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

Series H: United Jewish Appeal, 1945-1995. Subseries 2: Correspondence, 1947-1982.

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## HOTEL DE FRANCE

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PRIVATE

not for publication

30th January 1959

Dear Friend,

I am writing this letter aboard the Orient Express, travelling from Bucharest to Vienna. The journey takes two nights and a day, and each trip brings hundreds of Jews.

Thousands of Jews are leaving each month. This is big. No one has any idea where it will end - but the stark fact is that there are at least a quarter million of Jews in Rumania and right now they are permitted to leave. I do not know, nor does anyone, how long this permission will continue. There are some who say that the entire Jewish population will be able to take advantage of the opportunity to emigrate. There are others who warn that the movement may be cut off as suddenly as it began.

As far as the Jews are concerned, they want to go. This I heard on all sides, wherever I went - in the synagogues, in the Yiddish Theater, in the streets of the Jewish quarter. Scores of thousands, perhaps as many as 100,000, have registered for emigration. And registration continues, so that the list keeps growing.

The exodus involves the entire country, not just the capital city of Bucharest - and embraces whole families and all trades and professions. It involves people whose relatives left for Israel eight years ago, when there was also a large movement, and who have been separated all these years. It also involves people who have no relatives in Israel. It might have started as a reunion-of-families program, but seems to have gone beyond that.

You must understand the mood of the people. They are tense, nervous, fearful, distraught. When a man registers to emigrate, he loses his job immediately. This is a terrible thing in a controlled economy where there is no free labor market, and a man simply cannot go and look for another job. He has the great worry of maintaining his family until their departure. The time interval between registration and final exit is unknown to him. It may be weeks or months. Meanwhile, he must eat.

When his official permission arrives, it is accompanied by a long list of documents he must procure for clearance before the final laissez-passer is given him. Obtaining these documents costs a great deal of money and necessitates running from one bureau to another in a nerve-wracking merry-go-round. He is given a very short time - just a few days, between 6 and 12, in most cases - to accomplish all this.

If he does not succeed, he is lost - for he has no job and no citizenship. He cannot live.

Money represents a real problem. On state-controlled salaries no one saves anything. The cost of all the documents for a family very often runs more than a full year's salary. There is only one way. Jews are selling their private possessions, and the market for such sales is not holding up too well, since it is being flooded with merchandise.

If you had walked with me through the streets of the Jewish quarter, you would have seen lists posted on the front of buildings, offering for sale furniture, bedding, radios, lamps, clothing. There are places called consignment stores, where the seller brings his property and leaves it, hoping it will be sold. I stood before the windows of the largest such shop in Bucharest - and as I looked at the chinaware, glassware, paintings, flatware, I thought of all the family meals represented by these objects and what a wrench it must be for each family to give up these friendly and familiar things. Yet there is no choice, for these sentimental things of the past must be sacrificed in order to pay for the future which beckons.

If the personal property is not sold, it must be left behind any-how - for another of the regulations governing this exodus is the limitation of baggage. A person may take 40 or 70 kilograms, (88 or 154 pounds), depending on whether he is a worker or not. Workers get the larger amount. All that anyone can take, therefore, is clothing - and not very much of that. Don't forget this is not just a trip. This is a permanent move.

I went to a small synagogue on a Saturday afternoon where Jews gather in a "Chevra Shass" - a Talmud study group. It grew dark. After the study, we broke a meager crust of bread in the symbolic third meal of the Sabbath. They gave me jam made from an Esrog they had received from Israel last Sukkos. There was love and warmth and sentiment in the room, even though our physical surroundings were dark and cold and dirty. We huddled together. The man next to me asked about Beersheba. "I am leaving", he said. "I am radiologist, age 55. Can they use a doctor there who has no equipment or books - only 40 kilos of clothes?" I gave him the answer he already knew - that they could use him and would welcome him and that while his first adjustment would be difficult, still he would find what he wanted most - peace.

They all sighed. There was the deepest dream of all - to be at peace, at home, among Jews, in a place where they could not be hurt again. From Hitlerism to communism represents now almost 20 years of no freedom. At last the chance is here. Any wonder that they are registering, despite the new risks and difficulties described above?

On Friday night I went to the great Choral Temple, where the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Moses Rosen, presides. The place was jam packed with hundreds of men. I do not know if they all came to worship - or whether what they wanted more was a tight in-group feeling. They pressed together, and as the choir sang mightily (by far the best synagogue music I have

ever heard in my life), you could almost literally feel the Jews unite with one another in a physical and psychological mass.

The members of the Israel Legation came, and as a path was cleaved for them to the front pew, the reaction of the crowd was fantastic. People tried to touch them, people buzzed, whispered, passed notes, looked at these few young men as though they represented salvation.

I left the synagogue in their company, and always behind us, as we walked the dark and icy streets, for the next few blocks, we heard voices - "when do we go?" "How long must we wait?" "God bless you". We did not turn around. The people are not allowed to have contact with the Israel Legation, and if they dared to follow us in the street, knowing that there are secret police present in the synagogue crowd, there was no sense in our further jeopardizing them by turning to talk. But out of the darkness came the whispered voices of the Jewish people seeking to be whole once again with the land these young men represented.

And those voices were speaking to me, too - even though they did not know who I was. But I heard, and in hearing, assumed the responsibility for me and for you. Because you were there too, if I was. We heard - and we must answer.

We must break our necks in this year's campaign to raise tens of millions more than we have in the past. This is a whole population petentially on the move. Their problems inside Rumania are heart-breaking. Their maintenance on the way by train and plane and ship is no easy thing. Their absorption into Israel is a staggering burden. Everything can be done with money. Nothing can be done without it. The Jews of Rumania are crossing land and sea with a few scraps of clothing - seeking freedom. Shall that freedom be the beach of Tel Aviv because there is no roof for their shelter?

In a few hours the train will be in Vienna, and I shall have this letter typed and mailed. In a few days I shall be home, to tell things not even this private letter could contain.

Our work this year is again holy - as another segment of Jewry miraculously appears out of the darkness to rejoin its brethren in freedom. Ours is nothing less than the historic privilege of holding open the two doors - marked EXIT FROM RUMANIA and ENTRY TO ISRAEL. What an opportunity!

Sincerely,

Herbert A. Fredman

Personal Letter

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

PRIVATE -- NOT FOR PUBLICATION

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

13 March, 1959

Dear Friend:

I wrote you last about the Rumanian situation on 30 January. That letter was from Vienna, as you may recall. Much has happened since then.

The most recent piece of information, obtained just yesterday, is that there has been an interruption of the movement of immigrants. For the past three days no one has arrived in Vienna. The reasons for this are not clear, although it is the guess of some observers that it is due to Arab pressure.

As you may be aware, it was about three weeks ago, with the increased momentum of the exodus from Rumania, that the Arab governments first decided to make an attempt to sabotage this movement of our people to Israel. The Arab Press went into action. Consultations began between the Arab Governments. Nasser in a speech hinted that he had approached the Russians. Finally, a meeting of the Arab League was summoned to Cairo for last week.

During these sessions it was decided to make a strong protest to Russia and Rumania. This was done, and evoked two comments. The Russian government said they would not release Russian Jews, which was not the issue at all. But the Rumanian government, referring publicly to the emigration for the first time, said that it would be confined to a reunion-of-families scheme. This was an indication that the Arab protest had scored, and yet it was also an indication that the Rumanians intended to permit the emigration to continue. I am enclosing a clipping from the N.Y. TIMES of 26 February, 1959, giving the gist of the Rumanian statement.

On the basis of this, there is every hope that the present interruption will be a temporary one. You might recall that this happened once before, in February, when there was an interruption of a short duration. Then it resumed again. It is the thinking of informed people in Vienna and Geneva that it might be a fortnight before movement is resumed this time.

Jews in Rumania continue to register. This is extremely important, for it means that the authorities are accepting new applications. For the moment no new exit permits are being issued. Many thousands of exit permits have already been processed, however, and it is assumed that as these are distributed, the individuals will be permitted to leave.

We have always said that there will be ups and downs in this emigration -- that at times it would flow heavily and at other times it might be cut down.

One thing is clear. The Jews want to leave and it is our duty and privilege to help. This we must continue to do with all might and main.

If we receive new information, we shall forward it to you immediately. In any case, I shall write again in two or three weeks, to let you know what the position is at that time.

On the receiving end in Israel, there is much to report. The entire population has been geared to receive and welcome the newcomers, some 20,000 of whom have recently arrived. There is a genuine and widespread desire to absorb the Rumanian Jews with love and warmth. The skills which they bring with them are quickly utilized and there is a general feeling that these new people will contribute much and quickly.

With regard to the back-breaking financial burden for their absorption, Mr. Eshkol, the Minister of Finance, has again revised the budget which must become operative for the fiscal year beginning 1 April. He has added a new compulsory loan of 40 million pounds (the previous loan of 20 million was voluntary), and has also added new indirect taxes totalling 35 million pounds. This means that the people of Israel, themselves already so heavily burdened, are being asked for 75 million pounds of additional contribution to the task of absorbing Rumanian Jews.

How can we match this contribution? If we were to raise 75 million dollars additional, it would still not be equal. But one of the things we must do is keep the flow of cash moving. With regard to the 20,000 mentioned above who have already arrived, there is the immediate problem of houses. Even the smallest room cannot be built with pledges. It is unusual for me to write to you about cash payments at this stage of the campaign. But I know the desperate situation, and must ask that if it is at all possible, you try to make cash available as quickly as possible. If you can speak to your friends about this, it would be doubly helpful.

The campaign is now moving into high gear in almost every community. We must do everything humanly possible to increase our own personal contributions and persuade others to do likewise. This is the moment at which we can rise to great heights, in helping to rescue fellow Jews and helping Israel to receive them with dignity.

Sincerely,

Herbert A. Friedman

P.S. I have indicated in several previous letters, and in all speeches, that we must be careful on the question of publicity. Nothing must appear in the press which will give offense to the Rumanians or further ammunition to the Arabs. In this regard, let me caution specifically against the use of figures, of actual or potential immigrants; and against any descriptions which might be construed as attacks against the Rumanian regime.

### Reprinted from NEW YORK TIMES February 26, 1959

# RUMANIA IMPLIES CUT IN MIGRATION

Accuses Israel of Exploiting Movement to Turn Arabs Against Eastern Bloc

Dispatch of The Times, London.
VIENNA, Feb. 25—The Rumanian Government accused Israel and "imperialist circles" today of using the migration of Rumanian Jews to Israel to create bad blood between the Eastern bloe and the United Arab Republic.

The official statement, issued through the Rumanian press agency Agerpress, implied an intention to cut the number of exit permits.

It charged that "leading circles of Israel and world Zionism" had been used to unleash a "diversionist campaign," trumpeting abroad the "crude invention" that there was a "mass migration of Jews from Eastern Europe to Israel."

The statement denied alleged assertions that there was a secret agreement between the Communist countries and Israel on the migration of Jews, who would strengthen Israel's military potential. It deplored that the Arab press and individual Arab officials had been led astray by the "campaign of

slander."

The statement accused the Israeli Legation in Bucharest of spreading Zionist slogans among Rumanian Jews, and it declared that this could no longer be tolerated. It linked Premier David Ben-Gurion of Israel with what it described as "dirty and dishonest" propaganda methods.

It has been alleged, the statement said, that some 300,000 Jews wish to emigrate from Rumania, but that is more than there are in the country. It asserted that at the last public census 146,262 persons had registered as Jews, and only a small number of these wished to emigrate to Israel.

The Rumanian Government will continue "on humanitarian grounds" to allow Jews to rejoin relatives in Israel, the statement said, but from now on will do everything to dissuade them, letting them go only if they insist.

According to unofficial Israeli estimates, there are some 250,000 Jews left in Rumania out of a pre-war population of about 800,000, those above the census number having presumably avoided registering as Jews for fear of anti-Semitism.

Since September, 15,000 to 20,000 Rumanian Jews have passed through Vienna on their way to Israel; a much smaller number have gone through Yugoslavia. At any rate, 80,000 more were regarded by Israeli emigration officials as desiring to emigrate this year.

# Personal Letter

From

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

PRIVATE - NOT FOR PUBLICATION

165 West 46 Street, New York 36, N. Y. 1st September, 1959

Dear Friend:

I am writing this letter to you today with special heaviness of the heart.

Twenty years ago today German Wehrmacht troops went across the border into Poland and World War II began. Twenty-seven days later Poland lay brutally rushed, and the agony had begun. The whole world went into convulsion, but among no people did the fire of death burn as fiercely as in the Jewish Ghettos and camps of Central Europe. In Poland alone, three and one-quarter million Jews were gassed and cremated and starved and shot. In Poland alone, thirty thousand communities were destroyed. In Poland alone, the genocide was almost one hundred percent complete. In Poland alone, it can fairly be said that there took place the greatest single assault in the entire history of the Jewish people. Nothing on the same scale had ever occurred before --not in the times of Egypt, Babylonia, Rome, the Crusades, or Spain.

In Poland for a thousand years there had been developing a center of Jewish life unparalleled in richness of culture, creativity of religious instruction, fullness of communal institutions, breadth of education, beauty of family life. It was a huge, variegated tapestry -- pulsating with activity, vibrant, intellectually and emotionally the stronghold and arsenal from which almost every other Jewish community in the entire world drew sustenance. Rabbis and scholars, teachers from Lublin and tailors from Lodz, lumber merchants from Lithuania and housewives from Bialystok went forth from this great Jewish powerhouse, and fertilized new gardens in America, Palestine, England and South Africa. This was the Jewish community of Poland.

In five and one-half short years all this was destroyed. No one did anything to stop the Nazi horror against the Jews. In a few places, young Jewish boys and girls themselves put up resistance. For instance, there was the meeting of the Zionist Youth Groups in the Bialystok Ghetto on the 27th of February, 1943 to decide what to do. Here is an excerpt from that meeting whose minutes were kept, buried, and dug up after the war:

#### MORDECHAI TENENBAUM:

"There are two choices before us: we can decide that with the deportation of the first Jew from Bialystok we open a counter-attack; that, as of tomorrow, nobody goes to the factories; that during the action none of us is allowed to hide.

"All of us should be mobilized into action. We have to see to it that none of the Germans leave the Ghetto alive, that no factory will remain intact. It is not inconceivable that after this action some of

us will remain alive. But we have to fight to the very end. This is the first possibility.

"The second is to escape into the woods. Two men have already gone out today to explore the roads.

"There are the only two choices, and we must discuss them realistically."

#### HANOCH ZELEZNEGORA:

"We must have no illusions. We may expect complete destruction, to the last Jew. We have two choices and both lead to death. The forest will not save us, neither will an uprising in the Ghetto. We may as well die an honorable death. The chances to succeed in the uprising are very slim. I do not know whether we have the means to fight. It is the fault of all of us that we have so few weapons. But this is our fate, and we will accept it.

"Bialystok will be destroyed completely, like the other cities. During the first action they spared the factories. But now no one believes there will be any exceptions.

"It is clear that in the forest there are better chances for revenge. But we should not go there only to eat the bread of mercy of the farmer, to buy food and life for a price. To go to the forest will mean to start active guerrilla warfare, and for this we need a lot of ammunition. The ammunition on hand will be of no value in the forest. If enough time remains we should devote it to acquiring ammunition to take to the forest.

"But if the liquidation begins first, we should react immediately with the deportation of the first Jew."

On 16th August, 1943, when the Germans surrounded the Bialystok Chetto to liquidate it completely, this resistance group began an armed revolt. The battles in the bunkers, in the factories, and on the streets lasted almost a full week. When the revolt was defeated, Tenenbaum, the commander, committed suicide, and some of the fighters escaped into the forest to join the Partisan brigades.

There was a man by the name of Samuel Zigelboim. He was one of the leaders of Polish Jewry, who started to organize an underground movement a few days after the German invasion. Held for a time as a hostage by the Nazis, he managed to flee to Paris, and after the fall of France, got to the United States. But he went back in 1942 to London, to join the Polish Government-in-Exile, and to try to draw the attention of the world to the fate of the Jews. He struggled to get somebody, anybody to do something to help the Jews caught in the trap. He was sick at heart that the world appeared in-different to the horrible annihilation taking place. He finally did the only thing he could to draw attention.

In May, 1943, after receiving the news of the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto and its final extermination, he committed suicide in a hotel room in London, as an act of protest. It was the deliberate gesture of a strong man. His letter to the Polish Premier, Sikorski, said in part:

"With these, my last words, I address myself to you, the Polish Government, the Polish people, the Allied Governments and their peoples, and the conscience of the world.

"Of the three and a half million Polish Jews (to whom must be added the 700,000 deported from the other countries) in April, 1943, there remained alive not more than 300,000 Jews according to news received from the head of the Bund organization and supplied by government representatives. And the extermination continues.

"I cannot remain silent. I cannot live while the rest of the Jewish people in Poland, whom I represent, continue to be liquidated.

"My companions of the Warsaw Ghetto fell in a last heroic battle with their weapons in their hands. I did not have the honor to die with them but I belong to them and to their common grave.

"I hope that my death may jolt the indifference of those who, perhaps even in this extreme moment, could save the Jews who are still alive in Poland.

"My life belongs to my people in Poland and that is why I am sacrificing it for them. May the handful of people who will survive out of the millions of Polish Jews achieve liberation in a world of liberty."

Today, the final handful of Polish Jews is coming to Israel and we greet them with tears in our eyes and holy resolve to welcome them to life and liberty and happiness.

Committing suicide is one way of registering a protest. Building houses and paying for transportation and finding jobs and sending the youth to school — all in a free Israel — is another, and perhaps better way, of registering protest. For we are saying, actually, that no matter what indifference might prevail in other circles, there is no indifference in the Jewish family circle.

There are today about 35,000 Jews left in Poland. That is all. Perhaps some of them will want to remain in Poland. That is their free choice. There is no way of estimating how many will want to come to Israel, perhaps half the above total, perhaps more.

The attitude of the Polish government on the question of Jewish emigration is fine. In a report of the American Jewish Committee dated August, 1959,

entitled "The Plight of the Jews in Eastern Europe", the following summary statement is offered: "The movement of Jews from Poland to Israel has been voluntary, free and humanely conducted; emigrants have been permitted to take their personal property. Polish officialdom has treated them with consideration and there have been no attempts to influence their decision to leave." This summary is correct.

I was in Vienna in July to check again on the immigration situation and found the Polish picture to continue as before. Immigrants are going through in an orderly procedure, and while I would prefer, even in the privacy of this letter, not to mention exact figures -- believe me, the pace continues in such numbers as to give us hope that during 1960 we shall have substantially finished with this chapter.

Yes -- the last fragments of the once-great Polish Jewry are now being transplanted. New roots are growing in Israel. Go to Holon or to Bat Yam, near all Aviv; go to Kiryat ha-Yovel near Jerusalem; go to Kiryat Shmoneh in the Galilee or Beersheba in the Negev and you will see the new roots of Polish - Jewish communities. In the pressure cooker which is Israel, one new nation is being forged and perhaps some day it will be hard to tell who came from Poland and who from Yemen. All traces of origin will disappear as the new Israeli Jew emerges.

But at the moment, anyhow, it is good to hear the Yiddish which still recalls the old places, and to know that even if Cracow and Lemberg and Lodz are no more, the knowledge of what took place there still exists in the minds of the remnant who will contribute those memories to the upbuilding of the new land.

We must help that remnant come from Poland to Israel. We must help them settle. We must finish the houses and schools and farms to absorb them. That will be our answer to the world which watched them burn twenty years go.

How proud we American Jews can be to have a part in this -- to be partisans in the struggle to recapture Jewish honor and dignity. The dead cannot be brought to life -- the living can, however, protect the future.

What happened twenty years ago today is important now only as history -- what will happen twenty years from now is more important, since that will be the test of our ability to face the future unbroken and unbowed, eagerly seizing our fate and thrusting forward to a happier day.

Herbert A. Friedman

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בתייםלון ארן ישראליים בקים מלוך המלך דוד ירושלים

22.11.59

Dear Friend

Two weeks ago I was in Geneva attending a conference of the Joint Distribution Committee. One of the lay leaders of a certain European country was describing the efforts being made to rebuild the Jewish life in his country. He was saying that what people needed in order to be helped was the human touch - and quoted a four-year-old boy in an orphan home as saying, "I am nobody's nothing". It was a heart-rending statement.

Here in Israel, every new immigrant is somebody's something. The amount of care, interest, affection and even love which is given to the new immigrants to help them become adjusted is simply wonderful to behold. In purely human terms, I am happy to be able to report to you that fully two-thirds of the million immigrants who have poured into Israel in the last eleven years are now self-sufficient and on their own feet. They are free and independent in a land of their own, working hard, fighting for an even brighter future for themselves and their children. How good this should make us feel!

By contrast, the condition of the other one-third is so poor that we must focus all our attention upon the solution of their problems. For in the Israel of today it is a jarring note of disharmony to see this one-third ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed, to use Roosevelt's immortal phrase.

It is jarring because the Israel of today presents a picture of a busy, bustling, building society, where the sound of jackhammers is heard through the hotel windows; the whistle of ships comes from the port; and the whirring of cement mixers fills the air everywhere as new apartments go up in the biggest construction boom this country has witnessed. Some Americans, touring the country, say that it gives the impression of prosperity, even wealth. And some Americans, not looking beneath the surface, seem to have the feeling that Israel's problems are solved. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

In a department store in Jerusalem a few days ago, I bought an Israeli-made shirt as nice as any I have ever bought in London or New York. Today, in Haifa, I rode the new subway to the top of Mt. Carmel, and felt as though I were in the metro in Paris. Yes - the filet mignons are available for those who can afford them; and the women's clothing is chic; and we even saw a television set in one store. Although there is as yet no transmitting station in Israel, there is obviously a merchant who is looking ahead.

One must know how to look at this picture - to be joyful over the wonderful progress being made, yet at the same time, to be aware that there are deep-seated discrepancies in the structure of this society which must be overcome before we can relax and say that Israel has no problems.

It is true, I think, that there are at the moment no severe military tensions. Yet it would be foolish for the people of Israel to be complacent, when the Arab delegate at the United Nations said recently that the Arab States still were at war with Israel. Or when Kassem said today that if the UAR didn't destroy Israel, he would do it alone. The government here must pay serious attention to its security, but at the same time the long borders are quiet and the people have no sense of any immediate threat.

It is also true that there is no immediate crisis or emergency on the immigration front. There is no immediate flow coming from several countries, at a rate which can be handled by the Jewish Agency. Actually, many feel that this is a pause - a breathing spell - before a new big push commences from Eastern Europe. Yet everyone here in a position of responsibility, including the Prime Minister, has spoken of the historic inevitability of doors opening in these countries. When that occurs, hundreds of thousands of Jews will come. But right now there is an immigration which is steady and paced, without headline.

In addition there is a remarkable internal political condition of peace and quiet. The elections held two weeks ago, in which scores of thousands of new immigrants voted for the first time, could have been the occasion for an expression of discontent. There was an ugly episode in Haifa, but it probably had more to do with the slum housing conditions of the inhabitants of that particular quarter (Wadi Salib) than with political strife. Actually, the party of Mr. Ben-Gurion received more votes than four years ago. This indicates a tremendous political stability on the part of a new and volatile population.

Well, then, with this description of military quiet and economic growth and breathing spell on immigration and political maturity, why did I say earlier that he who thinks Israel has no problem is not looking deeply enough? Simply because the gains and progress do not tell the whole story.

There are still 60,000 people living in the ma'abarot. Most of them have been in these tin huts and canvas shacks as long as six or seven years. They feel discriminated against and cannot understand why there is not enough money to build quickly enough to transfer them to permanent housing. They live in shockingly bad conditions - and the contrast between their status and that of the rest of the population is beyond words. They simply must be given priority. A housing program with enough money behind it could liquidate these shanty-towns in two years, and we would be through with that problem for good.

There are 32,000 farmers, heads of families, living in 480 settlements which the Jewish Agency established with the help of UJA money, but which the Agency never really completed because of lack of funds. An incomplete farm colony simply means that it has not been provided with everything it needs to earn its way. And the farmers must leave the settlement to find work elsewhere. There is an emergency public works program for such men, wherein they can earn about 500 per month. That is obviously inadequate to support a family.

There are tens of thousands of people living in slums like Wadi Salib where the riot took place. These places are unhealthy, decrepit, sometimes filthy in spite of efforts to keep them clean. Most of the slum dwellers have come there looking for an improvement over ma'abarot, and yet, in some ways the slums are worse, for they have less air and light plus a higher density of congestion. These places are dangerous blights in the large cities and must be torn down, so that new, clean low-cost housing can be erected.

The Annual UJA Study Mission is in Israel now, and has completed a study of this contrast. Over 100 men and women, American Jewish communal leaders, saw the difference between healthy children in a youth village, and pale, ragged children in a slum. The Mission members visited the wonderful new development town of 10,000 inhabitants Beth Shemesh, where there are 100 births per month (with no hospital on the spot); and compared this with the conditions of the 12,000 inhabitants of Or Yehuda, a huge ma'abara of tumbledown wooden huts without inside water or sanitation. The contrasts were glaring, apparent - and cried for attention.

There are no headlines, but I think we will continue to build Israel without them. This is a now a state which must become a nation. If we have accomplished the transportation of a million immigrants, we must now achieve their transformation into full citizenship with full opportunity. We must appeal to our own mature understanding to realize the depth and complexity of the problems remaining to be resolved. Let the progress and growth be appreciated and applauded; let the unmet needs of 350,000 immigrants also be understood and dealt with by us in a firm and solid manner.

The members of the Study Mission felt that the way to do this was to recommend to the UJA National Conference in December in New York that the principle of an extra fund, extra giving to Israel, be maintained for 1960. A resolution was passed urging the Conference to find the ways and means of conducting such an extra fund and to work out the details for its implementation.

Tomorrow, Melvin Dubinsky of St. Louis and I are leaving Israel, to fly to Warsaw. We will go to the areas where the repatriates from Russia are living, and will talk to those Jews to hear their stories. The Polish government has adopted a very fine attitude on both key questions - namely, immigration from there to Israel; and secondly, establishing friendly relations with the JDC and ORT, so that these organisations can help the Jews inside Poland in a variety of ways.

We shall report to the National Conference on what we have seen and heard. Until then,

Yours sincerely,

Harbert A- Frechen Herbert Friedman

F.S. The dates of the Conference, to be held at the Statler Hotel in New York City, are December 11 - 13. James N. Rosenberg
457 Mamaroneck Road
Scarsdale, N. Y.
December 8, 1959

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal
165 West 46th Street
New York 19, New York
Dear Rabbi Friedman:
I have read your letter of November 22nd sent from

Jerusalem, and I am deeply impressed by your admirable report.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

JNR/rf

...,



## Annual Campaign for Life and Freedom

# United Jewish Appeal

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April 28, 1959

Dear Friend: FRICAN IEWISH

In a statement to the newspapers, Henry S. Moyer, head of the American Council for Judaism Philanthropic Fund, has attacked the United Jewish Appeal by citing some "facts" on which he presumes the present UJA campaign is based. Enclosed is the statement as carried in the New York Times. We believe it would lend undeserved dignity to these frequently discredited misrepresentations for the UJA to issue a counter statement to the newspapers. As a leader in your community, however, you may be confronted with questions from individuals and you may find it helpful to have in writing the true picture.

1. UJA Policy -- to aid Jews wherever they are. The Council asserts that the UJA and its agencies "give little or no assistance to those who wish to settle elsewhere than in Israel". Actually, of course, in its nearly 21 years of existence, the overriding concept behind the UJA has been to aid Jews in distress or danger wherever they are -- and to help them resettle in any country to which they wish to go -- and can go! In carrying out this concept the UJA has provided funds for the following agencies:

The United Israel Appeal, which in turn remits its funds to the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the philanthropic body chartered by Israel to undertake the resettlement, relief and rehabilitation of Jewish immigrants to that country.

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which for more than 40 years has been the major American Jewish organization devoted to the relief, rehabilitation and welfare of Jews overseas.

The New York Association for New Americans, which cares for Jewish immigrants in New York, has been included annually in the campaign.

ORT, the vocational training organization, which operates in a number of countries in Europe and North Africa, as well as in Israel, is a beneficiary through the JDC.

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The United Hias Service, which aids in the immigration of Jews to countries other than Israel and which has been included as a beneficiary of UJA's Special Fund.

Through these agencies, since its inception, UJA has benefitted 2,700,000 Jews throughout the world. These funds have gone in large amounts not only to the aid of immigrants to Israel but also to the relief and upbuilding of shattered Jewish communities in numerous countries of Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, and to the reestablishment of Jewish refugees who could make new homes in the United States. 1,300,000 of those aided have been helped by UJA agencies to settle in new countries. Approximately a million were helped to reach Palestine and later Israel, and some 300,000 were helped to take up lives anew in the United States, the British Dominions, South America and other countries of the free world.

The disparity in the numbers between those settled in Israel and those settled in other countries reflects one harsh fact -- which the Council for Judaism carefully avoids mentioning. Immigration laws in almost all nations of the world make it extremely difficult for Jewish would-be immigrants to settle in these countries. There is only one country in the world whose doors are wide open -- at any time -- to the entry of any Jewish refugee and that, of course, is Israel. Today, therefore, unlike what happened in the Hitler days, any Jew able to leave a place where he is in distress, does not have to suffer or die for lack of a place to go.

But if any further evidence is needed as to the UJA's willingness to help Jews reach whatever countries for which immigration visas <u>can</u> be secured, a recent example is provided by the 1956/1957 flight of anti-Communists from Hungary. At that time many western countries, electrified by the revolt against Soviet domination in Hungary, adopted special immigration provisions for the benefit of Hungarian refugees. Approximately 18,000 were Jews and the UJA helped them to reach those countries in which they could be settled. Here is where they went, with UJA assistance: The United States 5,100; Canada 4,000; Israel 3,000; Australia 1,900; Latin America 1,200; Europe 1,300; Austria 1,500.

- 2. How UJA funds are distributed: It is a definite misrepresentation by the Council that "nearly 90% of the UJA funds go to the Jewish Agency". The real point of the matter is that over the years UJA funds have generally gone in the largest amount to the agency with the greatest needs. Thus, in 1948, when the UJA received \$148,000,000 from the American Jewish community, the larger share of these funds was furnished to the JDC, then meeting the needs of nearly a million war shattered and displaced Jews in Europe. At that time, too, millions of UJA dollars were utilized to reestablish those thousands of Jewish DPs who were able to come to the United States. Today, because of the great number of displaced Jews who have gone to Israel over the past ten years, about 70% of the funds raised by the UJA goes to the Jewish Agency. The JDC receives approximately 25% of the money and uses a great part of it for the maintenance of its Malben program for aged and handicapped immigrants in Israel. The balance goes to NYANA and to the United HIAS Service.
- "100,000 Rumanian Jews in 1959" -- At no time did the UJA state, as the Council claims it did, that 100,000 Jews would emigrate from Rumania in 1959.

By way of background let me recall to you that it was in mid-January that the Israel Finance Minister, Mr. Levi Eshkol, put before a group of 150 hastily convened

American Jewish community leaders in New York the fact that there was then every indication that Israel might have to accept 100,000 immigrants this year. Behind this statement stood the simple evidence that as of that time thousands of Jews were leaving Rumania for Israel and that more than 100,000 Jews in that country were known to have registered for immigration to Israel! Based on this, the UJA then said that Israel anticipated receiving as many as 100,000 immigrants in 1959, primarily from Eastern Europe and including Rumania. We also indicated that fair numbers were to be expected from Poland and non-European countries. As soon as the UJA learned, in mid-March, that for various reasons the government of Rumania had stopped the movement, Herbert Friedman advised you of this new development. But it would be presumptuous for anyone to say that Jewish emigration from Rumania will not be resumed for the remainder of 1959 or even in 1960. The only thing certain in this delicate situation is that public controversy, such as the Council hopes to stir up, could very well serve to end this emigration for good. Rumanian Jews have not stopped coming out because of any lack of desire on their part. It is hoped that the movement may be resumed soon.

The UJA has no control whatever over what might happen in any countries that will make Jews want to go to Israel, or some place else if they can get there. At the beginning of each campaign, based on the best information available, the UJA estimates what the immigration rate may be, subject as that is to uncertainties that no one can control. Because of special uncontrollable developments, the estimated immigration figure may be somewhat higher in one year or somewhat lower in another. Thus, for example, the Jewish Agency and the UJA were wrong in 1957 in estimating that Israel could expect up to 60,000 immigrants in 1957 -- almost 75,000 came in that year. We do not recall that Mr. Moyer or the Council protested this underestimate.

The basic UJA story -- still the same! Some 27,000 immigrants, including 16,500 from Rumania, have come to Israel since August. This large number need UJA help to be properly resettled. We must also provide for continuing emigration from Eastern European countries and must be prepared for a resumption of movement from Rumania where, incidentally, 100,000 who registered to go to Israel are still waiting. Furthermore, UJA funds are needed for the regular programs to continue the process of integrating some 580,000 Jews in Israel and to rehabilitate many thousands in European countries, in Moslem lands and in the United States.

Are those who will come to Israel and who require UJA help, wherever they may be or wherever they are going, to be aided or are they to be lost sight of in controversy? I am sure you will agree that we must not let anything tempt us to turn our sights from focusing squarely on our responsibility to continue the total ongoing programs of the UJA's agencies in their splendid lifesaving work.

Sincerely,

Morris W. Berinstein

General Chairman

### THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, APRIL 26, 1959.

# U. J. A. IS DISPUTE ON REFUGEE DATA

Council for Judaism Official Calls Emigration Figure 'Grossly Exaggerated'

#### By IRVING SPIEGEL

The head of the American ninety-five Council for Judaism Philanthropic Fund has charged that the United Jewish Appeal "grossly exaggerated" the actual emigration of Rumanian said, "underscore the reason Jews to Israel.

Mover of Scarsdale, N. Y., newly elected president of the want to separate politics and fund, said that the present philanthropy." U. J. A. fund-raising campaign "repeatedly claimed 100,000 90 per cent of U. J. A. funds Rumanian Jews were emigrat- go to the Jewish Agency," ing, though on Nov. 2, 1958, the ernmental body of Israel and Jewish Agency had quietly es- the governing arm of the in the interest of Israel's immitimated that 16,500 Rumanian World Zionist Organization." Jews would emigrate in 1959." "To achieve its political goals."

16,800 did leave Rumania up has overstimulated emigration is no religious disability." to the stopped."

U. J. A. and its constituent bodies "are operated by, and in the interests of, Zionism, which has as its goal the ingathering of the Jews of the world into the State of Israel."

The American Council for Judaism, which has a strong anti-Zionist policy, was established in 1943, and its Philanthropic Fund in 1954.

Mr. Moyer's statement said that the Philanthropic Fund had given emergency aid to Rumanian Jews "who wish to settle in countries other than Israel."

#### Goal Is Underscored

"These Rumanian Jews," he for the creation of our fund." In a statement, Henry S. He added that the United Jewish Appeal presented two serious problems for Jews "who

Mr. Moyer held that "nearly

He also charged that the ately created refugees may be agencies "are not operating in service,



CHALLENGES U. J. A.: Henry S. Moyer, head of American Council for Judaism Philanthropie Fund.

the interest of the refugees when they give little or no assistance to those who wish to settle elsewhere than Israel." He added that "proof of this policy was provided in the movement of Iraqi, Moroccan, Hungarian, Egyptian, Polish and now Rumanian Jews."

The Philanthropic Fund's "main concern is the plight of the Rumanian Jews stranded in Austria and Belgium who want to choose their country of settlement," Mr. Mover said.

In this country, nearly all major Jewish organizations secular, religious and non-Zionist as well as Zionist - have gone on record pledging either financial or moral support, or both, to Israel.

The Jewish Agency for Israel, which receives funds from the United Jewish Appeal campaign, carries out the programs of rehabilitation and settlement among newcomers to Israel.

The United Jewish Appeal's other beneficiaries are the Joint Distribution Committee, which carries out relief programs among needy Jews in countries outside Israel, and the New gration or security program, it York Association for New is a great disservice to Jews Americans, which has a relief Mr. Moyer added that "some he said, "the Jewish Agency living in countries where there program among newcomers here. Another beneficiary is emigration by every possible means. While He also maintained that the the United Hias Service, the the so-called saving of deliber- United Jewish Appeal and its world-wide Jewish migration