

SEVERAL CHANGES occurred in the political map of Israel. Mapai, the Israel Labor party, and Ahdut Ha-'avodah (Unity of Labor) formed the Alignment for the Unity of Israel's Workers under the leadership of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. Former Premier David Ben-Gurion broke away and established Rafi, the Israel Labor List. Herut and the Liberal party combined in the Herut-Liberal Bloc (Gahal), but former members of the Progressive party stayed out and set up the Independent Liberal party.

In the elections to the Histadrut, the Alignment lost ground to Gahal and Rafi, but it gained in the Keneset elections. In re-forming his cabinet, Eshkol brought in Mapam (the leftwing United Workers' party) and the Independent Liberals to strengthen his majority, weakened by the defection of Ben-Gurion's followers.

In foreign affairs there were Arab statements that a direct attack on Israel would be postponed to a more distant future. President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia proposed to work for the achievement of Arab aims by negotiations with Israel, but no other Arab leader supported the suggestion. There was sporadic shooting across the Syrian frontier, and a new Arab terrorist organization called al-Fatah made frequent sabotage attacks, followed by several Israeli reprisals.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Israel-Arab Relations

Arab spokesmen admitted, at summit conferences and on other occasions during the year, that they were not strong enough to mount an immediate attack on Israel. Instead, they concentrated on long-term planning for an eventual clash, efforts to deprive Israel of water by diverting the Jordan headstreams, and arming Palestinian refugees under the command of the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by Ahmed Shukairy (p. 255).

The Arab diversion plan was designed to withdraw 200 to 250 million cubic meters from two of the Jordan headwaters, the Hasbani in Lebanon and the Banyas in Syria, instead of the 55 million provided in the late Am-

bassador Eric Johnston's Unified Water Plan in 1955 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 451). Prime Minister Eshkol and Foreign Minister Golda Meir clearly stated Israel's position on Arab plans in the Keneset. The Prime Minister declared on January 16: "Any attempt to deprive Israel of her just share of the Jordan river system under the Unified Water Plan will be regarded as an encroachment on our borders." Mrs. Meir, on March 29, reiterated: "Let there be no illusions in regard to our determination not to permit anyone to sabotage our water projects. We will defend our vital, recognized and just rights, in the same way as we defend our territory and villages."

In returning Syrian fire in March and May, Israeli artillery damaged what were believed to be preliminary works connected with the diversion scheme. This evoked declarations by Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan that they could not continue the diversion works unless given assurances of Arab Joint Command protection. No agreement was reached on stationing troops from the other Arab countries on their territories for this purpose (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 466).

In the Keneset, on May 17, Prime Minister Eshkol called for direct negotiations between Israel and the other signatories of armistice agreements for a peace settlement based on "Israel as she is." He enumerated the benefits from such a settlement to the Middle East:

Orderly land transport by road and rail; freedom of transit through airports; radio, telephone and postal communications; access to our ports on the Mediterranean in the form of a free area, under suitable conditions, for the benefit of Jordan . . . ; facilities for the sale of oil through the revival of the oil pipeline or the building of larger ones; the encouragement of tourism to all the countries of the area; free access to the Holy Places.

Tunisian President Bourguiba's call, in March and April, for an effort to reach a settlement between the Arab states and Israel was welcomed by Prime Minister Eshkol, Deputy Premier Abba Eban, and Foreign Minister Meir, but they rejected Bourguiba's condition that Israel cede part of her territory and permit the return of the Arab refugees (p. 432).

Sporadic firing from Syrian positions at Israeli development works near the border killed an Almagor farmer on March 16 and three Bedouin girls, an Israeli Arab woman, and a border-patrol sergeant on August 12.

Shooting that flared up between Israel and Jordan on the Jerusalem border in January prompted UN Secretary-General U Thant to send Major-General Indarjit Rikhye, his chief military observer, and Pier Spinelli, director of the UN European office in Geneva, to these countries in February to investigate the situation. There were further incidents in Jerusalem in March and May.

More serious were the activities of a terrorist organization called al-Fatah, originating in Syria but conducting most of its operations from bases in Jordan. It planted explosive charges in more than thirty installations and houses on Israeli territory during the year. On March 1 and June 1 Israel drew the attention of the UN Security Council to the possible dangerous effects of these activities; repeated warnings were issued by the Prime Minister and

Foreign Minister, but without results. On the nights of May 27–28 and September 5–6 Israeli forces crossed the border and blew up buildings in Jordan as a warning to stop the incursions. Similar action was taken against two Lebanese villages during the night of October 28–29.

Mahmud Mohammed Hejazi, a Jordanian member of the al-Fatah organization, was captured in January after an attempt to dynamite a well in the Lachish area. He was sentenced to death by a military court on June 3 on charges of sabotage and the use of firearms against the defense forces. The sentence was rescinded on appeal, on the ground that the accused should have been allowed to employ a foreign defense lawyer. Jacques Verges, an Algerian with a French passport, offered to act for Hejazi. On November 14, after consulting the Israel Chamber of Advocates, Justice Minister Dov Joseph rejected Hejazi's application for permission to employ a foreign lawyer. He ruled that there were no special circumstances which according to law, would require such a step, and maintained that Israeli lawyers had adequately defended infiltrators in the past. On December 22, the Supreme Court instructed Joseph to reconsider his decision; he reaffirmed it on January 10, 1966.

In the Knesset on January 27, Deputy Premier Abba Eban called upon "law-abiding governments" to advise business enterprises to ignore the Arab boycott organization, and urged companies to maintain "a determined refusal to surrender to this blackmail." He praised the action of the governments of the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Belgium, Denmark, and West Germany, as well as a bill on the subject proposed by United States Senator Harrison Williams (p. 270). This bill, making it mandatory for American companies to refuse information requested by the Arab boycott organization, did not pass. An amendment to the Export Control Act (June 30), however, encouraged companies to refuse requests for information and to report them to the authorities. Eban disclosed that a special license would be required by firms wishing to import the products of foreign companies discriminating against Israel in compliance with the Arab boycott. A list of seven such companies was subsequently issued. By the end of the year all of them had resumed commercial relations with Israel and were taken off the list.

Israel-German Relations

A crisis in relations between Israel and the German Federal Republic ended with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. After West Germany had begun to supply Israel with security aid, Nasser retaliated by inviting East German Premier Walter Ulbricht to come to Cairo. Bonn's threats to cut aid to Egypt unless the invitation was canceled were ineffective, and Bonn then informed Israel that it intended to stop its military assistance to Israel. On February 15 the Knesset passed a resolution expressing "astonishment and indignation" and approving the government's decision "to demand that the German government fulfill its obligations to Israel in the letter and the spirit, and not to accept any financial compen-

sation as a substitute for the cancellation of the promised security aid." Premier Eshkol declared that German policy towards Israel must be regarded "as the touchstone for her aspiration to find her place in the family of nations as a factor for world peace and stability."

On March 7 the German Federal government announced that it was seeking to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel (p. 358). Chancellor Erhard sent Kurt Birrenbach, a prominent industrialist and member of the Bundestag foreign affairs committee, as his special envoy to Jerusalem, to discuss the abrupt cutoff of military aid and other issues between the two governments. After three rounds of conferences with Birrenbach, the Israeli cabinet on March 14 approved the West German proposal. The Knesset, on March 16, accepted the decision by a vote of 66 to 29, with 10 abstentions.

In an exchange of letters dated May 12, Chancellor Ludwig Erhard and Premier Eshkol formally agreed to the establishment of full diplomatic relations. The chancellor recognized "the special German position towards the Jewish people all over the world, including Israel," and noted that "it has been possible to transform by mutual agreement the remaining supplies still outstanding under the previous arrangements with Israel concerning the supply of weapons." He added that the Federal government would be prepared "in about two or three months" to enter into talks with Israel on the future of economic aid. As for the German scientists in Egypt, the letter said, "a large number had returned to Germany and others would return in the near future." The German authorities were also "proceeding with all means provided by the law against any persons attempting without permission to entice German nationals to take up scientific, technical, or expert activities in the military sphere in foreign countries."

In his reply, Eshkol emphasized the importance of the cancellation of the statute of limitations on Nazi crimes and expressed the hope that "our common decision will prove to be an important step towards a better future."

Considerable criticism in the press and the Knesset followed the announcement that the first German ambassador to Israel was to be Rolf Pauls, an ex-officer of the Wehrmacht, who had been decorated for gallantry in the field. When Pauls presented his credentials in Jerusalem on August 19, several hundred demonstrators clashed with the police near the presidential residence.

In presenting his credentials Pauls said:

The new Germany looks back in sadness and abhorrence on the hideous crimes of the National Socialist regime, which has caused so much suffering, mainly to the Jewish people.

Ever since that time, many persons of goodwill from both sides have patiently paved the road towards this new beginning of relations between our two peoples. We hope and trust that the exchange of ambassadors will contribute to a successful continuance of this road.

President Zalman Shazar replied:

The memory of the horrors of the Nazi regime is alive in the minds of our gen-

eration and will never be forgotten by us or obliterated from the conscience of decent men everywhere.

The submission of this letter of credence today in Jerusalem, capital of the State of Israel is proof that chaos does not last forever and that even the darkest of nights must end with the coming of dawn. And precisely because of the lesson of the bitter past, it is incumbent upon us to concentrate our energies upon the future, so that disseminators of hatred may be cut off and the spirit of that evil period may never come to life again.

Asher Ben-Natan, former director-general of the Ministry of Defense, was appointed Israeli ambassador in Bonn and presented his credentials on August 24.

Relations with United States and Western Europe

Averill Harriman, President Lyndon B. Johnson's special envoy, arrived on February 24 and stayed five days, bringing "the warm greetings of President Johnson, who shares my conviction in the community of interests binding the people of Israel to the American people." Israel's security needs were discussed with Prime Minister Eshkol, Foreign Minister Meir, and other Israeli leaders in the most thorough exchange of views between Israel and the United States in many years (p. 257).

American and Israeli experts continued to study the technical and economic feasibility of the joint United States-Israel project for a \$60-million nuclear-powered desalination and power plant (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 452). On the basis of an interim report submitted by the Kaiser Engineering Company (p. 258), Tsevi Tsur, Israeli chairman of the joint team, estimated that the plant could be set up by 1972, but "its economic soundness is the crux of the matter."

On October 18 Myer Feldman, former special counsel to President Johnson, brought an oral message from Johnson to Eshkol. In a statement to the press, Feldman referred to a previous statement by Johnson "on the desire of the United States to continue in its efforts to solve remaining economic problems" connected with the desalting scheme, and said: "I think it can be assumed that . . . the implementation phase will also be a cooperative effort." Israeli scientists delivered a number of papers at the first International Symposium on Water Desalination, in Washington, October 3-9.

Prime Minister Eshkol met with Prime Minister Harold Wilson and other British leaders during a week's informal visit to London in March. Under discussion were the Middle East situation, Israel's security, the Arab threat to divert the Jordan headwaters, the threat posed by the establishment of the unified Arab command, and ways of improving trade between Israel and Great Britain. Wilson reiterated Britain's opposition to the threat or the use of force in the Middle East and to interference in the internal affairs of a country by the encouragement of subversion. He recognized the importance of preserving a balance between the Israeli and Arab military forces, and expressed opposition to an arms race in the area.

British Minister of State George Thomson, arrived for a four-day visit in Israel on October 13. He told the press that Britain had no intention of taking sides in the Arab-Israel dispute and that he had been visiting Middle East countries in furtherance of the British government's desire to improve relations with the Arab countries, but not at the expense of normal relations with Israel. Addressing the Anglo-Israel Association in London on October 26, Thomson made it clear that British policy "does not mean impartiality where peace or war is concerned. We could not remain neutral in the face of a resort to force."

Among other distinguished British visitors were Herbert Bowden, leader of the House of Commons (April), and Labor Minister Ray Gunter (October).

Foreign Minister Meir discussed Israel's relations with the European Common Market (EEC) and Arab plans to divert the Jordan headwaters with French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville in Paris in March. In September she had cordial talks in London with Prime Minister Wilson and other leaders.

Eastern Europe

There was little change in relations with the Soviet Union, although Israel made efforts to bring about an improvement. Mrs. Meir noted in the Knesset on March 29 that "the USSR's supply of arms to those who openly declare their desire to destroy us does not tally with Russia's declared policy of peace." She was concerned for the welfare of Soviet Jews and their right to live a full national, religious, and spiritual life, and to be united with their fellow-Jews. Similar statements were made on several occasions by Eshkol and Eban.

Trade relations with Poland and Yugoslavia continued to be satisfactory, and there was some improvement in commerce with Rumania. In November Rumania appointed a minister to her legation in Israel, which had hitherto been headed by a *chargé d'affaires*.

Latin America

Arab propaganda and diplomatic efforts had no effect on good relations with the Latin American republics and their support of Israel in the United Nations.

Israel appointed resident ambassadors to the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, and Panama, and established an embassy in Bolivia. The Dominican Republic appointed a resident ambassador to Jerusalem and the Chilean embassy was transferred to the capital. The first ambassador of Honduras (non-resident) presented his credentials in April.

Deputy Premier Abba Eban was cordially welcomed in Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic, and many distinguished statesmen and delegations from Latin American countries visited Israel. There was also

greater technical and scientific cooperation between Israel and these countries.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Crisis in Mapai

The clash between former Premier David Ben-Gurion and his successor, Levi Eshkol, came to a head during the year.

On the eve of Mapai's tenth convention David Ben-Gurion gave to the press extracts from Haggai Eshed's report on the Lavon affair, which he had commissioned while still Prime Minister (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], pp. 457-59).

At the convention in Tel-Aviv on February 16-19, 2,500 delegates, representing 200,000 members, approved Eshkol's proposal for an alliance (usually referred to as the "Alignment") with Ahdut Ha-'avodah, and rejected Ben-Gurion's demand for an inquiry into the proceedings of the 1960 cabinet committee which had ruled on the Lavon affair.

A resolution was submitted on behalf of Ben-Gurion's followers by Mayor Abba Khoushy of Haifa, that "the convention identifies itself in principle with the fundamental position of Ben-Gurion, while leaving members of the cabinet to decide the matter according to their own convictions." It was rejected in a secret ballot by 59 per cent of the delegates voting. The Ben-Gurion group's second motion was presented by Deputy Minister of Defense Simeon Peres, to empower the party's central council to proceed with the negotiations for the Alignment only "on condition that the clause shelving electoral reform is dropped." This was rejected by a 63 per cent vote.

Controversy continued over the composition of the Mapai governing bodies.¹ Ben-Gurion's followers claimed 40 per cent of the seats on the secretariat and leadership bureau in keeping with the convention votes on their resolutions, while the majority leaders insisted on maintaining the pre-convention 3-to-1 ratio. Ben-Gurion, Khoushy, and Minister of Agriculture Moses Dayyan boycotted the leadership bureau in protest.

The rift deepened. Ben-Gurion continued to criticize Eshkol for his refusal to reopen the Lavon affair; for his statement of May 2, 1964, that the deposition of Lavon from his Histadrut position in 1961 no longer had any significance, and for his agreement to shelve electoral reform and permit a separate Ahdut Ha-'avodah faction in the Histadrut. Early in March Ben-Gurion wrote to the members of the cabinet, denouncing the decision to hold the main Independence Day military parade in Tel-Aviv instead of Jerusalem as a surrender to "foreign pressure." He declared that he would not take part in the Alignment campaign for Histadrut elections or vote for its lists. A series of meetings between Eshkol and Ben-Gurion's supporters did not resolve the differences.

¹ Mapai's governing bodies are (in descending order of size): the convention (*we'idah*), the central council (*merkaz*), the secretariat (*mazkirut*), and the leadership bureau (*lishkat ha-manhigut*).

A key issue was the minority's demand that Simeon Peres be added to the leadership bureau. The majority agreed to do so, but at the same time increased the bureau's membership from 7 to 19 so as to maintain control. Ben-Gurion, Dayyan, Peres, Khoushy, and Uzzi Feinerman, secretary of Tenu'at Ha-moshavim, the Moshav (cooperative settlement) movement, thereupon resigned from the bureau. Ben-Gurion's followers then proposed that he be made the party's candidate for the premiership.

On May 14 Eshkol replied to one of Ben-Gurion's attacks by calling on those government members who shared Ben-Gurion's opinion of him to "release themselves and me from working together." He was obviously referring to Peres and Joseph Almogi, minister of housing and development. Both resigned on May 20. Almogi explained that his support of Eshkol was well known, but that he objected to the demand for a public repudiation of Ben-Gurion. In an interview with the *Jerusalem Post*, Almogi said that "the straw that broke the camel's back" was that "Eshkol agreed to an inquiry into the Lavon affair, and then, for some reason, changed his mind at the last moment." Eshkol denied that he had ever agreed to an inquiry.

The agreement setting up the Alignment for the Unity of Israel's Workers was signed by leading members of Mapai and Ahdut Ha-'avodah at the Technion in Haifa on May 19. Mayor Abba Khoushy, greeting the signatories, said he wholeheartedly supported the alliance, although he felt it was not complete, and that he would not be a party to a split in Mapai.

In a letter published in *Ha'aretz* and *Davar* on May 20, Ben-Gurion declared that he would not lend his support to the Alignment list, and that, despite his appreciation of Eshkol's valuable work in the past, "it has become clear to me, to my regret, that he lacks traits essential to the responsible post of Prime Minister of Israel."

The first public rally of the Alignment was held on May 23 in Jerusalem, in the absence of Ben-Gurion and Isaac Tabenkin, the veteran Ahdut Ha-'avodah leader, who also objected to the alliance. Eshkol, addressing the rally, said:

I call upon the fathers of the movement who have not yet reconciled themselves to the present partial arrangement to overcome their doubts, as we have done, and join with us in the march to full unity.

On May 23 Hayyim Zadok was appointed minister of commerce and industry, a portfolio previously held by Finance Minister Phinehas Sappir. Zadok also took over the ministry of development from Almogi. The housing portfolio was, for the time being, held by the prime minister. On the following day, Tsevi Dinstein, the controller of foreign exchange, was appointed special adviser to the defense ministry. It was understood that he would take over most of Peres's responsibilities, although he could not be appointed deputy minister, a post reserved by law to Keneset members.

On May 30 Moses Carmel of Ahdut Ha-'avodah was appointed minister of transport, succeeding Israel Bar-Yehuda of the same party, who had died on May 4.

On June 3 the Mapai majority proposed to the party's central council that

Eshkol be confirmed as the party's candidate for premier after the coming elections, and that Ben-Gurion be given the place of honor at the head of the Alignment's list of candidates. In a letter read by Reuben Barkatt, secretary-general of Mapai, Ben-Gurion rejected this proposal and said that he did not wish his name on the list at all. The council rejected a minority proposal that the party convention decide the issue, and confirmed Eshkol's candidacy by a vote of 179 to 103.

Ben-Gurion's followers stated that during the coming month "the minority will seek to ascertain whether it can continue to exist within the existing framework of Mapai." A meeting between majority and minority representatives was inconclusive.

On June 14 Ben-Gurion announced that he was ready to launch a new party, but would wait two weeks to see if the split could be averted. "Not Mapai, but the people, will decide who will be Prime Minister," he declared. On June 17 the secretariat rejected a minority proposal to call a meeting of the party convention to discuss the situation, and condemned all who threatened to split the party. On June 29, at a meeting of his supporters, Ben-Gurion announced that he intended to submit an independent list of Mapai members and sympathizers for the forthcoming Histadrut and Keneset elections, and that whoever wished could follow him. The secretariat warned the minority on July 1 that such a step was incompatible with membership in the party, but invited Ben-Gurion to its next meeting to state his case. Ben-Gurion refused to appear. On July 11 the council ruled that anyone supporting the separate list "will be regarded as having left the party."

On the next day Dayyan made a last effort at compromise. He proposed to the Mapai council that the documents in the Lavon affairs be submitted for examination to the president of the Supreme Court, and that the list of candidates for the Keneset elections be based on the proportionate strengths of majority and minority. The first part of his motion was ruled out of order, and Dayyan withdrew the second. The council then resolved, by a vote of 203 to 9, with 29 abstentions, that supporters of the minority list would be considered as having left the party.

On July 14 seven Mapai members of the Keneset—Ben-Gurion, Peres, Almogi, Izhar Smilansky, Hannah Lamdan, Amos Dagani, and Gideon Ben-Israel—officially formed a new faction in the Keneset, the Israeli Labor List, referred to as Rafi, from the initials of its Hebrew name *Reshimat Po'alei Israel*. Though Dayyan did not join the new group, he announced that if he had to make a choice he would support Ben-Gurion.

At a rally on July 22 Rafi announced its program. The main points were: electoral reform based on the constituency system; strict separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government; maintaining Israel's deterrent strength, while fostering good relations with Europe, especially France, and the United States; modernizing the economy, with emphasis on the fuller utilization of science, and compulsory education up to the age of sixteen, with free post-primary schooling.

Other Political Developments—The Elections

Meanwhile the Liberal party, formed in 1961 by the merger of the General Zionists and the Progressives, voted to establish a joint parliamentary and electoral bloc with the Herut movement. Most of the former Progressives objected and, when the alliance was formed on April 26, set up the Independent Liberal party, which was joined by seven of the seventeen Liberal members of the Keneset.

There was also a split in the Communist party, the two factions holding separate conferences in August. The New Communists, headed by Meir Vilner and Tewfik Toubi, were mainly Arabs and leaned toward the Chinese Communists, while most of the Jewish members, led by Samuel Mikunis and Moses Sneh, defended the "just national aspirations of the Jewish people" and supported the Soviet Union; they kept the original name, Israel Communist party (Maki).

When Herut set up a faction in the Histadrut to contest the forthcoming elections, Mapai and Ahdut Ha-'avodah proposed a change in its constitution empowering the election committee to disqualify new lists of candidates whose programs were contrary to the Histadrut's basic principles. The leaders of the new faction appealed to the Tel-Aviv district court which issued a temporary injunction on June 29, forbidding the Histadrut general council to discuss the proposed amendment as, in the words of Judge Joseph Lamm, "an infringement of natural justice." Herut combined with the General Zionists in Histadrut to contest the elections under the banner of Gahal, the Herut-Liberal bloc.

The Histadrut elections were fought mainly on national issues. Mapai and Ahdut Ha-'avodah—which submitted a joint Alignment list of candidates, together with the small Ha-'oved Ha-dati (Religious Labor) faction—concentrated their campaign against the Rafi list, headed by Ben-Gurion and Almogi. The Alignment's percentage of the votes, together with Rafi's 12.11 per cent, was one-sixth less than the 74.12 per cent they had together obtained in the previous election on May 17, 1959. Gahal won 15.20 per cent.

Histadrut Election, 1959 and 1965

1959	<i>Percent</i>	1965 *	<i>Percent</i>
Mapai	55.42	Alignment	50.88
Ahdut Ha-'avodah	17.13		
Ha-'oved Ha-dati	1.57		
Mapam	13.92	Rafi	12.11
General Zionists	3.48	Mapam	14.51
Ha-'oved Ha-tziyoni	5.77	Gahal	15.20
Communists	2.80	Independent Liberals	4.43
		{Israeli Communist party	1.29
		{New Communist List	1.58

* 77.6 per cent of the registered members voted.

It was generally believed that many of the Gahal votes came from Herut members who had supported Ahdut Ha-'avodah in previous elections because of its activist foreign policy and the absence of a list of their own. But the Alignment regarded the results as a danger signal and closely watched Gahal in the Knesset election campaign. The Alignment's spokesmen warned that a serious drop in its strength might make it impossible for any combination of parties to form a government and would thus undermine the stability of Israel's democratic regime. It received considerable support from a non-party group called Citizens for Eshkol.

Gahal claimed that for the first time it could offer the prospect of an alternative to the Mapai-led coalitions that had held office from the beginning. Ben-Gurion stressed his demand for an inquiry into the cabinet committee's proceedings in the Lavon affair, while his Rafi followers called for a new deal, mainly modernization and compulsory free education to the age of eighteen. Another election issue was the libel law passed on July 22, a day before the Knesset adjourned. Although much less stringent than the first version submitted in 1962, it aroused widespread opposition, particularly among journalists.

Seventeen lists were submitted, twelve of which were represented in the outgoing Knesset. The new ones were Ahwah (Fraternity) and Young Israel

KNESSET ELECTION, 1965, AND KNESSET SEATS, 1961 AND 1965

	Votes	Per cent	Seats	
			Fifth Knesset* (1961)	Sixth Knesset (1965)
Alignment for the Unity of Israel's Workers (Mapai and Ahdut Ha-'avodah)	443,379	36.70	41	45
Gahal—Herut-Liberal bloc	256,957	21.30	27	26
National Religious Party	107,966	8.90	12	11
Rafi—Israel Labor List	95,328	7.90	8	10
Mapam—United Workers' Party	79,985	6.60	9	8
Independent Liberals	45,299	3.70	7	5
Agudat Israel	39,795	3.30	4	4
New Communist List	27,413	2.30	3	3
Progress and Development (Arab list, affiliated to Mapai)	23,430	1.90	2	2
Po'ale Agudat Israel	22,066	1.80	2	2
Cooperation and Fraternity (Arab list, affiliated to Mapai)	16,464	1.40	2	2
Ha'olam Ha-zeh	14,124	1.20	—	1
Israel Communist Party	13,617	1.10	2	1
Ahwah (Fraternity)	11,244	0.90	—	—
Shalom (Arab list, affiliated to Rafi)	5,536	0.50	—	—
Abie Nathan for the Knesset	2,135	0.20	—	—
Young Israel	1,990	0.20	—	—
TOTAL	1,206,728	100	120	120

* One seat was held by a member of the Min Ha-yesod group, which did not contest the elections.

(Sephardi lists); *Ha-'olam Ha-zeh*—New Force, headed by Uri Avneri, editor of the weekly *Ha-'olam Ha-zeh* specializing in exposés of political scandals, who fought the election in order to obtain parliamentary immunity against the operation of the libel law; Abie Nathan for the Keneset, a one-man list submitted by a Tel-Aviv restaurateur who promised, if elected, to fly to Cairo for talks with Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Shalom (Peace), an Arab list affiliated to Rafi.

Of the 1,499,988 citizens eligible to vote, 1,244,706, or 83 per cent, went to the polls. There were 37,978 invalid votes. Four lists failed to obtain the minimum one per cent of the total—12,067 votes—required by law for representation in the Keneset.

An unexpected result was that the Alignment gained four seats, despite the internecine strife in Mapai and the massive onslaught of Gahal, which lost one seat. Rafi obtained ten seats, while the National Religious party and Mapam lost one each.

Municipal Elections

In the municipal elections there was a noticeable tendency to vote for candidates without regard to party allegiances. The outstanding example was Jerusalem, where Teddy Kollek of Rafi, the former director-general of the prime minister's office, obtained more than twice as many votes as did his party in the city's parliamentary polls. He was elected mayor with the support of the religious parties and Gahal.

Mordecai Namir, the Alignment candidate in Tel-Aviv, who tied with Mordecai Stern of Gahal, succeeded in forming a municipal coalition with the religious parties, Rafi, and the Independent Liberals, while Abba Khoushy (Alignment) and Abraham Krinitzi (Gahal) retained the mayoralties of Haifa and Ramat Gan respectively.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

The development of Israel's economy continued at a somewhat slower pace than in previous years. This was partly due to the slower growth of population and labor force, and partly to a decline in total investments.

The gross national product was I£10.99 billion, or I£10.08 billion in terms of 1964 prices—8.2 per cent higher than in the previous year, and the national income was I£8.50 billion, or \$1,100 per capita, an increase of 17.6 per cent. Private consumption per capita, at I£2,577, was about 5 per cent higher than in 1964; the rise in public consumption was more rapid. The consumers' price index rose by 8 per cent, as compared with 5 per cent in 1964.

Exports of goods, at \$406 million, were 15 per cent higher than in 1964, while imports, at \$805 million, were almost stationary—a drop of 11 per cent in the trade deficit, to \$399 million. Expenditures for services were \$430 million and income \$339 million, making a deficit of \$91 million. The

total deficit on current account was \$490 million, 8.8 per cent less than in 1964.

Capital imports totaled \$560 million, a decrease of 5 per cent. Of this, unilateral receipts amounted to \$320 million (including \$100 million as transfers by individuals, \$110 million personal restitution from Germany, \$20 million German reparations and \$90 million grants and transfers by institutions) while net long- and short-term movements in capital totaled \$240 million. This covered the deficit and increased foreign currency reserves by \$70 million.

Average unemployment was 5 per cent less than in 1964 and average hourly wages rose by 17 per cent. Wage increases were particularly high in public service due to strikes and other pressures during the comprehensive regrading process which started in 1964, and to corresponding demands by professional men. As a result, the government's expenditures for wages rose by I£260 million in the 1966-67 budget.

Because of the general election, the budget was not presented until February 1966; its main feature was a rise in taxes to pay for increased civil service wages and to reduce inflationary pressures.

Population and Migration

The estimated permanent population at the end of 1964* was 2,525,600: 2,239,200 Jews, 202,300 Moslems, 55,500 Christians, and 28,600 Druses and others. The 1,632,700 increase in the population since independence was due to 1,061,900 net immigration and 570,800 natural increase. Of the Jewish population, 39.4 per cent were born in Israel, 31.2 per cent in Europe and America, 14.9 per cent in Africa, and 13.8 per cent in Asia. Israel had 17 per cent of the estimated total of Jews in the world.

The number of immigrants (including those who entered as tourists and settled permanently) was 47,638 in 1961; 61,328 in 1962; 64,364 in 1963, and 54,716 in 1964. The 1,074,792 immigrants between May 15, 1948 and the end of 1962, included 575,708 born in Asia and Africa and 479,648 in Europe and the Americas. The estimated numbers of emigrants during the period were 7,330 in 1961, 7,644 in 1962, 10,866 in 1963, and 9,121 in 1964. Tourists settling in Israel numbered 1,900 in 1962, 2,300 in 1963, and 2,580 in 1964.

Communal Events

In March Simeon Agranat, deputy president of the Supreme Court, was named president to succeed Isaac Olshan. Moses Silberg became deputy president, and Isaac Kister of the Tel-Aviv district court was appointed supreme court justice to fill the vacancy.

* At the end of 1965, the estimated total population was 2,599,000, of whom 2,299,000 were Jews (*Statistical Bulletin of Israel*, March-April 1966, p. 133).

On May 8 Judge Moses Gaulan of the Jerusalem district court, who had sat as a one-man official inquiry committee, reported that Isaac Raphael, deputy minister of health, had been implicated in an attempt to extort a bribe of I£220,000 from contractors and architects who were being considered for the construction of the Tel Gibborim hospital. The money was to go to two religious institutions with which Raphael was connected. Judge Gaulan relied mainly on the testimony of Judah Spiegel, former assistant director-general of the health ministry, who had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for soliciting the bribe after having refused to take the stand at his trial. Raphael's colleagues of the National Religious party (NRP) condemned the Gaulan report as unfair, but Raphael resigned on March 21 to enable him "to clear his name."

After further inquiry, the police reportedly found insufficient evidence to convict Raphael, but Attorney-General Moses Ben-Ze'ev indicted him to clear up the matter. Despite NRP opposition, the Knesset lifted Raphael's parliamentary immunity. The trial was held in the Tel-Aviv magistrates' court, but Spiegel refused to testify on the ground that he might thereby prejudice a further appeal of his case. The prosecution thereupon withdrew its case for lack of evidence.

At a rally held by the NRP to celebrate his acquittal, Raphael accused Judge Gaulan of partiality and declared that religious Jews should not be compelled to appear before secular courts. Supreme Court President Agranat demanded the publication of the Gaulan report in full to demonstrate the judge's impartiality, and it appeared on October 4.

On May 30, Hayyim Yahil was appointed chairman of the new broadcasting authority established by law to administer Kol Israel, which had previously been directly controlled by the prime minister's office.

The Seventh Maccabiah Games were held in Ramat Gan on August 23-31 with 1,400 participants (including 225 from the United States). The United States contingent came first, with 68 gold medals, 45 silver, and 33 bronze; Israel followed with 32, 45, and 30 respectively; the United Kingdom, with 18, 10, and 18, and South Africa with 13, 11, and 6.

The walls and dome of the Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth, the largest church in the Middle East, were completed in September by Solel Boneh, the Histadrut contracting company.

Zionist Affairs

The 28th Zionist Congress, which was held in Jerusalem from December 30 to January 11, concentrated mainly on the problems of youth and Jewish education. A frequently repeated watchword was "Facing the Diaspora." The Congress reiterated its major aims, which Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, summed up as intensified activity in all spheres of Jewish life to reduce the danger of assimilation and indifference, to strengthen Jewish consciousness, especially among the

younger generation, and to unite the Jewish communities and individuals with Israel as the center of the life and activity of the Jewish people.

Goldmann was reelected president, and Moshe Sharett chairman of the executive. The election of the new executive was left to the Zionist General Council because the labor parties refused to agree to the Herut-Revisionist demand for greater representation. Marie Syrkin of Brandeis University succeeded the late Louis Segal on the American section of the executive. On July 21 Louis Pincus, treasurer of the Jewish Agency, was elected acting chairman of the executive to succeed Sharett, who died after a long illness on July 9.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE

School System

About 720,000 students were enrolled in Israel's educational institutions at the beginning of the 1965-66 school year. Zalman Aranne, minister of education and culture, stated that 40 per cent of high-school pupils, including all those who passed the entrance examinations in development areas, would be exempt from tuition fees; 10 per cent of the students would benefit from an 80-per-cent reduction in fees, and an additional 10 per cent from a 60-per-cent reduction.

A committee headed by Professor Joshua Prawer of the Hebrew University recommended the reorganization of the school system, with primary school for children from 6 to 12, instead of the present 6 to 14; junior high school for those from 13 to 15, and senior high school for those from 16 to 18. The Teachers' Association strongly opposed the scheme on the ground that it would impoverish the primary school.

With the aid of the UJA-Israel Education Fund, which so far had collected \$10 million, a number of comprehensive schools were established in new towns and neighborhoods, mainly inhabited by new immigrants.

Higher Education

A committee of university representatives and government and public officials, chaired by Zeev Sharef, recommended the establishment of a higher-education authority to determine priorities in allocating funds to the various universities and to control the establishment of new institutions or faculties. The government financed 50 per cent of the budgets of Israel's institutions of higher learning, compared with 40 per cent in 1955-56. The total enrolment exceeded 20,000.

The Hebrew University in Jerusalem had 12,000 students in the new academic year—650 from abroad, including 300 from the United States. Nathan Rotenstreich, who succeeded the late Giulio Racah as rector, stated that the demand for new places was straining the university's resources and that the faculty of natural sciences could admit only a third of the qualified

applicants. The university's board of governors adopted a plan to expand this faculty over a five-year period at a cost of I£50 million, of which the government would pay one-third; the Friends of the Hebrew University abroad would be asked to supply the rest. A \$6-million Life Sciences center was to be erected with the aid of the California Friends of the Hebrew University. The university opened a groundwater-research center with the aid of Swiss benefactors, and planned to institute a department of American studies. Its branch in Tel-Aviv was to be gradually transferred to Tel-Aviv University.

The Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa, launched a \$50-million drive to enlarge its undergraduate capacity from 4,000 to 5,000. Eleven of the 15 faculties and departments had moved to the new Technion City on Mount Carmel, to be completed by 1970. Over a hundred students from eighteen developing countries were attending a special course in agricultural engineering at the Technion.

The Weizmann Institute of Science adopted a five-year plan to consolidate its financial position, now that its large-scale building and development program was about to be completed.

Tel-Aviv University, with 5,000 students—almost 50 per cent more than the previous year—became Israel's second-largest institution of higher learning. It had five faculties besides the pedagogical department and the Rubin Academy of Music, and an academic staff of almost 550. It planned to spend I£95 million on new buildings during the next five years.

Bar-Ilan University opened its tenth academic year with over 2,000 students, one-third more than the previous year. It hoped to double its enrolment within five years.

In October the cornerstone was laid for a new Haifa University building, which was to be completed in three years. Haifa University College was under the academic tutelage of the Hebrew University.

HIAS House in Beersheba, which was bought by the municipality for \$400,000 and transferred to the Committee for Higher Education in the Negev, was to be expanded to house the city's University College.

Archeology

The second and final season of excavations at Masada, site of King Herod's palace and the last stand of the Jewish rebels against the Romans in the years 66–73, was completed at the end of March. Professor Yigael Yadin of the Hebrew University, who headed the team of archeologists, was assisted by thousands of Israeli and foreign volunteers. Another important scroll fragment, 53 silver shekels and half-shekels, a group of nearly 250 sherds inscribed with letters of the Hebrew alphabet, a building which seemed to have been a house of study, and a second *miqweh* (lustration pool) were among the discoveries.

The scroll, part of the long-lost Hebrew original of the Apocryphal Book of Jubilees, brought the total number of scroll fragments found at Masada to 12. These were the only scroll fragments found in proper stratigraphical

contexts which dated them irrefutably before the destruction of the Second Temple in the year 70. A total of 3,800 Jewish and Roman coins of the first half of the first century were also found. They constituted the largest single group of that period thus far uncovered. Nine months were spent in improving the approaches, reconstructing the buildings, and restoring the site, which was opened to the public in December.

Other archeological finds included 90 Aramaic inscriptions on pottery at the excavations of the ancient Israelite citadel at Tel Arad, in the south, and the oldest known copper smelting furnace at Timna near Elath, close to King Solomon's copper mines.

Cultural Activities

The second International Book Fair was held in Jerusalem in April. In connection with the Fair, the Jerusalem Prize for the Freedom of Man was awarded to the Swiss author and playwright Max Frisch.

On Independence Day, May 6, prizes in Hebrew literature were awarded to Solomon Zemach for his work in literary criticism and posthumously to Solomon Dykman for his Hebrew translations of the classics; in science, to Professors Amos de Shalit and Igal Talmi for their book, *Nuclear Shell Theory* (in English); in social science, to Judith Shuval for her book, *Immigrants on the Threshold* (in English); in education, to Professor Carl Frankenstein for projects and research in social education, and to the Israeli Defense Forces for their work in the education and integration of immigrants; in music, to Mordecai Seter for his *Midnight Vigil* oratorio (in Hebrew), and his chamber music, and in agriculture, to Samuel Stoller for his life's work.

The new Israel Museum, opened in Jerusalem on May 11, included the Samuel Bronfman Biblical and Archeological Museum; the Bezalel National Museum of Art, founded in 1906; the Billy Rose Art Garden, for modern sculpture, and the Shrine of the Book, housing Israel's seven Dead Sea Scrolls, the Bar Kochba letters, and other documents and relics of the period. The museum buildings were designed by the Israeli architects Alfred Mansfeld and Dora Gad, the Shrine of the Book by Frederick J. Kiesler and Armond P. Bartos of the United States, and the Art Garden by Isamu Noguchi of the United States.

The Fifth Israel Festival of Music and Drama in July-August featured the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Gary Bertini and Thomas Schippers; the Rinat Chamber Choir and the Bathsheba Dance Ensemble of Israel; the New York City Ballet; James Baldwin's *Amen Corner*, and the Marlboro Players.

Personalia

Shalom Ben-Baruch, veteran journalist, died in Jerusalem on February 11, at the age of 75. Solomon Dykman, distinguished translator of Greek classics into Hebrew, died in Jerusalem in March. Samuel Penueli, literary critic and

head of the Tel-Aviv University Hebrew literature department, died in Holon on March 22, at the age of 61. Michael Green, elder brother of former Premier David Ben-Gurion, died in Tel-Aviv on March 26, at the age of 86. Ben Ami Gourevitch, lawyer and former leader of Irgun Zvai Leumi, died in Haifa on April 12, at the age of 41. David Israeli, last of the founders of Kinneret kibbutz, died in Kinneret in May, at the age of 79. Israel Bar-Yehuda, minister of transport and Ahdut Ha'avodah leader, died in Jerusalem on May 4, at the age of 69. Samuel Lewin-Epstein, pioneer in dentistry, died in Jerusalem on May 7, at the age of 76. Martin Buber, world-famous philosopher, died in Jerusalem on June 13, at the age of 87. Moshe Sharett, former premier and foreign minister, died in Jerusalem on July 9, at the age of 70. Maurice Fisher, Israel ambassador to Italy, died in Switzerland on August 19, at the age of 62. Joel (Giulio) Racah, noted physicist and head of the Hebrew University theoretical physics department, died in Florence on August 28, at the age of 56. Isaac Guri, veteran parliamentarian and chairman of the Knesset's finance committee, died in Tel-Aviv on September 17, at the age of 74. Marco Chelouche, a pioneer of Tel-Aviv, died in Tel-Aviv on September 17, at the age of 75. Abraham Shapiro, pioneer member of Hashomer, died in Petah Tikva on December 28, at the age of 95.

MISHA LOUVISH

Arab Middle East

MUCH HAPPENED in the unstable Middle East in the period under review (June 1961 to December 1965): Premier Abdul Karim Kassim of Iraq was assassinated; the Imam of Yemen and the Emir of Kuwait died; King Saud gave up the throne of Saudi Arabia to Crown Prince Faisal; President Ibrahim Abboud of the Sudan was forced to resign. The United Arab Republic, the union of Egypt and Syria to which Yemen also nominally belonged, broke up, Syria thereafter being plagued by economic regression and political unrest. Yemen became the scene of tribal and civil war, with Egypt and Saudi Arabia actively backing rival factions. Iraq experienced two coups after Kassim's overthrow. Despite Arab nationalist protests and subversion, Britain merged her protectorate of Aden with ten British-backed emirates to form the Federation of South Arabia. Jordan and King Hussein survived periodic threats from Egypt, and Kuwait successfully resisted Iraqi claims.

The Middle East arms race continued, and was of two types: Arab vs. Arab (e.g., Saudi Arabia and Jordan vs. Egypt) and Israeli vs. Arab (especially Egyptian). In the Israeli-Arab arms build-up there was emphasis on rockets (built in Egypt with the aid of German scientists), missiles (sent by Russia to Egypt), and talk of atomic weapons. There was no real change in the situation of the Palestinian Arab refugees, but a "Palestine entity," representing Palestinian military units and a government-in-exile, was established.

Chiefly as a result of border disputes, the Arab-Israeli hot-and-cold war was constantly, sometimes dramatically, under discussion in the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council. While the tensions caused by terrorist *fedayeen* raids in the 1950s, and by the Sinai invasion seemed to have abated, scarcely a month went by in the period under review without some small-scale, but bloody incident on Israel's borders, especially with Syria. Usually, one of the four Mixed Armistice Commissions and the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization would investigate the reported incident; the latter's chief of staff (Swedish Major General Carl von Horn, and, after April 1963, Norwegian Lieutenant General Odd Bull) would file

◦ Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria are treated separately.

a report with the Secretary General and/or the Security Council; a resolution deploring hostilities would thereupon be issued, until a new round of border attacks and counterattacks would start again.

Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, still the most important single figure in the Arab world, faced massive domestic problems: population explosion; limited natural resources; health needs of the peasants; inadequate agriculture and industry, and infrastructure for both; shrinking foreign exchange, and huge debts. (By the end of 1966, Nasser was to repay a billion dollars to foreign creditors, including about \$300 million to the USSR.) An acceleration of Nasser's domestic revolutionary program extended the nationalization and Arabization of the economy. With a few oil-rich exceptions, all countries of the Arab Middle East shared these problems.

Because of the large-scale emigration of Jews from Arab lands in the past two decades, and because repressive anti-Jewish and Arabization-nationalization policies had adversely affected most of the remaining Jewish communities, news about them was scant. The scholarly Israeli quarterly *Ha-mizrah He-hadash* ("New Orient") discontinued its news coverage on Jewry in the Middle East.

Afro-Asian Bloc

International developments reflected the rivalries of the great powers in the area, as well as the ambitions of the various Arab states and leaders. The states were somewhat precariously united in the Arab League, whose activities continued to center on the struggle against Israel. But they were also members of the United Nations, and, as part of the Afro-Asian bloc, participated in a series of conferences of non-aligned and Afro-Asian nations. (Conferences of the first type did not include Communist states other than Yugoslavia; those of the second excluded the Yugoslavs but included Communist China.) Egypt shared the leadership of the non-aligned states with India and Yugoslavia. The most recent conference of non-aligned nations, attended by delegates from 47 and observers from 10 more, took place in Cairo in October 1964. An Afro-Asian conference, which was scheduled to take place in Algiers in 1965, was called off as a result of the overthrow of the government of Ahmed Ben Bella (p. 441).

In addition, Egypt, the Sudan, Libya, and the states of western North Africa all belonged to the Organization of African Unity, established at a conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May 1963. For a time the so-called Casablanca bloc, consisting of Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, and Mali, had existed as a political sub-grouping of African states and in August 1961 had agreed to establish a joint military command and an African common market. However, nothing came of these proposals, and the bloc had fallen apart even before it was formally dissolved when the Organization of African Unity was established.

Inter-Arab Affairs

Developments in the Arab world were affected by four specifically Arab political movements which crossed national lines. Two of these, the Ba'ath party (Arab Socialist Renaissance party, with headquarters in Damascus) and the Moslem Brotherhood, were formally organized and had more or less definite ideologies. Ba'ath emphasized Arab unity, socialism (by which it meant mainly a large measure of public ownership), and collective, as opposed to personal, leadership. It was strongly anti-Communist at home and neutralist in international affairs; its leading theoretician, Michael Aflaq, had close personal ties with Jawaharlal Nehru of India. The Moslem Brotherhood stressed Islamic rather than Arab unity; its political and economic programs, based on what may be called Koranic puritanism, were rather vague. It was not pro-Western, nor was it particularly fond of the various Arab monarchies; but its antagonism to "atheistic Communism" and its disagreement with the goals of Ba'ath and Nasser sometimes brought it into an uneasy alliance with the West and the monarchs. Both Ba'ath and the Brotherhood were outlawed in most Arab countries. At the end of 1965 the former was legal only in Syria, where it ruled (although at times it had also been a governing party in Iraq and Jordan); the Brotherhood was represented in the government of the Sudan and was tolerated in Jordan, but was illegal in all other states. In August 1965 Nasser announced that a conspiracy of the Brotherhood had been exposed, and more than a thousand persons arrested.

Nasserism, the strongest influence in the Arab world, was not a formally organized political movement (even in the United Arab Republic, the official Arab Socialist Union was a shadowy thing), although numerous political parties and groups looked to Nasser for leadership. The views on domestic and international affairs of Nasser's followers were, on the whole, similar to those of Ba'ath; the difference was that for Nasser's followers, the ideas tended to be less important than the leader.

The conservative faction, represented by the Arab monarchs and their feudal, tribal, and religious allies, made up the most amorphous movement of all. The various monarchs and other conservative leaders were divided by personal, dynastic, and sectarian differences; historical and geographical factors also made for variance. They were united chiefly by fear of the radical groups and a desire to preserve their own influence. While not necessarily pro-Western, they looked to the West for support. Before the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy the outstanding representative of this group had been Premier Nuri es-Said of Iraq; in recent years the leadership has passed to Saudi Arabia. All major Arab political groups were strongly anti-Israel, though in their polemics they often accused each other of being Zionist tools.

After the secession of Syria from the United Arab Republic in September 1961, and the dissolution of the nominal ties between the UAR and Yemen three months later, various attempts were made to unite the revolutionary Arab countries. Ba'athists had seized power in Syria and Iraq in 1963 and

subsequently entered into negotiations for union with the UAR. These broke down after a brief success when Nasser refused to accept the Ba'ath's condition that it retain control in both countries and name the Syrian and Iraqi representatives in the common government to be founded. A nominal union was then established by Syria and Iraq; some troops were exchanged, but each government remained autonomous, even in foreign affairs. The union collapsed when the Ba'ath regime in Iraq was overthrown in December 1963. Iraqi President Abdul Salam Arif then began separate negotiations for unity with the UAR. In May 1964 he and Nasser signed an agreement for the establishment of a joint military command in time of war and a joint presidential council to plan the unification of the two governments. However, by the end of 1965 further progress toward unity was scant.

Less formal moves toward union were made by several Middle East monarchs. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, chief initiator, visited the rulers of Iran, Kuwait, and Jordan at the end of 1965, reportedly for the purpose of forming an anti-Nasser, antirevolutionary, pro-Islamic bloc. Previously, in May 1962, the then King Saud had set up an Islamic World League in Mecca to teach the faith and fight its foes. Saudi influence was exerted against Nasserism in all spheres. In Yemen the confrontation became a hot war, for the republican regime, established in September 1962, received the support of Egyptian troops while its royalist opponents operated from Saudi bases with Saudi arms. The UN intervened and in 1964 and 1965 succeeded in getting several cease-fire agreements, none of which, however, did more than halt the escalation of the war. At the end of 1965, 60,000 UAR troops in Yemen were still actively engaged against Saudi-armed royalist tribesmen.

The UAR and, to a lesser degree, Syria received military aid from the Communist nations. Saudi Arabia and Jordan received large arms shipments from the United States, while Iraq had British and Soviet weapons. From time to time there were semi-official proposals for an embargo by the great powers on the introduction of additional armaments into the area, but none of them ever reached the stage of formal negotiations.

Saudi Arabia also took a leading part in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, which included both Arab and non-Arab oil producing states. This organization chiefly sought to augment royalty percentages for the producing states, as well as to obtain for them a greater share of the ownership and profits from refining and marketing. The producing states suspected that the major oil companies, by manipulating the price at which their producing subsidiaries sold oil to their refining and marketing subsidiaries, artificially reduced the profits on which they had to pay royalties and taxes under their concessions. The position of the producing states was strengthened by the readiness of newcomers to the region, such as the Italians, Russians and Japanese, and a few American independents, to outbid and/or undersell the long-established companies in order to break into both the Middle East concession areas and the European market.

Arab League and Israel

The Arab League's boycott against Israel continued (p. 397). The Arab nations refrained from any commercial or other contact with Israel, and Israeli shipping was effectively barred from the Suez Canal. Efforts to extend the boycott, by bringing economic pressure on foreign firms to join it, met with mixed fortune. Some companies closed branches in Israel or otherwise supported the boycott to protect their interests in the Arab countries (AJYB, 1963 [Vol. 64], pp. 241-42; 1964 [Vol. 65], pp. 152-54; 1965 [Vol. 66], pp. 309-10; p. 269); others ignored it. Occasionally such pressures produced adverse public reactions, as in the Mancroft case in England (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 200). Early in 1965 the League's effort to maintain a diplomatic boycott of Israel combined with the German Federal Republic's policy of breaking diplomatic relations with any country which recognized East Germany—other than the Soviet Union—produced an explosive diplomatic situation (pp. 358, 397). When, in January, the Federal Republic began to ship Israel some \$80 million worth of modern weapons, it was announced that East German chief of state Walter Ulbricht had accepted an invitation to visit Cairo. Warnings were exchanged between Cairo and Bonn; Nasser threatened to recognize East Germany if West German military aid to Israel were not stopped, and German Premier Ludwig Erhard let it be known that West German aid to the UAR would cease if the invitation to Ulbricht were not withdrawn. Erhard announced on February 12 that there would be no further arms shipments to Israel; when Ulbricht nevertheless arrived in Cairo on February 24, Erhard halted economic aid to the UAR. (The effect of this was somewhat doubtful; most of the aid promised—largely in the form of loans—had already been received by Cairo, and Nasser had threatened that a cancellation of aid would be met by a refusal to pay \$200 million owed to Bonn under previous agreements.) Hoping to quiet the storm aroused by the cessation of arms shipments to Israel, Erhard announced on March 7 that he would seek the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with that country. On March 15 the Arab League responded by voting to break off diplomatic relations with West Germany if such ties with Israel were established; Morocco and Libya expressed reservations, as did Tunisia, whose President Habib Bourguiba was particularly disparaging of Nasser's leadership and neutrality. When West Germany and Israel established diplomatic relations in May, all the Arab states, except Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya, withdrew their ambassadors from Bonn, but commercial and consular relations continued; none extended diplomatic recognition to East Germany. West Germany continued to receive some 75 per cent of its oil from the Arab states; its overall trade with them expanded in the first half of 1965 to more than \$2.5 billion.

In most matters the Arab League remained little more than a façade. Although Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Jordan, and Syria set up an Arab common market on January 1, 1965, it remained in a rudimentary stage, and its future

was uncertain. A joint Arab military command existed only in name; no Arab state was willing to place its forces under the command of another. Frequent internal conflicts resulted in periodic boycotts of meetings of the League by some of its members.

One such incident occurred when the British protectorate over Kuwait ended in June 1961. Abdul Karim Kassim, then premier of Iraq, immediately claimed sovereignty over the tiny, but immensely rich oil-producing area. When the other Arab states recognized Kuwait's independence and admitted it to Arab League membership, Iraq boycotted League meetings in protest. After Kassim's overthrow his successors dropped Iraq's claim to Kuwait and resumed active participation in the League. An important by-product of this conflict was Kuwait's establishment of a \$280 million Fund for Arab Economic Development, which made low-interest loans to other Arab countries.

After Syria's secession from the UAR, the latter refused to attend League meetings until Syria apologized for its violent attacks on President Nasser. Lebanese mediation soon ended the UAR's boycott. In 1965 Tunisian President Bourguiba began a boycott of League meetings after he had been widely denounced in other Arab states for his proposals in regard to a Palestine settlement (p. 432).

The League repeatedly discussed measures to counteract Israel's plans for drawing water from the Jordan for irrigation of the Negev. Proposals for the use of armed force were strongly opposed by the UAR, and made little headway. Instead, plans were drawn up for the diversion of the Jordan's headwaters before they reached Israel (p. 254, AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], pp. 301-02). An Arab Authority for the Exploitation of the Jordan and Its Tributaries was established in September 1964, and some work on diversion reportedly was begun, but fear of the possible use of force by Israel seemed a deterrent to the project. Proposals for stationing troops of other Arab states in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan to assist them in case of an Israeli attack were rejected by these states. They feared that the presence of troops from other Arab states might precipitate the attack it was designed to prevent. Also, there was mutual distrust.

At the Arab League meeting in Cairo in September 1963 Ahmed Shukairy, the Palestinian representative, was appointed to head a delegation to the United Nations General Assembly to promote the cause of Arab Palestine. Objection came from the long-established Arab Higher Committee under ex-Mufti of Jerusalem Haj el-Husseini, which considered this a usurpation. The dispute sharpened as Shukairy and Ba'athist party members laid plans for a more substantial government-in-exile than had existed before. The term "Palestine entity" became current. A Palestine National Congress was set up, which Husseini refused to recognize. The government of Iraq did recognize it, and closed the Baghdad office of Husseini's Higher Committee.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (EGYPT)

In September 1961 Syrian army officers seized Radio Damascus and other key installations, and declared Syria's independence and separation from the United Arab Republic. The wholesale Egyptianization and economic regimentation of Syria had produced a popular reaction which helped make the military coup a success. On October 1 Egypt, still calling itself the United Arab Republic broke off diplomatic relations with Turkey and Jordan because they had recognized Syria's new regime. But on October 5 Nasser announced that he would not try to win back Syria by force or maneuver, and in December dissolved the UAR's association with Yemen.

Nasser then intensified his revolutionary policies at home and nationalization and Arabization became standard practice in the ensuing months. A purge campaign against "millionaires and reactionary subversive elements" resulted in seizure of the property of 422 persons (more than half of them Jews or foreigners). In September 1962 Nasser appointed Ali Sabry prime minister to relieve himself of day-to-day administrative tasks. Nasser presided over a presidential council, the nation's supreme authority, to direct national and political affairs. A law of December 1962 recognized the Arab Socialist Union as Egypt's sole political party. In May 1965, in a new election under a constitution adopted in March 1964, Nasser was given another 6-year term. In September Zacharia Mohieddin, a Copt and old associate of Nasser, succeeded Sabry as prime minister. There was no organized opposition to Nasser, but the funeral of the former Wafdist Premier Mustapha Nahas in August 1965 turned into an anti-government demonstration. (Numerous members of the Moslem Brotherhood had been arrested during 1964 and 1965 on charges of plotting against the regime.)

Militarily, priority was given to the development of missiles and other armaments, with the aid of foreign technicians. In April 1963 it was estimated that of 500 Europeans under contract on UAR rocket projects, 93 were West German scientists (some former Nazis). In July 1962 it was reported that the UAR had successfully launched four single-stage rockets. Nasser stated they were in large-scale production and could go as far as 400 miles, or "just south of Beirut." The Soviet Union also supplied the UAR with ground-to-air missiles. A jet-aircraft plant reportedly began to produce trainers, fighters, and troop transports. A nuclear reactor, built with Soviet aid, produced isotopes for scientific and medical purposes. Egypt's military budget was estimated at about \$300 million per year. At the end of 1964 the war effort in Yemen had cost Egypt approximately one billion dollars and 10,000 soldiers.

In November 1965 Nasser agreed with King Faisal of Saudi Arabia on a settlement for Yemen which included removal of Egyptian troops by September 1966.

The UAR's population of about 30 million was increasing at an annual rate of 2.8 per cent. As of July 1, 1965, foreign currency holdings were down

to \$27 million. An estimated billion dollars in debts were due by the end of 1966. Cotton and Suez Canal receipts totaled about \$310 million a year. Income from cotton fluctuated sharply from year to year, but the Suez Canal, for which the final payment had been made in 1963, handled steadily increasing traffic and further increases in its capacity were planned. Agriculture supported about two-thirds of the population, but provided only about a third of the national product.

Aid continued to come from both East and West. The Soviet Union promised \$277 million to help the UAR's third five-year plan, which began in 1965. United States food shipments were resumed after a curtailment in protest against Nasser's inadequate handling of the burning of the Kennedy Library in Cairo by African students demonstrating against United States policy in the Congo (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 305; p. 253). France, interested in regaining its former Levantine eminence, extended to Nasser \$60 million in credits in 1965. It also donated scholarships, and French schools, which had been closed since the Suez invasion of 1956, were reopened by the autumn of 1965—a clear exception to the general policy of Arabization in education.

IRAQ

The Shiite Kurds in northern Iraq, largely under the leadership of Mullah Mustapha al-Barzani, continued their rebellion against Sunnite Arab domination from Baghdad. Government efforts to suppress the rebellion, or to reach a satisfactory basis of agreement on an autonomous Kurdistan, were unsuccessful. In June 1961, when England withdrew as Kuwait's protector, Iraqi Premier Abdul Karim Kassim declared that Kuwait was actually an integral part of Iraq. Until Kassim's successors finally recognized Kuwait's sovereignty in October 1963, this irredentist position, not shared by any other Arab nation, drove Iraq into a near state of war with Kuwait and Britain and into isolation from all sister Arab states. (As other Arab states recognized the new nation of Kuwait, Iraq in protest cut off diplomatic ties with them.)

On February 8, 1963, Kassim was overthrown and executed by leaders of the Ba'ath party and pro-Nasser army officers, led by Abul Salam Arif. General Hassan al-Bakr, a Ba'athist, became prime minister, and Arif, once condemned to death by Kassim for his pro-Nasser stand, was named president. Communists and collaborators of Kassim were the victims of a reign of terror. In March 1963 the Ba'ath party seized power in Syria, and Iraq and Syria then started negotiations for union with the UAR. But Nasser refused to concede equality to the Ba'ath, and the result was a sharpening of differences.

Iraq's Ba'athist government united officially with Syria in September. The Iraqi Ba'athists, however, soon split into two factions, left-wing and moderate, and the schism produced a counter-coup, led by pro-Nasser President Arif. Failing to win over the moderate Ba'athists, Arif exiled them. Nasser

signed an agreement with Iraq in March, providing for a military union in time of war. In May Arif attended the opening of the Aswan dam in Egypt where the two presidents made further plans for future union. By the end of 1965 Iraq had established a political front after Egyptian pattern, called the Arab Socialist Union, and had intensified nationalization and Arabization.

Jewish Community

On December 6, 1963, the Arif government adopted a law depriving Jews of their Iraqi citizenship and property if they failed to register and apply for identification passes. On January 21, 1964, the official gazette stated that the property of Jews who could not prove that they were entitled to Iraqi nationality would be impounded. On September 8 a new law went into effect banning Jews from disposing of their real estate or business investments until they had proved they were still citizens. This legalized process of making the Jews destitute and stateless continued. In October thirteen Jews were singled out and their property confiscated because they had not returned to Iraq within the time limit set by a decree of June 1963.

SYRIA

Upon Syria's secession from the UAR in September 1961 (p. 412), its sovereignty was recognized by the United Nations and the great powers. Nazem al-Kodsi was elected president and parliamentary procedures were restored.

On March 28, 1962, the Syrian army command dissolved parliament for allegedly having failed to live up to the mission which the nation had entrusted to it, promising to restore what it called construction socialism, adhere to non-alignment, and seek the friendship of both "dear Egypt and sister Iraq." A day later al-Kodsi and 99 other members of his parliament were arrested and a pro-Nasser demonstration in Homs was suppressed. In April seven junta officers of the September 1961 and March 1962 coups were exiled. Later that month Syria's army chief of staff announced the return to office of President al-Kodsi. A decree in July guaranteed labor's right to form unions and engage in trade-union activities, but three days later the Syrian Federation of Labor and Trade Unions was dissolved and 11 union officials were imprisoned to "safeguard security."

Another coup, on March 8, 1963, brought a coalition of Ba'athist and Nasserist elements to power, but the failure of negotiations for union with the UAR (p. 420) led to a break between the two groups. In June 1963 the Ba'ath party was in power, and a pro-Nasser coup was suppressed with a good deal of bloodshed and some executions.

In February 1964 economic crisis struck Syria. The government blamed a bad wheat harvest, poor exports, and maladministration in previous regimes, but the Damascus chamber of commerce placed the blame on inflation, foreign-exchange regulations, and bank nationalizations, which had

frightened capital away. Still, economic relations with other countries, especially with Great Britain, France, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, remained good. In 1964, when the bazaar keepers of Damascus, Hama, Aleppo, and Homs struck against nationalization laws, government reaction was swift. Dozens were sentenced to death and greater nationalization was threatened.

Several cabinet changes took place in 1964 and 1965 as a result of disagreements within the Ba'ath party and with the armed forces on economic policy and attitude towards the UAR. At the end of 1965 the moderate Ba'ath leader Salah al-Bitar was prime minister and General Amin al-Hafiz president.

Jewish Community

In November 1963 there were approximately 4,000 Jews in Syria. They were officially barred from military and civil service. In March 1964 they were forbidden to travel more than three miles from their homes without permits. Those who obtained permission to leave the country could take no more than \$100 with them, having to abandon all other property and belongings.

LEBANON

In 1961 riots and attempted coups by extremist parties (the Najjada party, which advocated union with the UAR; the Syrian Popular party; the Greater Syria party) racked Lebanon's political life. The government retaliated with dissolution of foreign-based parties, arrests, mass trials, and executions. In December 1963 the Ba'ath party was declared illegal and Communist papers were banned. Still, Lebanon continued a relatively liberal policy of offering political asylum—to Saudi princes, Syrian politicians, and radical and reactionary exiles.

Lebanon was an entrepreneur state with laissez-faire economic policies and a large service sector. In October 1963 a branch of the Lebanon Intra Bank SA opened in New York, the first Arab bank to operate in North America. In the same month the Moscow Narodny Bank opened a Beirut branch to handle trade and financial operations between the USSR and the Middle East.

In August 1964 the Lebanese World Union met for its second convention, with representatives of 30 chapters attending. It was considered a large source of income for the homeland.

Charles Helou was elected president in September 1964. Rashid Karame became premier in July 1965. Lebanon's president had to be a Maronite Christian and its premier a Sunnite Moslem.

In November 1964 it was reported that the *Sydney Jewish News* and the *Australian Jewish Times* were banned in Lebanon. None the less, of all Arab

states, Lebanon had probably the least repressed Jewish community; many Jews had arrived from Syria in recent years (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], pp. 465-69).

JORDAN

In April 1961, after an exchange of friendly letters initiated by King Hussein, the king and Nasser were cheered in Amman. Six months later Hussein attacked Nasser and praised Syria for its revolt. Accused of instigating Arab upheavals, in January the king denied the charges. In August Palestinian terrorists failed in an attempt to assassinate Prime Minister Abdulla at-Tal and Hussein, which Nasser was alleged to have inspired. In November 1962 the commander of the Jordanian air force defected to Cairo. In April 1963, amid popular demonstrations demanding that Jordan join the newly proclaimed, short-lived entente of Egypt, Iraq, and Syria, Hussein dissolved his chamber of deputies, declared a national emergency, and closed the borders. In March and, again, in August 1964 Hussein met privately with Nasser for peace talks.

A country poor in resources, committed to monarchy *and* modern Arabism, populated mainly by Palestinian refugees yet opposed to attempts by Nasser and the Arab League to set up an independent Palestine and a Palestinian refugee army (what would remain of Jordan?), Jordan maintained a precarious existence. Still, economic expansion continued—due principally to British aid and the security and confidence, ironically based on the knowledge that Israel would not tolerate any overt Arab aggression in Jordan. The Red Sea port of Aqaba and the Jordanian side of the potash-rich Dead Sea were developed. In March 1965 Hussein's cabinet announced a plan for establishing a regional organization for the exploitation of the Jordan River and its tributaries (p. 255).

In August 1964 Jordan and the USSR agreed to establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors. In April 1965 Hussein designated his 18-year-old brother Hassan as heir.

SAUDI ARABIA

The period under review was marked by dissension in the royal house of Saud. In 1961 and 1962 pro-Nasserist Prince Talal, originally minister of finance, clashed with his brother Saud when Talal tried to liquidate United States air installations at Dhahran, and called for a welfare state and constitutional government for Saudi Arabia. By August 1962 Talal's passport had been withdrawn and he lived in exile in Cairo.

Prince Faisal, another brother, was also the object of Saud's dislike, especially since he reportedly condemned the king's extravagance. None the less, Faisal became prime minister in October 1962. From then on Saudi Arabia and the UAR alternated between undeclared war and indecisive negotiations

over Yemen. In November Faisal broke off diplomatic relations with Cairo; he also announced the abolition of slavery in the kingdom. Shukairy was dismissed as minister for United Nations affairs in August 1963. In September Saud returned to Riyadh after four months of medical treatment abroad, met with Nasser in Cairo in January 1964, and on March 3 restored relations.

In March, however, Saud submitted to a royal family decision that reduced him to a figurehead and made Faisal regent. Saud abdicated on November 2, 1965, and Faisal became king. Three months later there were reports of Communist cells and arrests in the kingdom's eastern province. In February 1965 it was reported that talks on diplomatic relations with the USSR were in progress.

In May 1963 the United States Department of State reported it had made clear to the Saudi Arabian government that American Jewish servicemen would not be eliminated from the personnel assigned to Dhahran air base and that they had lately been serving with the jet squadrons which regularly held exercises there (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 153). A Defense Department statement that this was done with the Saudi Arabian government's approval was denied in Riyadh.

In June 1963 the American Jewish Congress stated that the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), after refusing to do so, was complying with the September 1961 order of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 277). The order directed Aramco to cease the practice of refusing to hire Jews because of their religion, and to stop using certain forms, including Saudi Arabian visa applications, which might imply directly or indirectly that employment with the company depended on religion or ancestry. (But on March 14, 1966, the *Wall Street Journal* reported: "The Saudis won't issue work permits to Jews. So Aramco has no Jewish personnel in the country, at least knowingly.")

In 1965 the United States sharply increased its arms shipments to Saudi Arabia.

Y E M E N

In August 1962, 400 Yemeni students gathered at the embassy of Yemen in Cairo, protesting the imam's exclusion of chemistry, physics, and other scientific subjects from school curricula and its emphasis on religion and the Arabic language.

On September 19, 1962, the imam died (reportedly assassinated) and Crown Prince Mohammed al-Badr who succeeded him, promised reforms. On September 27 a Liberal Revolutionary Army announced that it had seized power, set up a "free republic," destroyed the royal palace, and killed the new imam. Field Marshal Abdullah as-Salal, former chief of the imam's palace guard, was named prime minister and commander-in-chief. The Imam al-Badr was later reported to be alive in northern Yemen and to have called for an emergency session of the Arab League.

At this point royalists and republicans—a division based on tribal as well as ideological differences—sought the support and recognition of all nations. With the exception of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Great Britain, most nations that extended recognition, including the United States and the USSR, extended it to the republican government. By January 1963 the UAR was actively aiding this government, maintained 15,000 troops in Yemen, and was making air attacks on Saudi Arabia, where the royalist forces were based. Saudi Arabia's complaints led to abortive United Nations truce and withdrawal agreements.

A second truce attempt in December 1964 also broke down completely; but this time almost all the members of the republican government resigned, denouncing as-Salal as corrupt and incompetent. Reportedly they asked the UAR and Saudi Arabia to leave Yemen and called for a meeting of Yemeni tribal chiefs to decide the country's destiny. In January 1965 as-Salal, now president, declared a state of emergency; his premier Hassan al-Amri threatened to execute all traitors and plotters.

In March dissident republicans (in a new Popular Front, with headquarters in Aden) again appealed for peace. This time the new premier, Ahmad Muhammed Nu'man, proposed a meeting with the Popular Front to settle differences.

The UAR and Saudi Arabia agreed in August on the formation of a caretaker government representing both royalists and republicans, the removal of Egyptian troops, and a plebiscite on the type of government Yemen was to have. At the end of the year the agreement had not yet been carried out and there was still sporadic fighting. The UAR and Saudi Arabia asserted, nevertheless, that the agreement was still in force.

KUWAIT

On June 26, 1961, Sheikh Abdullah as-Salen as-Sabah, the emir of oil-rich Kuwait, announced his country's independence, and his will to resist Iraq's territorial claims. The Arab League, the United States, and the United Kingdom and the USSR supported Kuwait's sovereignty. However, when Great Britain, in response to the sheik's request on July 1, 1961, moved some 7,000 troops into Kuwait within two days, the UAR and USSR demanded Britain's withdrawal. By the end of the month, British troops were withdrawing, to be replaced by troops of the Arab League states. Towards the end of the year, when Iraqi troops were again said to be massing near the Kuwaiti border Britain mobilized—Kuwaiti oil and hence its sovereignty were vital to Britain (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 426). This brought a charge from Cairo that the true purpose of the British alert in the Middle East was to threaten the UAR, not to protect Kuwait.

In May 1962 Kuwait was admitted to membership in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the International Development Association, and the International Finance Corporation. A year later it became the

111th member of the United Nations. By September 1963, with Kassim overthrown, diplomatic relations were opened between Kuwait and Baghdad. Kuwait, through its Fund for Arab Economic Development, gave Iraq a large loan, and Iraq recognized its creditor's independence. Within its small territory, Kuwait sought to develop a high standard of living and a modern economy capable of surviving when the oil was exhausted. In addition, the government had invested well over a billion dollars abroad.

In June 1964 it was reported that the Kuwaiti cabinet had taken a secret decision to suspend all dealings with Japan, private and official, as reprisal against the hostile reception allegedly accorded its foreign minister when he visited Japan two months earlier to explain the Arab stand on the Palestine question. Japan later apologized. In November it was announced that Palestinians working in Kuwait would have to relinquish 5 per cent of their earnings to support the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

In the fall of 1965 Sheikh Abdullah as-Sabah died, and his brother and heir, Sabah as-Salem as-Sabah, became emir.

ADEN

On January 16, 1963 Great Britain signed a treaty for the merger of its Aden colony with the Federation of South Arabia, which consisted of ten sheikhdoms, sultanates, and emirates in the desert hinterland of the Aden colony, all under British protection and all promised independent statehood by 1968. Opposition to the merger was violent and incessant, especially from the People's Socialist party (the political arm of the 17,000-member nationalist Aden Trades Union Congress); the Nasser-backed National Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen, and the Arab bloc at the United Nations.

The Aden Trades Union protested and went on strike; British troops and police fought rioters; terrorist bombings continued, killing dozens of British civilians. At the United Nations in April 1965, Great Britain protested attacks on federation territory by Yemeni planes dropping napalm bombs. The UN Special Political Committee and Committee on Colonialism insisted in April 1963 and April 1965 that Great Britain allow popular elections in the federation and cease its repressions, but Great Britain refused to permit visits by UN observers.

In May 1965 the chief minister of Aden, Abd-al-Qadir Maqawi, expressed a possible compromise view: he criticized UN insistence on terminating the federation and stated that the solution in South Arabia was for Great Britain to recognize republican Yemen. In September the governor dismissed him from office and suspended the constitution of the colony, on the ground that the elected government had failed to preserve order.

OMAN

Ahmed Shukairy, then Saudi Arabian ambassador to the UN, charged in November 1961 before the Special Political Committee that Great Britain

was viciously thwarting the Omani people's will to freedom by means of air raids, mass arrests, and the like. Great Britain denied the charge and accused Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt of supplying arms and propaganda to nationalists seeking Oman's independence from the British-backed sultan of Muscat and Oman, Said bin Taimur. The nationalists' leader in this affair, which continued sporadically throughout the period under review, was the rebel imam of Central Oman.

THE SUDAN

With continued aid from abroad, 1961 and 1962 were relatively prosperous years. In July 1961 President Ibrahim Abboud visited Moscow and came back with an open credit of \$22 million to finance development projects. USSR President Leonid I. Brezhnev arrived in Khartoum in October for a state visit. In the same month Abboud made a ten-day visit to the United States, which had given him \$5 million in economic aid since the Sudan's independence, and four months later Chester Bowles, special representative of President John F. Kennedy, came to the Sudan.

In 1964, however, a lack of local and foreign capital brought about an economic crisis and an unpopular austerity program. At the same time the old frictions between the Moslem Arab North, which was politically and socially dominant, and the Negro, part-pagan, part-Christianized South broke out anew. A secession attempt by the southern Sudan failed; race and communal riots were intermittent, and in February 1964 Abboud reportedly expelled some 300 missionaries, mostly Roman Catholic, for agitating and leading riots. In October Sudanese students staged demonstrations against Abboud's military regime in Khartoum and Omdurman, as well as in Moscow and Belgrade.

Martial law was declared in October. Abboud dissolved the supreme council of the armed forces, dismissed the cabinet, and announced the formation of a transitional government, pending the draft of a new constitution. Strikes and riots increased. On November 15 Abboud formally resigned. A constituent assembly was elected in April and May 1965, but southern Sudan boycotted the election. A conservative coalition, dominated by the Umma Madhist party, won 74 of the 156 seats contested in the general elections. The Communist party, which had been supported by a majority of the small educated class, was outlawed. Negotiations with southern leaders were attempted, but fighting continued.

PHILLIP BARAM

Iran

PARLIAMENTARY RULE was reestablished in Iran in September 1964, after a three-year period of rule by decree which began in May 1961 with the dissolution of Parliament and the appointment of Ali Amini as prime minister (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 428). Amini's enforcement of economic austerity was accompanied by a serious attempt to reduce corruption in the government and civil service and by the inauguration of social reforms. He resigned in July 1962 because of poor health and was succeeded by Amir Assadollah Alam.

The catastrophic earthquake of September 1962, which took the lives of 12,000, seemed to accelerate popular demand for social action. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi convoked a people's congress in January 1963 and launched the so-called white revolution, based on the government's six-point program for social, agricultural, economic, industrial, and educational reforms, as well as an extensive public-health program and a new drive against corruption in government. Land reform was reactivated and a literacy corps established. There was a new emphasis on women's rights, including the right to vote in parliamentary elections held in September 1964.

About six million voters, less than a third of Iran's population, voted for the only ticket in the elections. It was headed by Hasan Ali Mansur, organizer of the newly-constituted Iran Novin ("New Iran") party, who succeeded Alam as prime minister. Mansur was assassinated in January 1964, allegedly by religious fanatics opposed to social reforms, and his minister of finance, Amir Abbas Hoveyda, became prime minister.

In 1965 Iran tried to lessen its dependence on the West. Although the shah proclaimed his intention to maintain good relations with the Western powers, his recent actions indicated that the future development of the country would be equally oriented also toward the Afro-Asian countries and the Soviet Union. During a three-week state visit to the Soviet Union, he signed an economic and cultural agreement with the USSR which included provision for the construction by Russia of a \$350-million steel mill near Isfahan. The excellent, though unofficial, relationship between Iran and Israel continued, and there was no movement toward a more active friendship with the Arab countries. Commercial ties linked Iran and Israel, and Israeli agricultural experts, engineers, and other technicians were employed in Iran.

Since 1961, economic activity in Iran has remained at a consistently low level. Many Jewish businessmen, who depended upon imports for their income, suffered acutely as a result of government restrictions to encourage local manufacturing. However, early in 1965 there was a marked upturn when the government, encouraged by increased oil revenues, relaxed credit restrictions.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Of Iran's population of about 20 million, approximately 80,000 were Jews. There was a definite movement from the villages and smaller communities to Teheran, where there were about 40,000. The Jewish population of Shiraz declined from 14,000 to fewer than 10,000 in the last five years. About 3,000 lived in Isfahan, and the rest were in Abadan, Hamadan, Yazd, Kerman, Kermanshah, and other smaller towns. Only a handful were living in villages.

In the last decade emigration to Israel, in no way restricted by the government, had averaged between 100 and 150 monthly, somewhat less than the rate of natural increase of the Jewish population.

Civil and Political Status

Reza Shah Pahlavi, the father of the ruling shah and founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, gave the Jews political equality with all other citizens in 1925. Thereafter they were allowed to buy and own property and to engage freely in business and trade. Like other minorities, they elected one member to represent them in parliament. Although very few Jews held government positions, some were prominent in the professions and business. Most were businessmen.

No serious incidents of antisemitism were reported. Jewish artisans and clerks found little difficulty in being hired by Moslems, though they preferred to work for Jewish employers.

Community Activity

Iranian Jews had no central organization to coordinate their activities; the officially registered Central Jewish Committee did not function as an effective central organ of the Jewish community. Each community in the smaller towns, had its own local committee whose chief interest was education. In Teheran the activities of the 12 existing committees were wider, including medical care, education, child care, vocational training, culture, and welfare. Some committees contributed to the programs of the foreign Jewish organizations working in Iran—JDC, ORT, Otzar Ha-torah, Jewish Agency, and Alliance Israélite Universelle. The wealthier took leading roles in community affairs.

Jewish Education

Most Jewish children in Iran attended schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Otzar Ha-torah, and ORT. With the aid of subsidies from JDC,

these organizations provided elementary and secondary education and vocational training. Their schools were part of the Iranian school system, and their curriculum was basically the same as in government schools, with the addition of Hebrew and other subjects of Jewish content. In the 1965–66 school year 14,000 Jewish children attended 37 of these schools and 2,000 to 3,000 attended non-Jewish schools.

Hebrew education was under the Otzar Ha-torah and the Jewish Agency, which employed Israeli supervisors and graduates of a small local *yeshivah* in Shiraz, with a capacity of 25 students.

In four communities there were day-care centers—two in Teheran and one each in Shiraz, Isfahan, and Hamadan—for approximately 1,500 children. They were operated by the Jewish Ladies' Committee of Teheran, with funds provided primarily by JDC. Most Jewish schools had feeding programs, clothing distribution, and bath and health programs, also supported mainly by JDC.

Health and Social Services

JDC's medical program, combining an intensive school and family health service, continued to maintain the health standards of the Jewish community. As a result of curative and preventive medical care, such diseases as trachoma, dysentery, and malnutrition had been eliminated. The low rate of infant mortality among the people served by JDC health clinics was especially noteworthy. About 15 per cent of those receiving these health services were Moslems. The United States Department of Agriculture supplied surplus commodities for JDC's various feeding programs. JDC and Otzar Ha-torah ran a summer camp near Teheran for about 800 children, and a day camp in Shiraz which enabled about 1,200 children to spend two weeks in the countryside during the day.

In Teheran, a small welfare office gave assistance to the needy, the handicapped and the aged.

Cultural Activities

The Koresh Kabir cultural center in Teheran, founded in 1953 and partially supported by JDC, contained a small library, a synagogue, meeting rooms, and an outdoor recreation area. About 80 university students in Teheran received financial aid from the JDC and a local committee for Jewish education. The young ladies' club offered courses in typing, sewing, and knitting for poor young girls. In 1965, with the help of United States Peace Corps volunteers, a recreational center was established in the Jewish quarters of Teheran.

A young men's committee was established in Shiraz and a branch of the Weizmann Institute in Teheran.