is the organization which sees to the needs of our people in communities such as Bucharest. Please be assured they will look into the situation and do their utmost to provide aid for your family in their plight.

With kindest greetings and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

December 23, 1977

Thomas W. Simons, Jr.
Deputy Chief of Mission
Embassy of the United States of America
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Mr. Simons:

It was nice hearing from you and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sharing with me a copy of your article from the yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute. I am delighted to add this to my library and look forward to some quiet time when I may read the article at leisure.

Your kind words about my efforts mean much to me and I am grateful for the warmth of your message.

At the moment I don't have plans for a visit to Romania, but then my calendar changes so quickly it is possible I will find myself in Bucharest in the near future. Be assured I look forward to seeing you again.

With every good wish for a healthy and happy New Year,
I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, Romania

November 29, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Chairman of the Conference of Presidents
of Major American Jewish Organizations
515 Park Avenue
New York City, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Recalling your July meeting with Harry Barnes in Washington, at which I tagged along, I take the liberty of sending an off-print of an article of mine on Jewish history which has just appeared in the Leo Baeck Institute's latest yearbook.

We remain admirers of your good work in the vineyards of better Romanian-American relations, and of course stay involved ourselves in those aspects affected by the issues surrounding Jewish emigration. Two weeks ago I went with Congressman Solarz back to Iasi (his grandmother left from there in 1885), and while I was probably not as affected as he was, it was a pretty near thing.

I realize that Israel has higher priorities than Jewish emigration from Romania at this point, and that you must too, but to the extent you find time to help untangle the bureaucratic knots in which the question seems to be caught in Tel Aviv, you have a very large cheering section here. We are also looking forward to your next visit to Bucharest.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Thomas W. Simons, Jr.".

Thomas W. Simons, Jr.
Deputy Chief of Mission

Thomas Winston Simons, Jr.
Counselor of Embassy of the United States of America

JOHN WEINTRAUB

ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

3223 SMITH STREET, SUITE 209
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77006

TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 713
526-7337

October 27, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler,
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you very much for furnishing me with copies of REFORM JUDAISM,
for the months of March and April of this year.

Under separate cover, I have already forwarded them to a colleague,
and I have been assured by him that they will be sent to Mr. Leonel Castillo,
the new Commissioner of Immigration from Houston.

The articles are brief, concise, and well documented with respect to
the background of Valerin Trifa.

Perhaps the reason why a greater percentage of Romanian Jewry survived
the holocaust is that even Antonescu could not tolerate the barbaric conduct
of Trifa, Hora Simia, etc., and had them deported from Romania during the
early part of the War.

I sincerely appreciate your personal concern with respect to this issue,
and I feel that the mere presence of Trifa in the United States is repugnant
to our concept of freedom and brotherhood.

Sincerely yours,


Johnny Weintraub

JW:ls

3223 Smith Street, # 209
Houston, Texas 77006
December 14, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Several months ago, I wrote to you concerning "Bishop" Trifa, and you kindly forwarded to me copies of the March and April, 1977, editions of your esteemed publication, REFORM JUDAISM.

You may be pleased to know that the publication not only brought^{it} to the attention of members of Reform Congregations, but, also, the copies that you forwarded to me have reached the desk of the Commissioner of Immigration, the Honorable Leonel Castillo, from Houston.

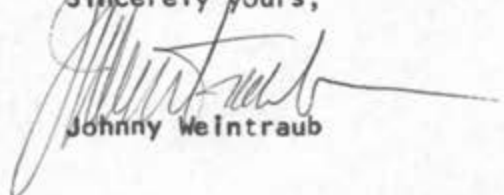
I am well aware that "Bishop" Trifa is on the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches, and that he has tremendous political support and backing from the National Council of Churches.

The General Counsel for the United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, has asked for the names of eyewitnesses. By necessity, any potential witness would have to be at least fifty-five years of age or older, and, undoubtedly, many have passed away, or are presently in old-age homes.

Nonetheless, I would appreciate your forwarding the General Counsel's request to Chief Rabbi Moshe Rosen of Romania, and, likewise, I will write to my relatives in Bucharest.

Once, again, I thank you for your concern for the blessed memory of the little children who were so brutally slaughtered by Trifa in January of 1941.

Sincerely yours,


Johnny Weintraub



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20536

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO

AND REFER TO THIS FILE NO.

CO 1421

DEC 2 1977

Mr. John Weintraub
Attorney at Law
3223 Smith Street
Houston, Texas 77006

Dear Mr. Weintraub:

Thank you for sending, through Mr. Williamson, the issues of Reform Judaism which contain information about Valerian Trifa.

As you know, proceedings have been instituted against Mr. Trifa to revoke his citizenship. If you know of any eyewitnesses to Mr. Trifa's activities in Rumania please contact Martin Mendelsohn, the attorney in charge of all Nazi war criminal prosecutions, at my office in Washington.

Sincerely,

David Crosland
General Counsel



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20536

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO

AND REFER TO THIS FILE NO.

CO 1421

DEC 2 1977

Mr. Peter D. Williamson
Attorney at Law
821 American Building
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear Mr. Williamson:

The Commissioner has asked me to respond to your letter of
November 8, 1977, and to thank you for the enclosures supplied
by Mr. John Weintraub.

The prosecution of alleged Nazi war criminals is now under my
direction and I appreciate your concern in sending the information.

Sincerely,


David Crosland
General Counsel

from the desk of Edith J. Miller

If Schmeer goes OK
if not regret &
ask if ADMS can
Pay respects — at
Hotel —————

ENGELHARD
MINERALS & CHEMICALS CORPORATION

1221 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

MILTON F. ROSENTHAL
CHAIRMAN

(212) 764-3700

October 10, 1977

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am very pleased to invite you to a reception and luncheon in honor of Ion Patan, Vice Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Trade and International Economic Co-operation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on Friday, October 28th, 1977. The reception will commence at 12:30 P. M., with luncheon at 1:00 P. M. at the "21 Club", 21 West 52nd Street, New York City.

yes

I would appreciate it if you would inform me as early as possible whether you will attend.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Milton F. Rosenthal

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Chairman
Conference of Presidents of Major
American Jewish Organizations
515 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

R. S. V. P.
Miss Eileen Shea
(212) 790-5900

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Schneer, Debbie

From

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General
Pata / Reger

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Coel Embony~~

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Note

November 4, 1977

Mr. Alfred H. Moses
Covington & Burling
888 Sixteenth St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Al:

Thank you for your letter of October 4 and the material you were kind enough to enclose. I, too, am delayed in responding to you for this has been a most hectic time for me and will continue to be so for the next few weeks.

The UAHC Biennial, our major assembly when some 3000 representatives of Reform Congregations of the United States and Canada join for five days of meetings, study and inspiration, will convene in San Francisco but a few short weeks from now and as you can imagine I am deeply involved in the pre-Biennial preparations. Once the Convention has ended I will have an opportunity to study the materials you sent.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

COVINGTON & BURLING

888 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

TELEPHONE (202) 452-6000

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

(202) 452-6140

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COUNSEL
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF COUNSEL

TWX: 710 822-0008
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CABLE: COVLING

October 4, 1977

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JOHN T. SAPIENZA
JAMES H. MCGLOTHLIN
ERNEST W. JENNES
STANLEY L. TEMKO
DON V. HARRIS, JR.
WILLIAM STANLEY, JR.
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VIRGINIA G. WATKIN
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WESLEY S. WILLIAMS, JR.
DORIS D. BLAZEK
WILLIAM D. IVERSON

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Chairman
President's Conference of the Major
American Jewish Organizations
515 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Re: Barre Meeting

Dear Alex:

I apologize for the delay in the follow-up to our meeting with Premier Barre. Somehow Yom Kippur always takes a week out of my life. Maybe He will add them back so as to prolong my days.

You had suggested a letter to Barre picking up on our boycott discussion. As you will recall, Barre boasted that France had the only government that insured its citizens against boycott-related losses. In responding, I commented that Coface's requirement that exporters comply with boycott-related certifications and other demands as a condition to obtaining insurance meant that the French Government was not only avoiding a risk of boycott losses but was the only government in the Western world which required its exporters to comply with boycott demands. Barre then took a different tack and referred to U.S. legislation as being similar in purpose to the French administrative decision, to which I responded that our law generally prohibited compliance with boycott-related requests other than those applying to goods and services emanating from Israel.

The exchange was not very illuminating other than to reveal that Barre either felt he could get by with a

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
October 4, 1977
Page Two

thinly disguised subterfuge or did not know how Coface operates and the distinction between such operations and U.S. boycott law.

I am enclosing a few paragraphs which you may want to include in a letter to Barre, assuming you have not already sent him a letter as a follow-up to the meeting.

I intend to carry through on the Roumanian issue which you and I discussed. I greatly appreciate your undertaking to share information with me in this area.

Sincerely yours,



Alfred H. Moses

nd
Encls

P.S. Alex - The enclosed account which I wrote on the boycott saga will, I believe, be of interest to you.

A.H.M.

DRAFT OF INSERT TO LETTER TO PREMIER BARRE

In our meeting we mentioned that the American Jewish community had been heartened by the unanimous approval by the French Parliament of the anti-boycott legislation signed on June 7 but was dismayed by the July 24 decision of your Office making the law inapplicable to commercial operations guaranteed by Coface. As a result of this decision, France is seen in the United States as the one government in the Western World that by official action requires contracting parties to comply with Arab boycott demands, including those which would be clearly illegal under the text of the legislation passed by the French Parliament.

We had hoped that France, with its strong traditions of liberty and protection of individual rights, would join with the United States in opposing the intrusion of Arab boycott demands on domestic business decisions. The anti-boycott law which President Carter signed on July 22 was passed overwhelmingly in both Houses of our Congress and prohibits compliance with a broad range of Arab boycott demands. The only exceptions pertain to certain limited activities by United States business concerns resident in Arab countries and practices of a normal commercial nature that do not involve the active participation by United States businesses in Arab boycott practices.

Although we did not have an opportunity to discuss this matter at length in our meeting with you, the subject did come up, and I wanted you to know how the American Jewish community feels about this important matter and our hope that your government will find a way to resolve this issue consistent with the principles we share.

"I am . . . particularly pleased today to sign into law the 1977 Amendments to the Export Administration Act which will keep foreign boycott practices from intruding directly into American commerce." These words spoken by the President in the Rose Garden on June 22 marked the climax to a unique undertaking. Two groups with widely divergent views, one representing Jewish interests, the other the business community, were able, after three months of intensive negotiations, to agree on specific legislative language which the Administration endorsed and the Congress enacted. The final agreement, which I had the privilege of presenting to the Administration in the White House on April 26, was signed on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the Anti-Defamation League and, for the business community, by the Business Roundtable, an organization comprised of some 170 chief executive officers of the nation's major corporations.

A first-hand account of the final negotiations will put much on the record which has not yet appeared. Even more important, there are lessons from an account of the negotiations and the background to them that may be of value to the American Jewish community and American corporate leaders. Indeed, the experience with the controversial boycott legislation may suggest an approach for resolving other domestic controversies which involve sharply opposed positions of domestic interest groups.

The boycott issue emerged full bloom with the swearing in of the 39th President on January 20 and the convening a few weeks before of the 95th Congress. President Carter, in his memorable television debate with President Ford on October 6, called the Arab boycott "an absolute disgrace" and promised to do "everything I can as President to stop the boycott of American business by Arab countries."

This was in sharp contrast to the position taken by the Ford administration. Even though both the House and Senate had passed bills aimed at curbing the intrusion on American citizens and business by the Arab boycott of Israel, the 94th Congress adjourned just a week before the television debate without enacting anti-boycott legislation. The House bill had passed shortly before the Congress was scheduled to adjourn and, with only a few days left in the session, Senators Abourezk and Tower used a threatened filibuster to block the appointment of Senate conferees. An angry Senator Stevenson, the sponsor of the Senate bill, told the Senate:

"The will of Congress is now being frustrated by a parliamentary ploy aimed at keeping this legislation from being brought to a vote in the Senate. The effort is being supported by the administration."

At the eleventh hour, and after the reported intercession of Max Fisher, the President's long-time friend and Republican fund raiser, word was sent from President Ford to his White House staff to seek agreement on watered-down legislation.

A flurry of late night phone calls ensued as the clock ran down to less than 24 hours to adjournment. A hurried meeting the following morning to test the water on a possible compromise with key boycott congressmen came to naught. The Ford administration's move was too late and too political. The Democrats had a good issue and they knew it. There was no chance they would fritter it away by agreeing to a half measure at the behest of a campaigning Jerry Ford.

Not only were President Carter's campaign words reassuring to supporters of anti-boycott legislation, but the makeup of the 95th Congress, with strong Democratic majorities in both Houses, gave every indication of being hospitable to prompt enactment of the bills left waiting at the altar when the 94th Congress adjourned. The Senate bill had passed by a vote of 67-13, and the House bill received a ringing endorsement of 318 ayes to 63 nays. Moreover, a shadow conference committee had reached a compromise on differences between the two bills along the lines of the stronger House measure. This compromise measure was introduced in the early days of the 95th Congress by Senator Stevenson (S.69), with a stronger bill (S.92) introduced by Senator Proxmire, Chairman of the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, and Senator Williams, a committee member; in the House a companion bill to S.92 (H.R.1561) was introduced the same day by Congressmen Bingham and Rosenthal.

The prevailing optimism of proponents of the legislation failed to take into account the effect of the enormous increase in trade between the United States and the Arab world, in particular Saudi Arabia and the Arab Emirates, as well as the differences which were bound to emerge between campaign oratory and policy implementation by an incoming administration. United States sales to Saudi Arabia and the Arab Emirates for the first two months of 1977 had increased by 42%. If the trend continued, exports to these countries, we were told, would exceed \$4 billion for the year, providing a welcome source of recycled petrodollars. Kuwait, the third largest purchaser of U.S. goods in the Arab world, had more than doubled its purchases of American products in the last two years. Exports to Israel, which as recently as 1974 had exceeded sales to Saudi Arabia, the Arab Emirates and Kuwait, together, were now less than a third of sales to the three Arab countries. U.S. companies active in the Middle East were not slow to react to the potential impact of tough boycott legislation on lucrative trade opportunities.

American industry had been caught unaware, as had the Ford Administration, by the passage of anti-boycott legislation the previous fall, particularly in the House, but it was now geared for battle. An avalanche of industry groups and business lobbyists descended on the newly convened Congress and the new Administration to warn of the catastrophic consequences that would be upon us if the

proposed legislation were enacted. The Petroleum Equipment Suppliers Association predicted a loss in its industry alone of more than 100,000 jobs per year for the next five years, with over \$1.3 billion in potential wages. The major oil companies were also active in opposing legislation, with Mobil Oil Corp. assuming the role of front runner. Other groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce took a less alarmist view. They professed agreement with the principles embodied in the proposed legislation but concluded, not surprisingly, that existing laws and regulations were adequate to combat the restrictive trade practices and discriminatory acts fostered by the boycott. This led Senator Proxmire to remark, "I am puzzled by the position you take. It seems contradictory to believe in principles, but to do nothing." Other groups such as the Emergency Committee for American Trade, though recognizing that the boycott ran counter to ECAT's opposition to boycotts and restrictive trade practices, urged the Congress to go easy lest "harsh" legislation upset the chances for peace in the Middle East.

Vociferous opposition by industry did not go unnoticed either on the Hill or by the new Administration, which was then in the process of seeking to reassure American business it had nothing to fear from the Carter Administration. To prove this the President turned increasingly to business leaders for high profile national assignments.

Irving S. Shapiro, Chairman of the Board of du Pont, was asked to head the President's FBI Committee, and Reginald H. Jones, Chairman of the Board of General Electric Company, was asked to help coordinate cooperation between labor, management and the Government in restraining inflation. Shapiro and Jones also happened to be chairman and co-chairman, respectively, of the Business Roundtable.

Hearings on the Senate and House bills were delayed for several weeks pending the return of Cyrus Vance from his first trip to the Middle East as Secretary of State. Senator Stevenson had agreed to the delay as a courtesy to Vance. Hearings in the Senate did not get under way until February 21, with the Secretary scheduled to testify on February 28.

Representatives of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League appeared jointly before the Senate and House committees on behalf of the three agencies and the other constituent agencies of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council. Maxwell E. Greenberg, Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Anit-Defamation League, gave the lead testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on International Finance on February 21, and I, as Chairman of the Domestic Affairs Commission of the American Jewish Committee, gave the lead testimony before the House International Relations Committee on March 8. Philip Baum, Associate Director of the American Jewish Congress, participated in the Senate

hearing and Paul S. Berger, a Washington attorney and a vice president of the American Jewish Congress, participated in the House hearing.

In the Senate hearing, the three Jewish agencies strongly supported S.92 which made it illegal for a United States person for boycott reasons to refrain from doing business with a boycotted country (Israel), with a company resident in a boycotted country, its nationals, or with a United States person engaged in business in, or with, a boycotted country or which for some other reason was on the Arab blacklist. The bill also made it a crime to furnish boycott-related information, including certificates that goods were not manufactured in Israel ("negative certificates of origin") or to refrain for boycott reasons from employing a United States person on the basis of race, religion, etc.

Greenberg's prepared testimony carefully avoided any mention of what was then common knowledge -- the ADL and the Business Roundtable had for some three weeks been working on a joint statement of principles to serve as a guide in drafting boycott legislation. At the hearing Senator Proxmire made it clear that he, and other members of Congress, would welcome an announcement by the two groups that they had agreed on such a statement. This view was repeated a week later by Secretary Vance in his testimony. He stated, "I have received encouraging reports that the meetings between the Anti-Defamation League and the Business

Roundtable have been constructive. A substantial meeting of minds by these representative groups on a set of principles on which legislation will be based will be a great help to us in our deliberations."

The two groups had been meeting since January 28 and, although the ADL's negotiators initiated some guarded discussions with representatives of the other two Jewish agencies, the Joint Statement of Principles released on March 2 represented for all intents and purposes the work of the ADL alone. The American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress, however, supported the statement, as they understood it, when their representatives testified in the House on March 8.

The Joint Statement endorsed the "refraining from dealing" clauses and prohibitions on furnishing information embodied in S.92 and the companion House bill. In a number of respects, however, it departed from the legislative formulations then before the Congress by providing an exception where a United States person did nothing more than comply with a unilateral selection by another party (including a United States person) of specific persons to be involved in distinct aspects of a transaction as subcontractor, supplier, insurer or the like. The example most frequently used to illustrate the point is that of a truck manufacturer who receives an order for a hundred trucks equipped with x company tires. Can the truck manufacturer comply if x

company's tires have been selected for boycott reasons. The Joint Statement said yes. The statement also sought to extricate from penalty a United States person who could not do business in a boycotting country without violating either United States law or the laws of the foreign country with respect to its activities within the host country. These two exceptions, "unilateral selection" and "compliance with host country law" and a general non-evasion provision designed to guard against the use of special tactics to avoid the strictures of the Act, became the focus of attention for the Congress, the Administration and interested groups. Other provisions of the Joint Statement such as how to deal with foreign subsidiaries, the treatment of letters of credit, and preemption of state boycott laws, all of which seemed important at the time, proved less difficult to apply.

The Joint Statement was formally presented to the Congress on March 8 as part of the House testimony of the three Jewish agencies. My prepared statement which led off the hearing was reviewed and edited in advance by the three agencies and reflected the ADL's understanding of the reach of the Joint Statement. There were gratifying words of approbation from the twenty or so congressmen present, and after some two hours of testimony, the Committee conveniently adjourned in time for lunch without a discordant note.

Despite the enthusiastic reception accorded the Jewish agencies in the Senate and House, all was not well. The Administration was having difficulty getting its act together. The President, for his part, was committed to supporting legislation prohibiting compliance by American business with the so-called secondary and tertiary boycotts of Israel -- i.e., Arab insistence that an American company: (i) not do business in Israel or with Israeli concerns (secondary) or, (ii) with American companies that do business in Israel or with Israeli concerns, etc., (tertiary). The three government departments most directly concerned with the boycott issue, State, Treasury and Commerce, had traditionally opposed legislative expansion in the boycott field, citing foreign policy and business considerations. The Commerce Department's stance had softened somewhat in Elliot Richardson's tenure as secretary in the last year and a half of the Ford administration. Richardson had counseled for support of legislation along the lines of the Stevenson bill in the 94th Congress, but was out-gunned by Simon at Treasury and Dr. Kissinger. The situation had not changed significantly during the first sixty days of the Carter administration. Key positions in State and Commerce were still filled with Ford and Nixon appointees. On a matter this complex, a cabinet officer is forced to rely on deputy assistant secretaries and the like. The complexion of this influential

cadre changes very slowly. Moreover, Commerce's natural constituency, business, very loudly proclaimed the dire consequences that would flow from passage of boycott legislation and the Carter administration was not exactly insensitive to predictions of heightened unemployment and the loss of export sales.

The box in which the Administration found itself was made clear by the testimony of the first representative of the new administration to testify on this issue before the Congress. Secretary Vance, in his Senate appearance on February 28, coupled support for banning boycott-motivated discrimination and secondary and tertiary boycotts with an extended discussion of the difficulties involved in seeking to enforce such principles. He pointed out concessions already obtained through diplomatic means, such as persuading the Saudis to drop negative certificates of origin. Such words as "forthright diplomacy is another way to pursue our efforts, and we have found a forthcoming response" had a familiar ring to boycott watchers. The clear implication of Vance's statement was that if State had its "drothers," it would prefer diplomacy to legislation. When pressed by Senator Stevenson as to whether enactment of the proposed legislation would adversely affect chances for peace in the Middle East, Vance replied, "That would not be helpful, and indeed might be harmful." His answer to Stevenson's question

as to the effect on oil prices was similarly negative. He replied, "No one can predict for the future, but it would not be helpful." It was clear the Administration was not going to follow blindly the Congress' lead. That the Administration was not willing to endorse the bills then being considered by the Congress was made clear by Vance's concluding statement that he and other cabinet members would be happy to make available their experts to work with Congressional staff to formulate "new legislative language on which we can agree."

The next day when Vance appeared before the House International Relations Committee, he was told by Chairman Zablocki that the Committee would welcome Administration suggestions for amendments to H.R.1561, but the committee was not about to scrap a bill it had worked on for more than a year. Vance had been told the same thing by concerned senators the day before and he readily agreed with Zablocki to follow the amendment route. When pressed by Congressman Rosenthal for specific amendments, Vance responded with a limited number of largely technical changes of no real import. What had started out as a bang the day before had ended as a whimper, if only for the moment.

Leaders in the business community were not slow, however, to recognize a kindred spirit in Cyrus Vance and his advisors at State. Successive spokesmen for business

groups continually referred to Secretary Vance's testimony in support of contentions that the proposed legislation was either unnecessary or went too far. Mobil Oil Corp. went a step further. Although a member of the Roundtable's Policy Committee, Mobil refused to endorse the Joint Statement of Principles, suggesting instead that the Business Roundtable and the Anti-Defamation League jointly endorse the principles outlined by Vance in his statements to the Senate and House.

The Roundtable proceeded to press home with the Administration its view as to how the principles in the Joint Statement should be applied. On March 10 Irving Shapiro, its chairman, wrote to Secretary Vance urging that the exception for host law compliance, recognized in the Joint Statement but not clearly delineated, should apply to U.S. companies' business directed "to or within" a boycotting country. In other words, the Congress should except from the prohibitions of the law, boycott-motivated activities by a U.S. company so long as they were required by a foreign country's laws and regulations. This would have covered all exports to Arab countries. Residence in the boycotting country, Shapiro urged, should not be required. This would have reduced the law to a pious exhortation against boycott practices and not much else. Shapiro also urged that the unilateral selection exception in the Joint Statement be applied to permit a U.S. company to make the final designation of a subcontractor, supplier or the like from a list

of acceptable candidates submitted by a boycotting country and that the U.S. company be permitted to prepare the list from which the boycotting country could make the unilateral selection. This would have put U.S. companies in the active boycott stream. Neither condition we were told was acceptable to the ADL, and certainly neither was acceptable to the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress.

In the preface to his letter, Shapiro referred to my testimony before the House on March 8, and implied that as I had not negotiated the Joint Statement, I was not qualified to comment on its meaning. He conveniently omitted mentioning that neither had he, the statement having been negotiated by a battery of lawyers on each side. Mr. Shapiro repeated his criticism a few days later in his testimony before the Senate, which prompted me to write to Shapiro reminding him that my views were the same as those expressed by the ADL's negotiators. Shapiro wrote back, curiously enough, that he had no quarrel with me (although I was the only one he singled out publicly for criticism), only with the ADL negotiators who had an obligation, in his view, to avoid what had happened.

Unfortunately, what had happened was that the Joint Statement of Principles, which each side believed it had negotiated in good faith, proved difficult to apply in statutory language. It is one thing to agree on principles,

another to write legislation, and here is where the agreement foundered, causing Shapiro, as the person who had originally proposed and subsequently championed the cause of the Joint Statement, some anguish. He was obviously in a fighting mood and he made his views known in unvarnished words to the press and others. In accusing the ADL of bad faith in not siding with his interpretation of the Joint Statement, Shapiro did little to advance the spirit of mutual trust needed to work out the problems that remained. Later, when the three Jewish agencies returned to the negotiating table with the Roundtable, one of the conditions of the agencies was that Shapiro stop going public and confine his remarks to negotiating channels.

It was inevitable that the White House would be drawn into the act. Things came to a head the weekend of March 12. The Administration was being pressed by Shapiro and other business spokesmen to endorse the Business Roundtable's interpretation of the Joint Statement. Secretary Kreps was due to testify before the House the following Monday. Commerce had responsibility for administering the Export Administration Act and her testimony was crucial. The Secretary was away for the weekend and a high level decision would have to be made largely in her absence. The testimony which her staff had prepared was unmistakably tilted toward business. When word of this reached Paul Berger on March 12,

he asked the American Jewish Committee's Washington representative, Hyman Bookbinder, to try to arrange a hurried meeting with Stuart Eizenstat, the President's Assistant for Domestic Affairs. Berger and I joined "Bookie," as he is known to all, at the White House that afternoon. Saturday, March 12, was a busy day for Eizenstat. He had already met with Secretary Blumenthal of Treasury before seeing us. An unanswered telephone message from Shapiro was awaiting him when we arrived.

Dispensing with the usual introductory niceties, Eizenstat put before us Shapiro's March 10 letter and asked for our response. Eizenstat's question did not come as a surprise. Knowledge of the letter and its contents was one of the reasons we had requested the meeting. Our group had conferred before the meeting and concluded that we should stick by the unilateral selection exception, so long as there was no pre-selection complicity by the U.S. company to which the selection was addressed. We also determined to support the exception for compliance with host country laws provided it was clear the exception would be limited to U.S. persons resident in a boycotting country.

Eizenstat focused on the same two points and, after a half hour's discussion spaced around a private five minute boycott meeting with Secretary Vance, he was prepared to say that in his view our position was reasonable and

would be supported by the Administration. He was careful to point out, however, that he could not speak for Secretary Kreps, only the President could direct the Secretary, but that he would confer with the Secretary's staff and, if necessary, talk with the Secretary before she testified Monday morning.

In the weeks that followed, the Administration remained faithful to the assurances given by Eizenstat. Secretary Kreps in her testimony on March 14 did not go beyond the limited recommendations made by Secretary Vance in responding to Rosenthal's prodding some two weeks earlier. Later both Vance and Kreps filed additional amendments with the House committee covering unilateral selection and compliance with host country laws. Although somewhat lacking in specificity the amendments did not do violence to the understanding reached with Eizenstat.

The House and Senate committees were now moving rapidly toward agreement on committee mark-ups. In the House, Congressmen Hamilton and Whalen produced a compromise between the principal sponsors of the legislation, Congressmen Bingham, Rosenthal and Solarz and the Administration. This package was approved by the committee on March 31. On April 6 the Senate committee approved somewhat similar amendments to S.69, but not without four days of often acrimonious debate followed by 8 to 7 votes on key amendments. Some committee members acknowledged they had been

persuaded to take a more "moderate" view of the need for legislation at a breakfast meeting conveniently hosted for 16 key senators during the committee's deliberations by Saudi Arabia's Oil Minister _____ Yamani. Supporters of tougher legislation vowed to take the battle to the Senate floor.

Although it was generally felt that the House bill was stronger than the Senate version, the differences were not as great as many perceived. Although they dealt with the issues somewhat differently, both bills provided exceptions for unilateral selection and compliance with host country laws. For example, the House measure on unilateral selection prohibited a United States person from complying with such a selection "if the United States person has actual knowledge that the sole purpose of the designation is to implement the boycott." There was no such purpose or knowledge test in the Senate version but the Senate Bill provided that the exception did not apply if a U.S. person did the selecting. The host country laws exception was somewhat tighter in the Senate version than in the House bill, but both bills gave the President leeway to grant limited exceptions for U.S. persons caught between our law and the laws of a boycotting country.

The Congress adjourned for the Easter recess on April , but interested groups were already making plans

for resuming the battle when the Congress reconvened. Oil company lobbyists were circulating a nine point list entitled "Minimum Changes Required to Permit Continued U.S.-Arab Trade Relations." The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC) was urging its member agencies to support amendments to the Senate bill to bar unilateral selections if it were known that the "primary" purpose of the selection was to implement the boycott.

The Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Emergency Committee for American Trade scheduled a joint meeting in Washington for April 18 at which it would urge some 300 members to lobby against passage of the boycott legislation and at least, water-down the Senate bill. The next day the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) would begin its annual meeting with some 600 delegates from across the country who could be counted upon to work to strengthen the Senate bill. Emotions ran high. The divisiveness in prospect was something neither side wanted.

Some weeks before, the Business Roundtable and the ADL had failed in a second attempt to reconcile their differences. Lawyers for the two groups had met in Washington but were unable to reach agreement on the key issue of unilateral selection. Both sides went away shaking their heads in discouragement.

Wiser heads in the business community knew by mid-April that they could not win politically. The House bill had been reported out of committee 33 to 0 and there was no likelihood under the House's rules that amendments would be accepted on the floor. The situation in the Senate was different. It was expected that floor amendments would be offered on both sides. The Administration let it be known that it would not support any amendments, but the business community was understandably concerned that liberal leanings in the Senate would carry the day for stronger legislation. After all, the boycott could hardly be defended on moral grounds and business' scare tactics and foreign policy arguments were not winning many converts. Realizing this, Irving Shapiro, on April 13, sought the help of Max Kampelman, one of the three ADL representatives who negotiated the Joint Statement. Mr. Shapiro's good judgment in his choice of Kampelman was confirmed by subsequent events. Kampelman, a Washington attorney who had been an assistant to Senator Humphrey when he arrived in the Senate in 1949, had made it clear throughout the negotiations that he favored a compromise in the interest of achieving boycott legislation (which he considered important but largely symbolic) with a minimum of rancor and divisiveness. After Shapiro's call, Kampelman sought out Bookbinder, his friend of thirty years, for help in finding out if a compromise was still possible.

Bookie was enthusiastic about the idea. As he saw it, the issues separating the two sides were not so vital they could not be compromised. Bookbinder was leaving for Israel the next day and that left it up to Berger and me to work with Kampelman to see what could be done.

Shapiro's timing was excellent. Burton Joseph, president of the ADL, had scheduled a meeting for April 15 in New York with representatives of the principal Jewish agencies. Twenty or so persons gathered in a room in the Harmonie Club to hear Joseph report on the consequences to the Jewish community of increased Arab influence in the United States. Boycott legislation per se was not on the agenda. But within an hour or two boycott legislation became the focus of discussion, with the three Washington lawyers, Kampelman, Berger and myself, urging that the time had come to put differences with the Roundtable on the Joint Statement behind us and seek agreement on specific language amending the Senate bill. This, we argued, would avoid a floor fight and put an end to the confrontational posture building up between Jewish groups and the business community. The argument carried the day and, at Joseph's suggestion, the lawyers in the group met separately at lunch to consider possible amendments. Agreement came quickly, and the larger group, which consisted of the presidents and top staff of the major national agencies working on the boycott, sent us

back to Washington to begin negotiations. Four days later, Kampelman, Berger and I sat down in Washington with the Business Roundtable's lawyers to begin negotiations.

The Roundtable brought to the table four lawyers headed by Hans Angermueller, the highly-regarded General Counsel of Citibank. Both sides knew they had to move quickly. While representatives of the two groups were meeting, the House bill passed by a vote of 364 to 43. Senate action was due to follow early in May. The Roundtable's opening salvo called for choosing the Senate bill over the House version, deleting from the unilateral selection exception the restriction on U.S. persons making the selection and adding a clarifying amendment or two to other sections of the bill. For our part, the narrowing of the exception for compliance with host country laws and the strengthening of the bill's non-evasion provision were seen as essential objectives. The way the bill worked, the only U.S. person who could make a boycott-related unilateral selection was a resident of a boycotting country. If the host country laws exception was made sufficiently narrow, the unilateral selection exception would not be so troublesome. Indeed, the unilateral selection exception as it then stood in the Senate bill would have required the Aramco's and the like, resident in the Arab world, to take their business away from U.S. companies. This did not seem to us to be either necessary

or desirable and we agreed to delete the U.S. person restriction in the unilateral selection exception. In return, the Roundtable's representatives agreed to strengthening amendments to the compliance with host country laws exception, and the non-evasion provision, and to add language to make it clearer that the unilateral selection exception only applied in certain restricted circumstances, such as transactions in the normal course of business and to specified suppliers of services performed only within a boycotting country. The negotiations consumed the better part of a week chocked full of boycott activity both at and away from the negotiating table.

Before meeting with the Roundtable's representatives, our group decided to go back to Eizenstat to let the Administration know we were ready to try again for agreement with the Roundtable, this time on amendments to the Senate bill, but to do so, we needed to know where the Administration stood. Eizenstat gave such assurances as he could subject to seeing the final agreement. The Administration had favored such an approach from the beginning. The spectre of the President's having to make a decision on issues dividing proponents of the legislation and the business community haunted the President's aides. This became even clearer a week or so later. The Roundtable's leadership was apparently not content to rely on the ability of its negotiators to

work out a compromise. While the negotiations were in progress, a telegram was sent to the President requesting that he meet with the signers, Shapiro, Reginald H. Jones, Chairman of General Electric, Walter B. Wriston, Chairman of Citicorp, Clifton C. Garvin, Jr., Chairman of Exxon, and George Shultz, President of Bechtel. Shapiro and the others argued that the pending legislation would make U.S. trade with Arab countries so difficult as to be impossible. The President's advisors were urging him not to get in the middle of the controversy. If the President met with the Roundtable's leaders, he would have to meet with proponents of the legislation and this would result in his having to choose between two sides each of which had merit. The telegram remained unanswered.

The next stop for our group was Congress. The real heroes of the boycott struggle were not those of us now tinkering with language refinements, but members of Congress such as Bingham, Proxmire, Rosenthal, Stevenson, Sarbanes and others who with great skill and dedication had persuaded their colleagues that the Arab boycott of Israel had become an American issue involving the freedom of American companies to do business where and with whom they wanted without being required to certify to a long list of obnoxious conditions. Our proposal for renewing talks with the Roundtable was embraced by most congressional proponents of the

legislation, although one or two felt matters of principle were involved that should not be compromised. The general reaction, however, was favorable and we felt free to proceed with the negotiations.

Both sides had their critics. Even within the three Jewish agencies there were those who felt strongly more could be gained by leaving the issues to be resolved in the normal political channels than by attempting to work things out in advance with the Roundtable. One Jewish organization which plays hardball on the Hill with the best found it particularly difficult to think in terms of a compromise. Its representative made it clear, in a meeting on the Hill with a key senator, that he agreed with the senator's preference for fighting it out on the floor. He was prepared then and there to help whip up support for a floor fight. A stormy corridor session outside the senator's office followed and produced a tacit agreement there would be no interference with efforts to work out a compromise as long as things did not drag out to the point where proponents of stronger legislation would be unable to rally their forces in time for an effective campaign on the Senate floor.

The Roundtable was having its troubles, too. Mobil Oil was stirring up trouble with its stridency, putting pressure on the other major oil companies to follow suit in

demonstrating support for "improved U.S.-Arab relations." Rawleigh Warner, Mobil's chairman, was still hard at it when I ran into him by chance at the White House. He was quick to tell me that the Joint Statement was a big mistake. Others shared his view. Dresser Industries ran a double page ad in the Wall Street Journal claiming the boycott legislation would mean the soup kitchen for 500,000 American workers. And as late as April 25, at a Cabinet meeting Treasury's Blumenthal and State's representative (Vance was absent), reported urgent messages of concern from top business leaders. At that time, agreement with the Roundtable was only a day away.

Negotiators for the two groups assembled at the White House on April 26 to deliver the signed agreement to the Administration. Each group, after obtaining concurrence from its policy-makers, was committed to urge adoption of the amendments in the Senate, and thereafter take no action inconsistent with such amendments as they wended their way through the conference committee. Eizenstat, David Rubinstein, his principal assistant on boycott matters, Robert Lipschultz, counsel to the President, and Warren M. Christopher, Undersecretary of State, crowded into the room with the remaining space filled by the negotiators for the two sides. A sigh of relief could be heard from the Administration as the agreement was read even though formalities required the

White House to poll State, Commerce and Treasury for their views. The next day we had the official word that the Administration was on board. Indeed, we are told that if the two groups for some reason found they could not support the agreement, the Administration would adopt it as its own proposal, to which we demurred. If the Roundtable was not going to support the agreement, we did not want to be committed to compromises which the business community would be free to disregard.

This was not an idle threat. The Roundtable's policy committee had yet to bless the agreement. Shapiro, as its chairman, refused to poll its members until he was certain of overwhelming approval. This depended largely on Exxon's vote. For without Exxon, the other oil companies could be tempted to follow Mobil's lead and shy away from an agreement with Jewish groups that was sure to be criticized in the Arab world. For more than 24 hours Exxon's vote remained in doubt. Garvin, its chairman, was on vacation and there was no one at Exxon who would approve the agreement in his absence. Finally, on the night of April 27, Vance and Eizenstat reached Garvin by telephone to tell him of the President's interest in seeing the agreement approved. Garvin was sympathetic but stated that approval by Exxon's Board of Directors was required. All he could promise was that he would recommend approval to the Board. The next day

the Board met and approved the agreement. That clinched it. Telegrams were immediately dispatched to the Roundtable's policy committee signed by Shapiro, Garvin, Wriston, Shultz and John D. deButts, Chairman of AT&T. Only two companies dissented. On Tuesday, May 3, the President was able to announce publicly that agreement had been reached by the two groups.

Things moved quickly. The President, in a public announcement, urged the Senate and the Congress to adopt the agreed upon amendments. Senator Stevenson simultaneously announced that he would support the amendments on the Senate floor. The Senate leadership lost no time in bringing the matter to a vote. The agreed upon amendments were introduced by Senator Heinz and adopted without dissent. In conference, the House acceded to the Senate version and the battle was over.

In a little more than two weeks the Jewish organizations and the Roundtable had achieved something unique -- agreement on legislative language enacted without change by the Congress -- an effort lauded by most, though criticized in part by some, such as Senator Javits, who correctly, but needlessly, pointed out that "none of the Jewish organizations or the representatives of the Roundtable were elected to the United States Senate." He and other members of the Congress objected to some of the specific

compromises required to reach agreement, but nevertheless applauded the result. So did everyone else, the Administration, the business community and the Jewish community. Israel, the object of the boycott, had stayed out of the congressional fray, viewing the matter largely as a domestic issue, but it, too, joined in the celebration with congratulatory telegrams to the three Jewish organizations.

The outcome furnished important lessons for both groups. The business community learned once again that the Congress will not put purely business considerations above matters of principle. But if business is well led, compromises can be effected that preserve essential business considerations without violating matters of principle. The Jewish community learned that the business community was neither monolithic nor omnipotent. It was primarily the large international banks, the oil companies, and petroleum-engineering and related services organizations that felt threatened by the boycott. General Mills, on the other hand, testified in favor of the boycott legislation while other business representatives made it known that their principal concern was that the law be both clear in its application and impose a minimum of reporting for business, already overwhelmed by Government reporting requirements.

The legislation did not accomplish everything sought by either side, but the result kept faith with the

important principles involved without unduly handcuffing American business in its efforts to compete in the Arab world. It is hoped that the good will which emerged from the process will carry through the difficult period to follow as the Department of Commerce wrestles with the issues left by the legislation to be resolved by regulation.

Most important for the Jewish community is the knowledge that on this issue which involved American principles, but affected directly and singly the Jewish community, the Congress and the American people stood firmly by us. Our opponents and the cynical may attribute the result to the "Jewish lobby". However strongly the Jewish community felt about the legislation, there was no professional effort in support of the legislation in any way comparable to the scores of lawyers and other professional lobbyists opposing the legislation on behalf of business interests. Congressional support for the legislation came from members of the Congress who were incensed by Arab intrusions into United States business practices and by the real or potential discrimination which flowed from Arab demands that American business certify to "Israelrein" practices. Predictions of profit and job losses, even where believable, were not enough to sanction our country's knuckling under to the Arab boycott. Perhaps this is the lasting message to be told by those of us who were privileged to participate in the effort which led to passage of the anti-boycott legislation.

April 24, 1978

Mr. and Mrs. Julian Lackner
Rehov Katznelson 117 - Apt. 11
Givataim
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Dear Rodica and Julian:

It was wonderful to hear from you and to learn that things are looking up for you and the family. I am delighted to know that Julian has a job in Tel-Aviv and that Rodica is completing a special course for English teachers. It is my fond hope that life will be good and fulfilling in the days and years ahead.

Rhea joins me in sending fondest regards to you. We hope you had a beautiful Pesach and hope during one of our visits to Israel we will see you again.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Tel-Aviv 12th April 1978

Dear Mr Schindler,

I dare to write you a few lines, for this time more hopeful and with better news.

Of course, that every beginning for everybody is very difficult. We passed through a very difficult and sad period, but now, sun shines in our street too.

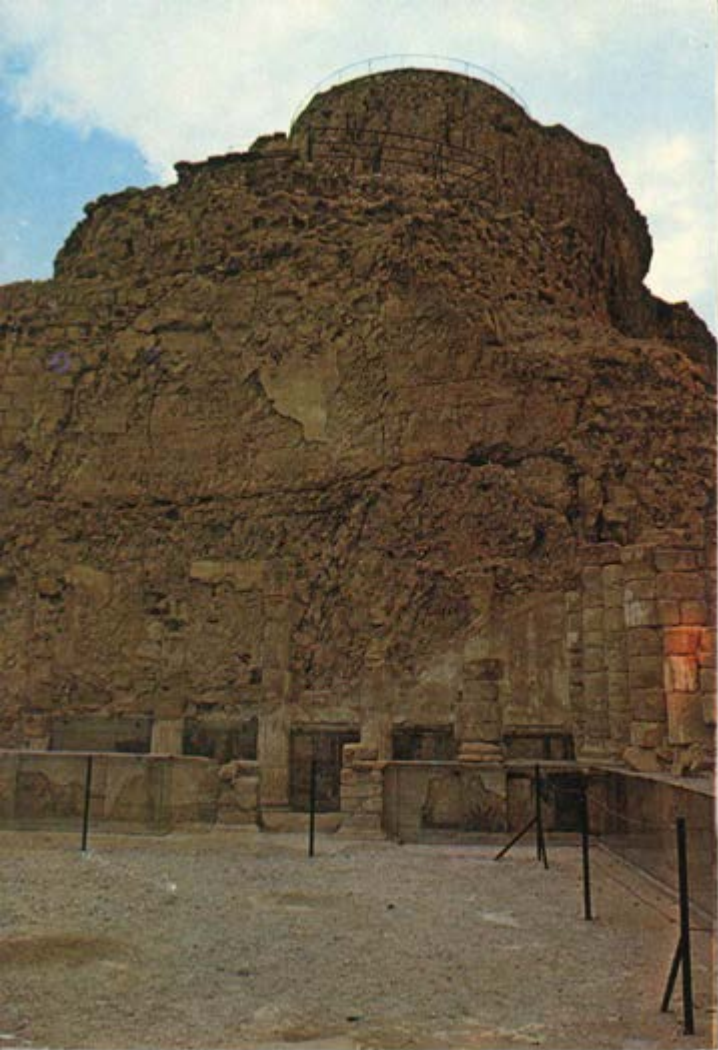
My husband found a good job in Tel Aviv industrial area and I am going to finish a special course for English teachers.

For two years, we have rented an apartment in Ghivataim and we hope to be able to fulfil ourselves in peace and freedom.

We send you and your family our best wishes.

At the same time, we wish you much success in your noble activity for the Jewish cause. Yours sincerely, Liora Lackner

Religious
recipients
some writing
wife I'll see them
one day
best from
photo



Sincere wishes
of happiness for
Desak holidays.
Our warmest regards
to your wonderful wife
and your family
Yours sincerely
Rodica & Julian
Lackner

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December 15, 1977

Mrs. Ilana Glanz
17 B, Haschachar Street
Herzliya, Israel

Dear Mrs. Glanz:

Your letter seeking my assistance in regard to your aunt and uncle in Bucharest has reached me desk. I hasten to advise that I have written to Rabbi Rosen and have asked him to do his utmost to perform a mitzvah in behalf of Elizabetha and Joseph Pulver. It is my fond hope that he will reconsider your request and arrange to have warm food sent to them from the community kitchen.

Should I hear from him I will be in contact with you. In turn, I would ask that you let me know if Rabbi Rosen contacts you directly. I would very much wish to know what transpires.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

December 15, 1977

Rabbi Moshe Rosen
Jewish Federation
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Rabbi Rosen:

Mrs. Ilana Glanz of Herzliya, Israel, has written to seek my intervention and assistance in regard to the most difficult personal plight of her aunt and uncle, Elizabetha and Joseph Pulver of 51, Theophile St., Bucharest. In an effort to perform what I believe to be a mitzvah, I take the liberty of writing directly to you in behalf of the Pulver family.

Mrs. Pulver is 78 years of age and completely paralyzed. Mr. Pulver is 80 and does not work. He attends to the constant needs of his wife. A bachelor son supports them, giving over half of his income to his parents, and he also resides at home with his parents. He attends to his mother's needs during the evening hours.

Due to these circumstances, no member of the family is able to get to the community kitchen run by the Jewish community and there is no one to see that they receive warm meals. The son cannot leave his place of employment to obtain the food and bring it to his parents. The father cannot leave Mrs. Pulver alone at any time.

Mrs. Glanz advises that she discussed the possibility of having warm food sent to her aunt and uncle, if not daily, at least several times during the week. She also offered to reimburse the Jewish community for this act of kindness. Evidently it was felt that since there is a son to look after this aged couple it would not be possible to have food sent to them.

It is my fond hope that some arrangements can be made to provide warm meals for the Pulvers. Such a simple act of concern and caring would serve to ease their plight and sustain them during this most difficult time of their lives. Please do give special consideration to what appears to me to be a most needy and worthy family. Should you wish to contact Mrs. Glanz, she resides at 17 B, Hashachar Street, Herzliya, Israel.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Ilana Glanz
17B, Hashachar St.
Herzliya, ISRAEL

Rabbi A. Schindler
Conf. of Presidents of Major
American Jewish Organizations
515 Park Avenue, New York
N.Y. 10022 U S A

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

During a brief visit to Rumania with my husband, we visited my aunt & uncle, Elizabetha & Joseph Pulver of 51, Theophile St., Bucharest, Rumania.

To our dismay we discovered, that my aunt who is an old lady of 78, is completely paralyzed. Her husband, is an old man of 80. They have a son who is a bachelor, who supports them, lives with them and gives them half of his income (incidentally, owing to his attention and care, this young man in his mid-thirties is unable to get married and start a family of his own).

In Bucharest there is a community kitchen run by the Jewish community headed by Rabbi Rosen. Since my nephew is at work all day, and my uncle is so old, there is nobody who can cook a warm meal for the old couple. Needless to point out, that a paralyzed old lady requires constant attention and nursing, which she gets from her son and her husband. However, she does not get any warm food at all.

We approached Rabbi Rosen and asked that warm food be sent to this old couple - if not daily, then at least several times a week. We pointed out that we would be more than willing to pay for it from Israel (as we are already helping my aunt and uncle financially). Rabbi Rosen's reply was negative. He refused to have food sent from the centre since he claimed that they have a son who can look after them.

Having pointed out the unhappy circumstances of this old couple and their devoted son, we would be most obliged if you could contact Rabbi Rosen personally, and try to use your influence on him and persuade him that food should be sent to this couple, under these circumstances, when, as I wish to point out again, expense would be fully covered by us.

This is a cry from our heart - all we ask for is traditional Jewish help for the aged and the infirm - as we say in Hebrew - אל תשליכנו לעת זקנה.

Thankin g you for your attention and future assistance, and hoping your intervention will bear fruit, I remain,

Yours gratefully,

Ilana Glanz

*Write Rosen
making inquiry
in re this.
A.S.*

*Tell them
I am.*

December 12, 1977

Mr. and Mrs. Julian Lackner
Mercaz Klita
Rehov Hashomer 47/2833
Tiberias, Israel

Dear Rodica and Julian:

Rhea and I were thrilled to receive your Hanukah greetings. Having you write in joy and freedom from Israel means much to us. We pray that all goes well with you and the entire family.

May the beauty and light of the festival of Hanukah continue to enrich and enhance your lives in the days and years ahead.

With warmest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Mankeem

'75. In Israel

declared nil to
do with Israel
& left.

?s merit of

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
The Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Ave.
New York N.Y. 10021

12/OCT/77

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

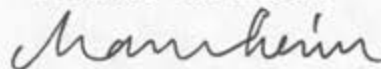
For the last couple of months I have been waiting good news regarding my family's case, but nothing has happened up to now. That is why I decided to write you again.

I would like to make sure that my previous letter has reached you personally. I hope it would not bother you if I am enclosing a copy of my previous letter , mailed to you at the end of June '77.

Perhaps , I am acting a little bit childishly, but I have to point out , once more, that I do trust your kindness and your authority.

With my best regards

Andrei Mannheim

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Mannheim', written in dark ink.

Andrei Mannheim

3430 Ellendale #117

Montreal Que H3S 1W9

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Ave New York

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I am allowing myself to draw your attention and to steal part of your precious time, because your help could possibly be the only chance in solving my problem.

That is why I shall try to describe, as briefly as I can, the reason that made me call on your help.

My name is Andrei Mannheim, I am landed immigrant in Canada, (since Febr. 1977) native of Romania. I was able to leave legally Romania after my marriage with a foreign citizen. I would like to draw your attention on the tragic situation that my family (father, mother, sister, still in Romania) is living, without the opportunity to leave the country and join me.

Facts are as follows :

My father, George Mannheim, had the bad luck to work, a long time ago, for a Romanian state foreign trade company, called "Romano-Export". During the years 1962-1964, a whole chain of political trials took place, framed against the Jews working within all foreign trade companies. They ended with sentencing for different prison terms without any real charge. ("enemies of the country") MY father , like his other colleagues, was sentenced as a political prisoner, charged completely groundless for "undermining the national economy".

And, believe me Sir, anybody knew without any doubt that the trial was an abusive frame-up and its aim was "to clean" these trade companies of Jews. Only one year and a half after my father was arrested and kept imprisoned, without any proof, the "so-called" trial took place. The charge against these defendants was that 10-12 years before (1950-1952) they had signed economic contracts unfavorable to the Romanian state, deliberately to sap the communist regime. At the end of the trial (which finally took place in mid-summer 1974) my father was sentenced to 5 years of jail. He had the lightest sentence of all the people who were involved in this purge. He refused to plea guilty and was imprisoned as an innocent man.

But our family's calvary had not ended even after his release. My family was and is living ceaselessly under the harrasment of the police and security; our furniture, household appliances, most of the personal belonging have been confiscated by the security for paying off part of the "damage" claimed by the state. What really hurts, is the fact that everybody knows the whole trial was an antisemitic set-up, (under the reign of the former Romanian Minister of security) but innocent people is continuing, even today, to endure its consequences.

From his actual salary, the state is taking a major part (one third) for repaying something of the claimed "damage". My father is on parol, and he is not allowed to leave the country.

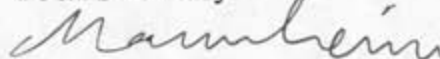
During the trial, the state claimed an imaginary "damage" of 100,000 \$, brought about by my father and 5 other colleagues, all together. Beeing 53 years old, my father could pay back one third of his salary, only until his retirement. That is why , all the amount of money the state could recover means approx. 100000 romanian Lei (5000 \$)

What I really would like, is to see my family released, beeing allowed to leave the country. They can no longer endure the results of such a shameful frame-up. Their phone is tapped,

their mail is censored, their moral is very low, their nerves are reaching a dangerous deadline. They are in a very bad shape, they have to fear any word, they have to lower their heads. I am calling on your help, to try intercede in my family's favour, by different diplomatic ways. I hope the Romanian authorities will take into consideration your appeal; they must set to rights a barbaric deed. Perhaps you can meet my strongest wish, to have my family released without bearing any longer such an unjust burden.

I wrote you, being deeply concerned about the unfortunate plight they are facing. I know your human rights defence role, and I am relying on your influence and authority to persuade the Romanian authorities to let my family leave. My father has no right to apply himself for a passport because of his "debt". That is why I hope that a strong appeal from abroad, could determine them to allow my father to leave, disregarding his debt. I am faithful that you will take into consideration my letter; if you need some more information, please feel free to call upon me. I must confess that your likely help is the only chance left to save the almost wrecked existence of my family.

Yours truly



Andrei Mannheim

P.S. I think it's meaningless to ask you that any possible attempts to be discreet and out of publicity. I fear, in case you can not help them, the possible persecution of the security.

Data about my family:

Father: Gh. Mannheim born the 9/sept/1924 at Poeni-Cluj (Romania)

Mather: Ernesta Mannheim, Born the 7/march/1927 at Bucharest (Romania)

Sister: Anne-Marie Mannheim, born the 5/aug/1954 at Bucharest

Their address; Alea Podul Giurgiului No.1
 Bloc 14 Apt 213 sector 5
 Bucharest Romania

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

July 15, 1977

Mrs. Edith J. Miller
The Union Of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

Dear Mrs. Miller,

Thank you for your note conveying Mr. Mannheim's letter to
Rabbi Schindler and your reply of July 7, 1977 .

I am making inquiries as to how we can help, and will let
you know as soon as I have something.

Sincerely,

Eliezer Gavrieli

*Relie -
Add to list -*

July 7, 1977

Mr. Andrei Mannheim
3430 Ellendale #117
Montreal H3S 1W9
Canada

Dear Mr. Mannheim:

Your recent letter in regard to your family in Romania reached our office during Rabbi Schindler's absence from the country. He is overseas and not due to return until late July.

Be assured your letter will be brought to his attention and I am confident he will do his utmost to be of aid to you and your family in your desire to be reunited.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

bcc: Mr. Eli Gavf~~le~~ele

Dear Sir,

I'm allowing myself to draw your attention and to steal part of your precious time, because your help, could possibly be, the only chance in solving my problem. That is why I'll try to describe as briefly as I can, the reason that made me call on your help.

My name is Andrei Mannheim; I am a landed immigrant in Canada (for 5 months), native of Romania. I was able to leave Romania legally, after my marriage with a foreigner. I would like to draw your attention on the tragic situation that my family (father, mother, sister still in Romania) is living, without the opportunity to leave the country and join me. Facts are as follows: My father G. Mannheim, had the bad luck to work, a long time ago, for a Romanian foreign trade state company. During the years 1962-1964, in Romania, a whole chain of political trials took place, framed against the Jews working within these companies. They ended with sentencing for different prison terms, of people without any real charge (enemies of the people). My father, like his other colleagues, was sentenced as political prisoner charged completely groundless for "undermining the national economy". And, believe me, anybody knew without any doubt that the trial was an abusive frame-up and its aim was "to clean" these trade companies of Jews. Only one year and a half after my father was arrested and kept imprisoned without any proof, the "so called" trial took place. The charges against these defendants were that 10-12 years before (1950-1952) they had signed economic contracts unfavorable to the Romanian state, deliberately to sap the communist regime. At the end of the trial (which finally took place in mid-summer 1974) my father was sentenced to 5 years

of jail. He had the lightest-sentence of all 8 people who were involved in this purge. My father has refused to plead guilty and has been imprisoned as an innocent man. But our family's calvary had not ended even after his release. My family was living ceaselessly under the harassment of the police and security, our furniture and household appliances have been confiscated by the security for paying-off part of the "damage" claimed by the state. What really hurts, is the fact that everybody knows the whole trial was an antisemitic set-up (under the reign of the former Romanian minister of security) but innocent people are continuing, even now, to endure its consequences. From his actual salary, the state is taking a major part (one third) for paying-off part of the claimed "damage". He is on parole and is not allowed to leave the country. During the trial, the state claimed an imaginary "damage" of \$100,000 brought about by my father and five other colleagues, together. Being 52 year old, my father could pay one-third of his salary only until his retirement. So, all the amount of money the Romanian state could recover, means 100,000 Romanian LEI. (approx. \$ 5,000) What I really would like, is to see my family being allowed to leave the country. They can no longer endure the results of such a shameful frame-up. Their phone is tapped, their mail is censored, their moral is very low, their nerves are reaching a dangerous deadline. They have to fear any word, they have to lower their heads, they are in very bad shape. I'm calling on your help to try to intercede in my family's favour by different ways. I hope the Romanian authorities will take into consideration your appeal;

they have to set to rights - a barbaric deed, Perhaps you can meet my strongest wish to have my family released and they will not bear anymore such a unjust burden. I wrote you, beeing deeply concerned about the unfortunate plight they are facing. I am relying on your influence and authority to try to persuede the Romanian authorities to let my family leave. My father has no right to apply himself for a passport because of his "debt". That is why I hope that a strong appeal from your level could determine them to call my father, and allow him to leave, disregarding his debt. I am faithful you will take into consideration my letter and if you need some more information, please feel free to call upon me. I must confess you that your likely help could be the only chance to save them.

Yours very truly

Chamberlain

P.S. I think it's meaningless to ask you that your possible attempts to be discreet and out of publicity. I fear, in case you can not help them, the possible persecution of the security. Maybe, during one of your trips to Romania you could discuss this problem with somebody at the highest level there. I hope you can help me.

Montreal June 27/77

4

Data about my family:

- a. Father: Gheorghe Mannheim, born at
Poeni-Cluj (Romania) 9-09-1924
- b. Mother: Ernesta Mannheim born at
Bucharest 7-03-1927
- c. Sister: Anne-Marie Mannheim born at
Bucharest 5-08-1955

Their address:

STR. PODUL GIURGIULUI 1
BLOC 14 APT. 213
SECTOR 5 BUCHAREST ROMANIA

September 19, 1977

Dear Rodica & Julian:

Shalom! What a wonderful and special joy it is for me to be writing to you in Israel. I hope you are well settled by now and that all is well with you and your family.

Rhea joins me in expressing our fond good wishes to you and all your loved ones for the New Year. May it be a year blessed with good health, happiness and much fulfillment as you begin your lives anew in Israel.

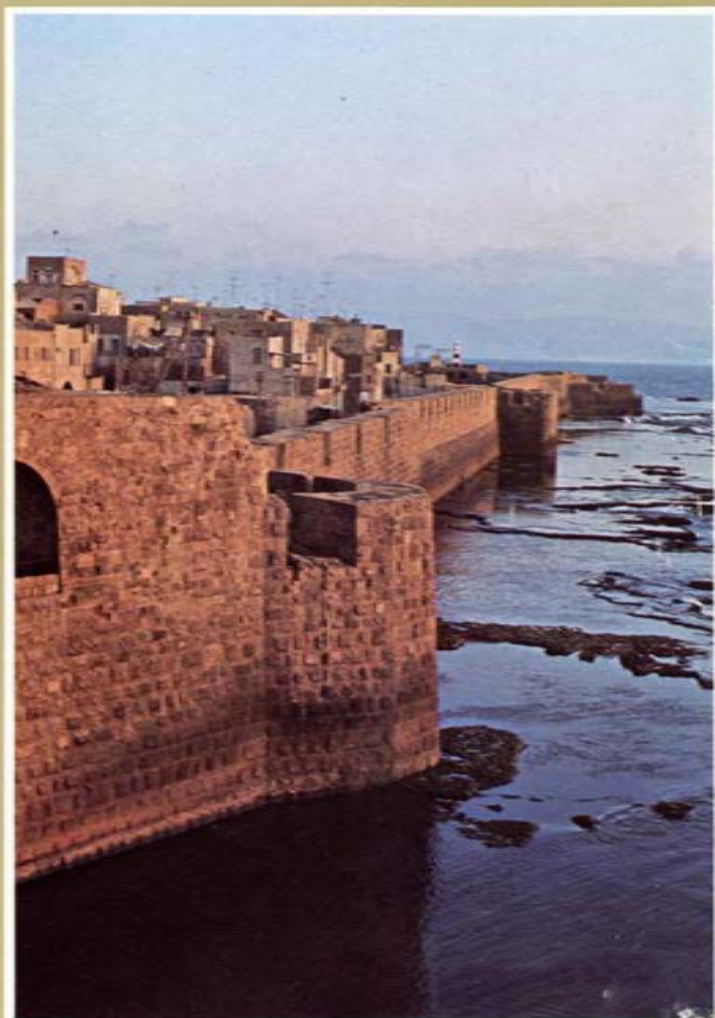
With fondest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Mr. and Mrs. Julian Lackner
Mercaz Klita
Rehov Hashomer 47/283
Tiberias, Israel

לשנה טובה תכתבו • A HAPPY NEW YEAR



Acre - The Sea Wall

עבר. החומה החדשה



ANY ISRAEL PUBLICATION BY LION THE PRINTER ©
SERIES No. 25 2848 - PRINTED IN ISRAEL

by the ocean
of the New Year,
not wish you and
your family a sincere
with our thanks for everything
that you have done for us.
With love,
Yours sincerely,
Rodica & Julian
Lackner

לשנה טובה תכתבו
שנת בריאות, שפע ושלווה

A very special
New Year's wish
that is sent with much
affection
May the New Year
be for you a year of
true perfection

כעק מעשה-אדם עולות חומות העיר עכו מתוך הים

Like a man-made cliff, the City Walls of Acre
rise out of the sea

September 7, 1977

Mr. Raymond Vianu
c/o Mrs. Ana Cogan
Rehov Haprachim 11/22
Romema
Haifa, Israel

Dear Raymond:

What a joy it was to receive your letter from Israel! My heart is filled to overflowing to know that you, Irene and your sons have been reunited with your family and loved ones. My efforts in your behalf were a service of the heart and I thank God that all our prayers were answered and I rejoice with you.

As we approach the New Year I want to express my warm good wishes to you and your family. May the New Year and the new beginning for the Vianu family be blessed with good, health, happiness, fulfillment and much joy.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations
New York, N.Y.

Tel Aviv, August 23, 1977

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

This letter comes to you from one whose family you have greatly helped to achieve a long sought and fought for reunion with their relatives in Israel: the Vianu family, formerly of Bucharest, Romania.

After eight long and frustrating years of unsuccessful attempts to be granted permission to leave Romania, and only two or three weeks after having received three written negative answers in a row, on July 2 we were informed by the Passport Office people that we were free to leave. On August 9 we flew to Israel to start a new life and were reunited with our many relatives there.

I am well aware that this happy outcome was made possible thanks only to the efforts of people of goodwill like yourself, who by their intercession forced the Romanian authorities to give way and to cease their senseless refusal to grant my family and myself the basic human right of being free to choose the place we want to live in.

Now that we are in a free country and at liberty to express my feelings without constraint, I find it difficult to put into words the gratitude my wife, my two sons, and myself feel for you and for those others who have played a decisive part in making us free people. Please rest assured that we shall never forget what you have done for us.

Gratefully yours,
Raymond Vianu

Ms. Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
New York, N.Y.

Tel Aviv, August 21, 1977

Dear Ms. Miller:

Before anything else I would like to thank you most sincerely for your kind letter of July 11 addressed to Mrs. Anna Logan concerning our case, the Vianu family case.

Since August 9 we are in Israel, reunited with our relatives, thanks to the efforts of wonderful people like Rabbi Schindler.

I know I should have written sooner, but we were all in a daze at the sudden and unexpected release from bondage, and it took us a little time to get used to our new environment. I hope you will understand and will forgive us for having let so much time elapse before writing to you.

Yours very sincerely,
Raymond Vianu

Ana Cogan
Rh.Haprachim 11/22, Romema,
Haifa, Israel.

Haifa, 20.7.1977

Hold for Zohie

Ms.Edith J.Miller,
Assistant to the President,
Union of American Hebrew Congregations,
838 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N.Y.10021
U. S. A.

Dear Ms.Miller,

I was deeply touched by your warm letter in which you told us the good news about the Vianu family. Indeed, the fact that they will be shortly arriving to Israel was confirmed to us by the Vianus themselves, who called us, informing us that they have received their passports. We are eagerly awaiting their arrival here, in Israel, during the next few weeks.

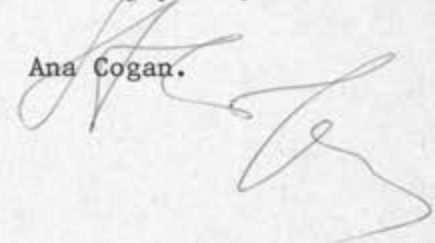
After their struggle of 9 years, the Vianus, as well as ourselves, are in such a turmoil now, that it is difficult to sort out where does the happiness begin, and where begins the fear that something may happen to stop them during the very last minutes. We pray to see them already in Israel, in the midst of the family.

Dear Ms.Miller, on our behalf and on the behalf of the Vianu, would you, please, convey our deepest thanks to Rabbi Alexander Schindler for his help. We are profoundly indebted to him also for making us feel that we were not alone in need and sorrow: his kind attention made us feel that we were heard and being cared for.

Thank you. And may our Lord bless you in all your noble efforts to help people in need, as you did with us.

Sincerely yours,

Ana Cogan.



*See Letter
from Media*

July 11, 1977

Mrs. Ana Cogan
Rehov Haprachim 11/22
Romema
Haifa, Israel

Dear Mrs. Cogan:

Your recent letter to Rabbi Schindler has just been received, during his absence from the country. I am, therefore, taking the liberty of responding in his behalf.

Rabbi Schindler was in contact with the Romanian authorities in June in regard to a few families in Romania seeking to be reunited with dear ones in Israel or the United States. Among the families about whom he made inquiry was the Vianu family. Just a few days ago a response was received from the Romanian Embassy in Washington and they advised Rabbi Schindler that "Raymond Vianu with his wife and two children were permitted to leave for Israel." I pray that this is so and that by this time the Vianu's are indeed already in Israel. Please do let us know by return mail if you have heard from them and just what their status is at this time. Rabbi Schindler will be very eager to hear from you.

With every good wish and kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

See Eli Gornick

Ana Cogan,
Rh.Haprachim 11/22, Romema,
Haifa, Israel.
Tel.04 - 25-40-47.

To the Conference of Presidents of Major
Jewish Organizations,
515 Park Avenue, N.Y.10022

For the Attention of Rabbi Alexander Schindler

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

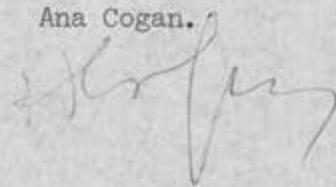
I am writing to you on behalf of my sister, Dr.Sophie Wilhelm, 75 years old,
Her only daughter, Irene Vianu and her family are for eight years fighting to
get out of Romania. I am enclosing a copy of the letter Raymond Vianu, the son-
in-law of my sister asked me to send to the USA Congress; the original of this
letter was smuggled from Romania at great risks. It is a long letter, but please,
do read it. It is worth while.

Thank you very much for your attention, and if you think that you could help
the Vianu family - and I am sure you will be deeply touched by their tragedy,
please do help them!

GOD BLESS YOU!

Ana Cogan.

*Per N. M. NICOLAE
they were granted
permission to leave*



The Editor,
Newsweek,
Newsweek Building
444 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

14 June, 1977

Dear Sir:

God bless President Carter for his stand on human rights
everywhere in the world.

I am 75, I live in Israel alone and have been waiting
for nearly 8 years that my daughter, Irene Vianu, her
husband and their two sons be allowed to leave Romania
and join me here. Their passport applications have been
turned down about 17 times since 1969, the last time in
May 1977, on the eve of the Belgrade meeting on security
and cooperation in Europe. My daughter has several times
been denied even a tourist visa to visit me.

I do hope the democratic West will keep insisting that
all parties to the Helsinki Agreement, Romania included,
comply in deeds not only in words with its human rights
provisions.

Dr. Sophia Wilhelm-Calmunovic

Bat Yam (Israel)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

c/o ANA COGAN, Rt. HAPRACHIM 11/22, HAIFA, ISRAEL.

The Honorable Dante Fascell,
Chairman, Congress Committee on Security
and Co-operation in Europe, United States Congress,
Washington, D.C.

Bucharest, May 29, 1977

Dear Sir:

Having heard of your active concern in the question of human rights and of your work in monitoring the implementation of the provisions of Basket III of the Helsinki Agreement, I submit to you my case and that of my family in the hope that you may help us.

My name is Raymond Vianu, I am a Romanian citizen and I live with my wife, Irene, and our two sons, Victor Dan and Alexandru, in Bucharest, Romania.. For a number of years I was a member of the Romanian diplomatic service; between 1951 and 1957 I served as First secretary to the Romanian Legation in London, where our sons were born, and from 1957 to early 1960 in the same capacity to the Romanian Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York. In January 1961 I was separated from the diplomatic service, the reason I was given being that I had relatives abroad. Since then I have held several minor jobs and now I do translation work for a building research institute in Bucharest.

By the end of 1969 my wife and I had come to feel that we wished to spend the rest of our lives in Israel and thus, in December 1969 we applied for passports for us and the boys. A little later my wife's mother, Dr. Sophie Wilhelm-Calmanovici, also applied for a passport. She filed her application later than us because of some red-tape difficulty with her birth certificate. Towards the end of 1970 she was issued the passport and left for Israel, confident that we would follow her soon. However, this was not to be. Months went by and our application remained unanswered despite our repeated inquiries. It took the authorities no less than 15 months to reach a decision and on March 25, 1971 we received a slip of paper with one sentence only: "We inform you that your application for permission to leave for Israel has been submitted to the Commission for Passports and Visas which decided to reject it". Just these cold, impersonal words. No explanation, no attempt to justify a denial of a family's basic right to decide freely where they wanted to live.

However, having once made up our minds, we did not accept this refusal as final and other petitions and interviews at the Passport Office followed. The only result was another slip of paper, dated July 25, 1972, which said: "With reference to your petition of 21 April, 1972 addressed to the Commission for Passports and Visas we inform you that your case is definitely filed and disposed of."

Then we were told that only a new application, i.e. new forms to be filed, a new set of birth certificates and marriage certificates, etc. would be taken into consideration. So, in April 1974 we did apply again. Only, this time the procedure had been "improved" in contrast with 1969, we had to produce an attestation from our respective places of work confirming that during the preceding three years we had had no contact with, or knowledge of, classified documents. We got the attestations, but to do so we had to inform our employers of our intention to emigrate. As a result my wife, who was then working as a journalist for an economic review, lost her job. The press being held to be an important component of the "ideological front", a person who wishes to leave the country for whatever reason is deemed unfit to be trusted any longer. So, when my wife asked for that attestation she was refused at first and was told that as she had access to western newspapers, which were not normally available to ordinary citizens, she was deemed to do classified work!! However, they told her, if she would tender her resignation, they would give her the attestation. Having no choice, she did so and was duly handed the document stating that she hadn't worked with classified materials, which of course had been the case all along.

/...

the loss of her job, the impossibility of finding another one - since her training and experience made her suited for jobs that entailed contact with English-speaking and French-speaking foreigners, and since a would-be emigrant is once and for all barred from such contacts -, and the long separation from her mother, whom she dearly loves, caused my wife to suffer a nervous breakdown, as a result of which she was forced to retire on a small disability pension.

Another reason for her anxiety, and mine no less, is the lack of prospects for our children here and their understandable feeling of frustration. Indeed, a third of their lives to this day - they were 14 and 12 respectively when we made our application in 1969, and are 22 and 20 now - was spent in nerve-racking disappointment at seeing their parents and themselves prevented, year after year, from settling in the country of their choice and from joining relatives and close friends there. Also, having applied for permission to leave Romania, they are for ever branded and their prospects of getting a job according to their real abilities are bleak, to say the least.

Our second application met with the same stubborn refusal. On Oct. 31, 1974 we received the rejection slip, and on January 3, 1975, after several appeals and interviews we got this: "With reference to your petition of November 29, 1974 addressed to the Commission for passports and visas we inform you that your appeal has not been approved. Your case has been filed and may not be reconsidered."

Countless further appeals and aggravating interviews with officials of the Passport Office were of no avail and elicited no explanation for these repeated refusals on the part of the Romanian authorities. Separate appeals addressed to the country's President and to his wife by myself and by my mother-in-law from Israel proved as futile as our other attempts and were not even acknowledged.

In 1976 we decided to make a third attempt. In the meantime the procedure had been perfected further with a view of making passport applications even more difficult and disagreeable.

One cannot any longer apply directly for permission to leave the country by filling the application form and handing it to the Passport Office. Now one had to fill in a preliminary form with a few basic data and stating the desire to leave the country for good. This is not a proper application, but just an application to receive the proper application form! This done, one begins a first period of waiting, of waiting to be summoned before a panel of "inquisitors" at the District People's Council in order to be put on the carpet for wishing to leave. Not before is this formality complied with and the panel's affirmative point of view received at the Passport Office is one entitled to receive the application form proper.

This first period of waiting may last as long as the authorities wish it to last. They may even tell one that the panel at the People's Council has advised against one's applying and then one just cannot file an application; such a case does not count as an unsolved case. It is a non-case.

In our case we had to wait from July 27 to October 26, 1976 before being allowed to apply for the third time. Another 6 months followed and in April 1977 we were informed by word of mouth (they wouldn't give it in writing) that our application had once again been rejected. This time the official deigned to explain that the reason for this decision was that my wife and myself and our sons constitute a family so that our plea for family reunification does not hold water and we have no valid reason for leaving Romania. If, however, my mother-in-law wished to be near us, she ought to be the one to join us here. In other words she should part with her sister, her nephews and her other relatives in Israel and leave the country she considers to be hers. It took really deep thinking for the Romanian authorities to come up with this after almost eight years.

/...

in a letter recently sent to a friend in Bucharest and not meant for her daughter's eyes, my wife's mother, now 75, wrote these sad words:

"I feel very old... My health is ruined and I am very down-hearted. I am very tired but I go on working, how else could I live? I must confess that loneliness drives me to despair... True, I have good neighbours. When they go shopping they sometimes buy things for me too. They also help me put drops in my eyes as I cannot do it myself... The only thing that keeps me going are my patients. There are not many, but I am glad when somebody enters my house... I would so much like to have my children with me here... What a stupid fate! Why should they not be permitted to come to their mother and grandmother, not even for a visit? Is this to be my life, or rather the end of my life, far from my family? I do wish they would come..."

"I wish you would come" she keeps repeating in all her letters to us, although she well knows that no one is paying heed to her and we cannot do anything for her, and my wife is not even allowed to visit her. Incredible as it may sound, when my wife applied in March 1975 for a tourist visa so that she might visit her mother, even this was turned down, although both our sons and myself were to have stayed behind in Romania, hostage-like.

This then is the case of the Vianu family who for almost eight years are denied permission to leave Romania in order to be reunited with their relatives in Israel.

When the International Pact for civil and political rights was ratified by the Romanian state and when the President of the country put his signature on the Helsinki Agreement our hopes soared. But we were just being naive, though we should have known better, as we found out only too soon straight from the horse's mouth: when we mentioned the provision of these documents concerning the free movement of persons, the stony-faced official at the Passport Office looked bored, shrugged and replied disdainfully that for "them" they meant nothing at all, which as you can see was and is only too true.

Along these long years of unsuccessful struggle we have exhausted all possible avenues of lawful action available to Romanian citizens wishing to secure permission to emigrate. We have appealed to every level of authority, beginning with the local militia section and ending with the President of the country, all to no avail. Judging from other similar cases, it appears that our only hope lies in securing the assistance of some influential persons or organizations from abroad. This is why I have turned to you, aware of your broad-mindedness and militancy on issues of human rights, and wondering whether you may find it possible to help us in our plight.

However, for reasons of self-preservation, please do not mention this letter as having come from me, since the Romanian authorities would get nasty about it. Actually, any of a number of relatives and friends of ours in the U.S., Canada, England, Switzerland, to say nothing of Israel, might have gotten in touch with you on our behalf.

Please accept the expression of our gratitude for whatever you will feel inclined to do for us.

Respectfully yours, Raymond Vianu

P.S. Should the Romanian authorities inform you, through whatever channel, that they have granted us exit visas and passports, please to NOT take their word for it unless you hear from us directly from Israel. I know of more than one case when Romanian embassies have given false assurances that passports had been issued to persons who nevertheless continued to wait for months if not years.

PERSONAL DATA

1. Raymond Vianu, b. Jan. 25, 1925, Bucharest. Address: 3, Boteanu St., Bucharest, Romania
2. Irene Vianu, b. May 4, 1928, Bucharest.
3. Victor Dan, b. 24 April, 1955, London, 3rd year student of informatics.
3. Alexandru, b. 20 Aug., 1957, London.
5. Sophie Wilhelm-Calmanovici, 75, gynecologist, Address: 7 Simtat Hatzipornim, Bat-Iam, Israel, c/o Ana Cogan (her sister) Rh. Haprachim 11/22, Romema, Haifa, Israel.

March 21, 1977

Mr. Cyrus Gilbert Abbe
14 West 90th Street
New York, N.Y. 10024

Dear Mr. Abbe:

Many thanks for letting me know that you had a letter from Rodica Lackner. I was overjoyed to learn that she and the family were spared their lives. Possessions can be replaced and while it is sad that some were destroyed, I do thank God that the family is safe.

I assure you I will continue to do everything in my power to aid the Lackners. They are a wonderful young family and they would be an asset to Israel. I am determined to see them obtain exit visas.

Rabbi Rosen of Bucharest will be in this country on April 11th to seek aid from the American community for Romanian Jewish community. While disaster relief is uppermost in his mind, I will see what I can do about Rodica and Julian. Undoubtedly, I will have occasion to see the Romanian Ambassador during the period of Rabbi Rosen's visit and I will once again take up the situation of the Lackners.

With appreciation to you for keeping me informed and with kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

*Merton K. Kletter
Reckor Ha Shalom
4/2/83
Jehana Israel*

14 West 90th Street
New York, New York 10024
March 14, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I just received a brief letter from Rodica Lackner. Although her home and her parents' home were damaged and many of their possessions destroyed by the earthquake, they are all alive. Rodica advises that there is nothing new regarding her case. Her husband just lost his job, and she continues working in order to support him and their child. Rodica sends regards to you and your family and requests any help you can give her.

Sincerely yours,



Cyrus Gilbert Abbe

Home telephone: (212) 362-0560

Office telephone: (212) 644-7000

cyrus abbe, friend of lackner's called....

he heard from a usually reliable source who has family in romania that people who have been turned down for visas in the oast have been called in and are getting exit permits... they need the apartments -- also supposedly the jewish agency is paying romania to get these jews out -- so money and apartments are being provided.....hope you can check this out and if indeed true perhaps can get lackners on the list...

February 10, 1977

His Excellency, The Romanian Ambassador
to the United States, Nicolae M. Nicolae
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ambassador Nicolae:

I've just returned from an extended trip to the west coast and found quite a bit of correspondence awaiting me which deals with some of the people we discussed at our last meeting. I would like to bring you up-to-date.

A brother of Marcel Struminger indicated that Marcel had applied for an exit visa as late as September, 1976. You will recall you advised me that he was considered a "non-case" because a recent request was not in his file. I am assured that he is most eager to be reunited with his brothers here in the United States. I would appreciate your checking into this matter.

I was also advised that as of last week Rodica and Julian Lackner and their child had not received exit visas. While I can appreciate that these things do take time, I would be grateful if you could let me know the status of their request. You had noted they were being granted permission to emigrate to Israel, I do hope this has not changed in any way.

With appreciation for your usual kind consideration and with warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Freeminger filed
Sept. Application
Met Nicolas -
In. - Thanks
he renewed
but this is not
true - told
Nicolas - -

201-545-9082
(H)

201-828-0230
(O)

from the desk of Edith J. Miller

2/7/77

Mr. Sturminger of N.J. called - a second brother of the Romanian Sturminger - his brother applied in September for an exit visa - he has not renounced his wish to emigrate.....The caller had occasion to be with Amb. Nicolae Friday and spoke, Nicolae told him you had discussed brother and that his people thought he had changed his mind...Mr. S. assured him he had not, that he wishes to be reunited with his family in U.S. - also notes difficult to re-apply, and perhaps a word from you to Nicolae will be of help in getting brother here...

h) 201- 545-9082

o) 201-828-0230

Wile Nicolai

Lactans

OK for statement

7/11 Feb 8

Nicola

2/2

Abbe will keep us posted -
if he hears - thinks Rodica
hesitant on phone. fears it may
be problem w re passport -
but we'll watch.

14 West 90th Street
New York, N.Y. 10024
January 31, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

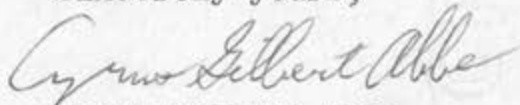
Dear Rabbi Schindler:

As I mentioned to Mrs. Schindler last week on the telephone, I called Mrs. Rodica Lackner in Bucharest after Mr. Nash Aussenberg had informed me your secretary told him the Lackners were free to leave Rumania. Rodica told me over the phone that there was no change in her status. She asked me if I had spoken with Andrei Gal (215-332-0872) to whom she had given a letter about six weeks ago to deliver to me. She also expressed her thanks to you for the letter she had received from you. I have enclosed a copy of the letter Rodica gave Andrei Gal to give me.

I met Rodica and her husband when I was in Bucharest in September and have written on her behalf to numerous Senators and Congressmen, as well as to the State Department and others, in an attempt to assist her in receiving permission to leave Rumania. In September Rodica gave me a letter, a copy of which both in the original handwriting and in a typed version is also enclosed. At the bottom of the typed version is Rodica's telephone number. If you have any questions, you may want to phone her at her home in Bucharest (311760). I suggest calling her about 11:00 p.m. New York time.

If I can give you any additional information or be of any assistance, please do not hesitate to call me at my office (644-7000) during the day or at my home in the evening (362-0560). I hope we can help Rodica and her family to leave Rumania.

Sincerely yours,


Cyrus Gilbert Abbe

January 27, 1977

His Excellency, The Romanian Ambassador to
the United States, Nicolae M. Nicolae
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ambassador Nicolae:

It was good seeing you again and I am delighted we had an opportunity to chat. I was heartened by our meeting and, needless to note, very happy to learn that Mr. and Mrs. Lackner and their child had been granted permission to emigrate to Israel.

Your intervention in behalf of the Lackners and others has been most helpful and I am grateful for your interest and concern.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

3/7/77
my with Nicolae

To EM

Date M

Time 12

A.M.
P.M.

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Nash

of

Area Code
& Exchange

874-0236

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
RETURNED YOUR CALL			

Message

Lecturer - Julian

from last yr.

Report on adulteration of ore

A note - on trial

needed as a

witness - -

Operator

8 5000 - could leave.

February 28 , 1977

Mr. and Mrs. Julian Lackner
Str. Schitul Maicilor 14
Sector 6
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Rodica and Julian;

I was, of course, deeply distressed to learn that the information I had received about your exit visas was incorrect and that a further delay has been imposed upon you. Even before I received your recent letter to me this information was shared with me by Mr. Cyrus Abbe and I want you to know that I immediately made further inquiry in your behalf.

As of this date I have not had a further response but I want to assure you that I shall continue to do my utmost in your behalf.

Rhea joins me in sending warmest regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Dear Mr. Schindler,

I was deeply touched and impressed
by the fact that you are so much
interested and active in our case.

Thank you very much for it.
Some people told me that you had been
told that our problem was completely
settled. I am very sorry that I must
tell you that you were misinformed.
Nothing was settled with us, we have
no concrete result.

On the contrary, my husband was
implied in the second dossier now, because
here, the authorities want to justify
themselves why they postponed so much
the solving of our case.

On the 18th of January it was one year
since our passports were stopped.

We ask you very much, if it is not
too difficult for you to have another
contact with the Romanian ambassador
to see what is the mystery of this
misinformation.
Here, the authorities in charge with our

case promise all the time but they
don't keep their word.

We should be very grateful to you if you
could do something for us.

Many thanks in anticipation.

We wish you happy holidays for Xmas.
Our best regards to your charming wife.

We remain yours sincerely

Rodica & Julian Lackner.

14 West 90th Street
New York, N.Y. 10024
February 7, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Since my letter to you dated January 31, 1977, I have received a letter from Rodica Lackner, a copy of which is enclosed. Although she thanks us very much for our concern and efforts on her behalf, she says, "Unfortunately, the results are not to be seen."

If I can be of any help, please do not hesitate to call me at my office (644-7000) during the day or at my home in the evening (362-0560). As mentioned in my previous letter, if you want, you can phone Rodica in Bucharest at her home (311760). I suggest calling her about 11:00 p.m. New York time.

Sincerely yours,

Cyrus Gilbert Abbe
Cyrus Gilbert Abbe

Enclosure

Called
2/11/77
re Nicolas

Our dear friend,

Being the first letter on this year, I with my family want to wish you again much happiness, health and luck along the whole year.

I want to hope that you have already received my season greetings.

Today in the morning when I've heard your voice I was very excited. Thank you very much for your interest shown in our case. At the same time, please, thank you very much to Roder Shindler. I've received an illustrated post-card from him. Unfortunately, the results are not to be seen.

The two diseases are now to the Pharmacy and no solution, no solving is given to them.

In the letter, which I received
from Mr. Green, I think that's
a misunderstanding, because not
Israel's visa is the trouble. We
have it. Our passports are
stopped because my husband's
checking is not finished yet.
On the 18th of January it was
one year since then they have
stopped us.

I suffer very much that our
"illness" is so long because morally
and nervously speaking, we are
completely finished.
My father had an INFARCT and
he is not so well so that we
have a lot of problems upon
our shoulders.

Julian transmits you his best
wishes and asks you to continue
perseverently your work concerning
our case.

As a matter of fact, no person
from the list which I gave you

succeeded in doing anything up
to now.

But we must not lose our hopes.

Please, transmit our best wishes
and thanks to Mr. Sash, who
is a true and kind friend.

If you have some news for
us, let us know them.

Once again thank you very
much for everything you are
doing for us.

We remain, yours sincerely
Rodica & Julian

January 27, 1977

Mr. and Mrs. Milton Roth
82-10 Penelope Avenue
Middle Village, N.Y. 11379

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Roth:

As you know your plea in behalf of Rodica and Julian Leckner was brought to my attention by Rabbi Zlotowitz. I have been pursuing their request for an exit visa from Romania and have just been advised that their visas have been granted. If they have not already departed, they will very soon be on their way to a new life in Israel.

I know that you will be as happy as I was to learn of this wonderful development.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

January 26, 1977

Mr. and Mrs. Julian Lackner
Str. Schitul Mahcilor 14
Sector 6
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Rodica and Julian:

While I have not been in contact with you for some time, I have not forgotten your plea for assistance in obtaining exit visas so you might emigrate to Israel with you child. I have been pursuing your request and at a meeting with the Romanian Ambassador to the United States today I had the encouraging news that visas are to be granted. I was delighted with this development, as I know you must be.

I want to wish you well. May you find great happiness and fulfillment in Israel. A lovely family such as yours will be a great asset to Israel. May you be blessed with a beautiful life there.

With every good wish and warmest regards, in which Mrs. Schindler joins me, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

DEC. 1976

Dear Cyrus,

I have this occasion to write you
some lines and I hope sincerely, this
time to receive them. You will have a
surprise because very soon you hear a
well-known voice - of Andrei Gall, who
will leave Romania for the States - tomorrow.

First of all, thank you very much for
everything what you have done for me
and my friends. All of us are deeply
impressed by the interest you show for
our problems. Unfortunately, up to now,
nothing was done for anybody. But, on
the other hand, it's obvious that
some impulses from abroad are
welcome. Personally, I had the pleasure
of speaking with Mr. Nash too. He is
also a fine person and gave me some
precious information and advice. I explained
him our situation on large and he
promised me he would phone you from
his voyage. I and Julian consulted with
him concerning the aspect of receiving
or not a telephone call from your friend.
Mr. Nash explained us that we have
nothing to lose. We gave him all the
details concerning this problem.
I spoke with Andrei many problems and as

soon as possible he would send you these lines
and would phone you. Our case is now
in a dossier at Magistracy and we don't
know how long it will last the legal
proceedings. On the 18th of January it's
a year since our passports were stopped.
It's useless to tell you in what nervous
tension we are all the time.

Last month, we had another misfortune,
my father suffered a heart attack
(INFARCT) and was hospitalized at once.
We hope that he will recover in two or
three months.

As you see, all the time, we have all
sorts of problems. Our only delight is our
daughter Gene, who is really very sweet.

I want once again to thank you very
much for your kindness and enthusiasm.
At the same time, thank you for the
tooth-paste which you sent us with Mr.
Nash. He was also very, very kind with us.
I and Julian wish you sincere greetings
for Hanuka and a Happy New Year.
Now, I want to present you other details
concerning our friends. When you left us
you had in your hands a list of several
persons who have difficulties in their
emigration.

If you remember the case of family Liber
they were told that were refused their
emigration for the reason that both of them

Let their parents here, in Romania. They were told that in such conditions, they have no chance to leave. Maybe it's possible to do something for them.

About Vlad - Andrei will tell you everything what you want to know more.

Concerning Liane, her father received your kind letter and thanks you very much. I translated it to him. We answered to Dr. Landau and Andrei will speak with her. Now, Liane is in Israel for two months and if it is necessary she remains there longer or she will come to the States if something like an operation could be done for her.

I wrote her address from Israel to Mrs. Landau and I write it once again for you.

DR. ABRAHAM KLIPPER

DANAF-GAN

REHOV. MEGADIN 14/4 TEL. 73-6338.

We trust you, we hope that you will do something for all of us.

Julian transmits you his best wishes and he desires sincerely to have the occasion to see each other in a near future. Just now, Carol and Michaela are in my office and they send you their best regards.

We remain yours sincerely
Lodica and Julian

SEPT. 1976

Dear Sir,

My name is Rodica Lackner and my husband's name is Iulian Lackner. I am a teacher of English and my husband is a mechanical engineer. We have a daughter of two years and 6 months.

Last September, we decided to leave Romania for Israel together with my parents.

We deposed our acts and in three months we received a positive answer that we were permitted to go. So that we finished with our jobs, we sold the majority of things in our house and we prepared the necessary acts to get our passports. Just on the day, when we went to take them out, the respective authorities announced to us that our passports were stopped.

The reasons were absurd and full of anti-Semitism because up to God the angels eat you.

My husband was very humiliated, insulted and for nine months we are waiting our case to be solved.

For six months both I and my husband were completely jobless because nobody engaged us in our situation. Now, we are working temporarily for the Federation.

We are young people who want to establish in Israel. It's a pity that we shall reach there so disgusted and with all our powers lost during this period of real miseries.

The Romanian authorities proved a total disinterest concerning the solving of our case. For example, my husband was accused from cruelty that he had a false diploma. As a matter of fact he has graduated Polytechnics in Bucharest, but to check his diploma it lasted one month and a half.

All our memories remained without any answer.

Please help us if it is possible. We'll be grateful to you.

Thank you very much

Rodica & Iulian
Lackner

Our address is: Rodica & Iulian Lackner
Str. Schitul Maicilor 14
Sector 6
Bucharest, Rumania

Tel. 311760 (Home)
315732 (Mother's)
141924 (Office)

Dear Sir,

My name is Rodica Lackner
and my husband's name is Julian
Lackner. I am a teacher of English
and my husband is a mechanical
engineer. We have a daughter of
two years and 6 months.

Last September, we decided to leave
Romania for Israel together with my
parents.

We deposited our acts and in three
months we received a positive answer
that we were permitted to go. So that
we finished with our jobs, we sold
the majority of things in our house and
we prepared the necessary acts to get our
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passports were stopped.

The reasons were absurd and full of
antisemitism. Because up to God the
angels eat you.

My husband was very humiliated,
insulted and for nine months we
are waiting our case to be solved.

For six months both I and my husband
were completely jobless because nobody engaged

...us in our situation. Now, we are working
temporarily for the Federation.
We are young people who want to establish
in Israel. It is a pity that we shall
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real miseries.

The Romanian authorities proved a
total disinterest concerning the solving
of our case. For example my husband
was accused from cruelty that he
had a false diploma. As a matter
of fact he has graduated Polytechnics
in Bucharest, but to check his
Diploma it lasted one month and
a half.

All our memories remained without any
answer.

Please help us if it is possible. We'll
be grateful to you.

Thank you very much
Rodica & Julian
Lackner

Our address is: RODICA & JULIAN LACKNER
STR. SCHITUL MARILOR 14
SECTOR 6 - BUCHAREST

June 6, 1977

Mr. Tidhar Joseph
Zohar Detergent Factory
Kibbutz Dalia, ISRAEL

Dear Mr. Tidhar:

Mazal tov, Mazal tov! Your letter was a source of joy and gladness. I was thrilled to learn that Susana and Andrei have been reunited with the family in Israel. It is news such as this which heartens and strengthens me in my work for the Jewish people.

May your family be blessed with many, many happy years together in an Israel at peace.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Tel-Aviv Office:
10 Carlebach St.,
P.O.Box 20213
Phone 03.265705
Cable Add: "DALIAZOHAR"
Telex: 033.557 "ZOHARDAL"

Great



זוהר דליה ZOHAR DETERGENT FACTORY ביח'ר לסבון ודטרגנטים

Kibbutz Dalia (Israel) Phone 04.993244

קבוץ דליה, דאר דליה, סל. 04.993244

18920

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President,
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue,
New York

18920

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

We take pleasure in advising you that following a period of over two years of forcible separation, the Stoica family is finally reunited.

In our happiness we are grateful to all those who helped us through our ordeal. There is no doubt whatever in our minds as to the vital part of your intervention on our behalf with the Rumanian authorities.

While seeing the child's happiness of having a family again, we pray to God for your health and happiness.

Thanking you again, we remain,

Sincerely yours,

Tidhar Joseph

Tidhar Joseph,

Stoica

Stoica Vladimir,

Susana

Stoica Susana

TEL AVIV
May 14, 1977

pp

Tel-Aviv Office :
10 Carlebach St.,
P.O.Box 20213
Phone 03.265705
Cable Add: "DALIAZOHAR"
Telex: 033.557 "ZOHARDAL"



ZOHAR DETERGENT FACTORY **זוהר דליה** **ביח'ר לסבון ודטרגנטים**

Kibbutz Dalia (Israel) Phone 04-991216
18920

קבוץ דליה, דאר דליה, טל. 04-991216

18920

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

We want to thank you very much for your efforts in freeing our nephew and wife from Rumania. We apologize for not writing to you up to now, but we fully realize the huge amount of activities you must be engaged in and did not want to add anything to it.

However, we feel we have reached a point when we have to inform you of the developments. Immediately after your departure from Rumania, my wife was summoned by the Bucharest's People's Council and advised that this body gives its approval for her emmigration to Israel. Shortly then after the Passport Department asked her to apply for a reexamination of her case and pay the respective fee. According to Rumanian system it seems to us all that the ball started to roll. However, few days ago my wife was summoned again to the same place (at the Bucharest People's Council) and the officials tried again to persuade her to renounce. Failing that they were anxious to know if she informed me about the developments.

Needless to say that such harassments seriously affected my wife's shalky health condition. On top of that, she was informed that she could no longer continue at the same place of employment, this further adding to the stress.

Knowing the Rumanian system from inside, these events are obvious signs trying to see if the source of pressure applied up to now, is still interested in my wife's fate.

In case of passivity, the whole process is to start all over again with doubtful results.

Yours faithfully

Joseph Tidhar

Joseph Tidhar Stoica Vladimir

Susana Stoica

Horvath

Dear Mr. Schindler,

I, undersigned STOICA SUSANA, born GERSON, mother of a five years old boy - STOICA ANDREI,

I beg you to be so kind to help us in solving our problem of bringing together our family, because my husband is living now in Israel.

My husband is gone to Israel a year and a half ago after a study trip of three months in England. Now all the necessary formalities related to his unusual way of leaving for Israel are ended, more then a half year ago, everything what was needed, after his trial, was payed, and in concordance with Decree no. 185/1976 his punishment with jail was pardoned. (I have also the Decree that certifies this thing.) He payed his renunciation to Romanian citizenship on 3rd August 1975, and from October 1975 he has the Israelian citizenship.

I am a jew, and I asked to go to Israel, making all the necessary formalities two times: on 8th August 1975 and on 25th March 1976. For theese I have six negatives, and all the audiences (about thirty) and memoires (about twenty) are useless, because every time they are giving the same negative answer.

Thank you very much for your help, and I hope that with your help it will come the day when my son won't cry for his father.

Please excuse me for my English.

With many thanks, your faithful,

Stical

Bucharest 15th November 1976

November 15, 1976

Mr. Joseph Tidhar
Kibbutz Dalia
Tel Yokneam 244
Israel

Dear Mr. Tidhar:

Your most recent letter was received on the eve of Rabbi Schindler's departure for meetings out of the country. He does, however, have your letter and I want to assure you he will do his utmost to be of aid in regard to your niece Susana Stoica.

These matters, regretfully, do take time and we will be in touch with you when we have something to report.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President



זוהר ביחיר לדטרגנטים
ZOHAR DETERGENT FACTORY

קבוצ דליה, דאר דליה טלפון יקנעם 244 TEL YOKNEAM (ISRAEL) DALIA KIBUTZ
משרד תל-אביב: רח' קרליבך 10-ת.ד. 20213-טלפון 35705-TEL. 20213-P.O.B. 10-CARLEBACH STR. OFFICE-TEL-
AVIV

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York

October 3, 1976.
Kibbutz Daliah

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I take the liberty of writing to you again in the case of my niece, Susana Stoica who is currently kept apart from her husband by the Rumanian authorities.

Some last minute developments prompted me to disturb you again with my troubles.

As I mentioned to you, up to now, the Rumanian authorities turned down Susana's applications for an exit visa to Israel giving as an excuse the fact that her husband has been convicted in absentia by a Rumanian tribunal and pressed her to ask her husband to request to be pardoned as a condition of letting her go. Not even few days passed after the Rumanian authorities were in the possession of the said request that my niece was summoned up and told that she can not leave Rumania unless the pardon is favourably solved. Fortunately, from other reasons, the Rumanian State Council issued a general decree of pardon, favourably affecting Susana's husband. With her husband pardoned, Susana hoped, as she was promised, that she would be allowed to join her husband in Israel.

This time, the same people told her that her file was irrevocably closed, that she would better divorce her husband as she is never going to leave Rumania unless (the same unless) her husband's citizenship situation shall not be favourably solved by the . . .
. . . Rumanian authorities . (Her husband, Vladimir Stoica, renounced his Rumanian citizenship more than a year ago).

So that is how the Rumanian authorities understand to close the vicious circle and destroy human beings. The Rumanian authorities apply as a State policy the old hoodmen practice of torturing the wife and children to punish the husband. Most unfortunately, Susana's health has seriously deteriorated during all her predicament and I do not know how much her weak heart would be able to take.

That is why I abuse of your understanding and beg you to apply the strongest possible pressure on the Rumanian authorities to end this inhuman practice of taking hostages and save my niece.

To David
Please advise
10/3

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Kindly accept my apologies for this long letter.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Tidhar

Joseph Tidhar



זוהר ביח"ר לדטרגנטים
ZOHAR DETERGENT FACTORY

קבוצת דליה, דאר דליה טלפון יקנעם 244 TEL YOKNEAM
משרד תל-אביב: דח' קרליבך 10-ת.ד. 20213-טלפון 35705-TEL. 20213
TEL-AVIV OFFICE: CARLEBACH STR. 10-P.O.B. 20213

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York

October 3, 1976.
Kibbutz Daliah

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I take the liberty of writing to you again in the case of my niece, Susana Stoica who is currently kept apart from her husband by the Rumanian authorities.

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Sincerely yours,

Joseph Tidhar

Joseph Tidhar



זוהר ביח"ר לדטרגנטים
ZOHAR DETERGENT FACTORY

קבוצת דליה, דאר דליה טלפון יקנעם 244 YOKNEAM (ISRAEL) DALIA KIBUTZ
משרד תל-אביב: רח' קרליבך 10-ת.ד. 20213 - טלפון 35705 - 20213 P.O.B. 20213 - CARLEBACH STR. 10 - TEL-AVIV OFFICE

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
President,
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York

November 7, 1976.

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I feel I have to appologize for abusing of your kindness by addressing to you once again in the case of my niece, Susana Stoica.

Apart from the disperation caused by a rapidly deteriorating psychological and health condition of my beloved Susana, a brief notice which appeared in Israeli press on the invitation passed to you by the Rumanian authorities for a second trip to Bucharest, made me overcome my "rationally" imposed patience.

I beg you to let me know if there is any hope of pressing the Rumanian authorities in observing their declared policy of free Jewish emigration to Israel.

We are turning to you for help in a most critical situation and beg you to pardon our disperation and disorientation. We would obey with gratitude any suggestion coming from you as to the course of action to be taken to reunite Susana's family in Israel (such as people or organizations to be contacted, etc.).

Thanking you for your kind attention, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Tidhar

Joseph Tidhar.



זֶהָר בִּיחִיר לְדֶטֶרְגֶנְטִים
ZOHAR DETERGENT FACTORY

KIBUTZ DALIA (ISRAEL) TEL YOKNEAM 244 קבוץ דליה, דאר דליה טלפון יקנעם
TEL-AVIV OFFICE : CARLEBACH STR. 10-P.O.B. 20213-TEL. 35705 טלפון 20213-ת.ד. 10-קרליבך רח' משרד תל-אביב:

Rav A. Schindler.
President
New York,
U.S.A.

August 14, 1976.

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I, the undersigned JOSEPH TIDHAR, founding member of kibutz Dalia (1935) have learned from a notice published by the " Ha Aretz " that you are to head a delegation going to Rumania in order to support the aliya to Israel.

Over one and a half years now, my nephew, SUSANA STOICA and her 5 years son ANDREI are suffering by being separated from her husband and father VLADIMIR STOICA who came to Israel directly from a scholarship in England.

VLADIMIR STOICA finished the ulpan, settled in Israel and is currently employed by an Israeli export orientated company. He is in touch with our aliya institutions but, up to now, all the efforts to reunite his family failed.

Through our organizations we have learned of the difficult situation of my nephew whose applications for an exit visa were turned down by the Rumanian authorities.

On your trip to Rumania, kindly help us in this critical humanitarian situation.

We pray that your blessed efforts prove successful.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Tidhar

Joseph Tidhar.

Personal data :

Address : SUSANA STOICA
Sos. Colentina 8, B5, Scara II,
etaj 9, ap. 83,
Bucharest,
RUMANIA

Profession : Computer Engineer.

August 17, 1976

Mr. Joseph Tidhar
Zohar Detergent Factory
Kibutz Dalia
Israel

Dear Mr. Tidhar:

I hasten to inform you that Rabbi Schindler has been called away from his desk and will not be back in the office until next week. Your letter of August 14th has been received and will be brought to the rabbi's attention upon his return. I am sure he will be in contact with you as soon as possible.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially,

Cheryl Sortor
President's Office

August 26, 1976

Mr. Joseph Tidhar
Zohar Detergent Factory
Kibbutz Dalia
Israel

Dear Mr. Tidhar:

Regretfully, your letter of August 14th reached my office while I was in Romania and thus I was unable to make any personal appeal in the case of Susana Stoica. I want to assure you, however, that I will do my utmost in this case to seek the reuniting of the Stoica family.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler