
North Africa

ALGERIA

PREMIER MENDÈS-FRANCE's solemn proclamation of Tunisian autonomy on August 1, 1954, set off a great wave of hope, and to some extent of impatience as well, among the Moslem nationalists of all North Africa. The triumph of the Neo-Destour in Tunisia was a preface to fundamental structural changes in all North Africa. The tragic events which took place in Morocco on August 4, 1954, when six Jews at Petitjean were frightfully mutilated and burnt by Moslem rioters, gave some idea of the impatience aroused by the recent reforms introduced by France.

When he heard of the events in Tunisia, the Algerian nationalist leader Ferhat Abbas sent Premier Mendès-France a telegram from Cairo, where he was a refugee, declaring that the Algerian people confidently hailed Mendès-France's coming to power and hoped that Algeria also would be included in the program of reforms which he was carrying out.

Algeria posed sociological problems which were on the whole identical with those of Morocco and Tunisia, as well as of those other African countries (South Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda) where the interests of the European colonists were coming into conflict with the interests of the natives.

Nevertheless, Algerian nationalism had developed along a different path from those of the Neo-Destour Party in Tunis and the Istiqlal Party in Morocco. Messali Hadj's Popular Party and Ferhat Abbas's Democratic Union of the Manifesto had been active only underground; on the surface there had been complete peace. Only occasional police measures had been necessary. During the course of the year under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) there was no sign of violence, and the European, Moslem, and Jewish communities continued to live together in exemplary peace. While Tunisia and Morocco continued to be the object of United Nations (UN) concern, Algeria had not been a problem in the UN. Neither the deposition of the Sultan of Morocco on August 20, 1953, nor the numerous assassinations in neighboring Tunisia and Morocco, resulted in any disturbance of the security and order of Algeria.

It was expected that until the Moroccan and Tunisian problems were solved, Algerian nationalism would continue to wait and hope in silence—particularly as the Moslem élite had been integrated into the political life of Algeria in the Assembly and the Councils-General of the various departments since 1947.

Jewish Population

There had been no official census in Algeria since 1948. Figures subsequent to that date were estimates based on the 1948 census and vital statistics. The population of Algeria as of January 1, 1954, was estimated at 9,748,138—8,773,000 Moslems and 975,000 non-Moslems, including 140,000 Jews. The last census of the Jewish population had taken place in 1941, under the Vichy regime; hence, all estimates of the Jewish population were necessarily arbitrary. However, since 1948 the total population of Algeria had increased by 10 per cent. At that time, on the basis of the 1941 census, the Jewish population had been estimated at 130,000. So the figure of 140,000 would represent a fairly close approximation of the number of Jews living in Algeria in 1954. Approximately 28 per cent of the Jews of North Africa lived in Algeria, 51 per cent in Morocco, and 21 per cent in Tunisia. A more exact basis for estimates was expected to be available after the official census of the Algerian population, which was scheduled for October 1954.

The Jewish population of Algeria was extremely homogeneous, being composed exclusively of Sephardic Jews from the Mediterranean area; the number of Ashkenazic East and Central European Jews settled in North Africa was negligible. Hence the Algerian Jewish community had a high degree of unity. This was to be explained by the great antiquity of the Algerian Jewish community, which dated back to the pre-Christian era, and by the fact that it had stood outside the great currents of migration which had affected contemporary European Jewry.

The Jewish population of Algeria, like the general European population of North Africa (80 per cent of which was concentrated in the cities), was essentially urban. The three cities of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine contained 55.3 per cent of the entire Jewish population of Algeria. In the eight largest cities of the country there were 85,756 Jews. But despite this heavy concentration, the 140,000 Jews of Algeria were scattered through eighty-eight centers in the Departement of Oran, eighty-eight in the Departement of Algiers, sixty-six in the Departement of Constantine, and sixteen in the oases of South Algeria. The greatest concentration was to be found in the Departement of Oran, bordering on the great Moroccan reservoir.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS

The economic recession which affected the entire world during the period under review was less marked in Algeria than in Tunisia and Morocco, where it was aggravated by local political conditions and by the resulting troubles. Since the Jews of Algeria were essentially merchants, their migration was inevitably affected by the conditions of their economic life. The shifts of Jewish population from the North to the South, particularly to the area of Colom Bechar, as the result of economic developments in that region, noted in the *AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK*, 1954 [Vol. 55], (p. 305), practically ceased during the period under review, and the normal laws of North African Jewish demography resumed their sway—migration from the

South to the North, from the small towns to the large cities, and, increasingly, from Algeria to France. The growing number of Algerian Jewish migrants to France raised many problems. These were analyzed by Grand Rabbi Maurice Eisenbeth of Algiers in an article in the September 1953 issue of *Information*.

Rabbi Eisenbeth proposed: (1) that the Jewish congregations of France prepare lists of the North African Jews settled in their territory; (2) that the North African and French communities cooperate to direct, if possible, the currently uncontrolled migration; (3) that in the principal French communities a reception center for North African Jews be set up, to provide for their social and religious needs—religious instruction, the organization of synagogues following the Algerian ritual, etc.; (4) that a *dayyan* of North African origin be attached to the rabbinical tribunal of Paris to help the French rabbis settle cases involving North African Jews; (5) that an information bulletin for North African Jews be established in Paris; (6) that welfare committees, directed by the North African Jews settled in France, be established; (7) that the cultural life of the new arrivals be developed by the establishment of libraries and the holding of discussions and lectures for the purpose of bringing about closer cultural contact between France and North Africa. Grand Rabbi Eisenbeth concluded his article by emphasizing the important role that the Jews of North Africa could play in strengthening and revitalizing metropolitan Judaism.

Along this line, the first synagogue intended especially for North African Jews was opened in Paris on July 24, 1954. Rabbi Chekroun, himself a native of Gharidaia, spoke in Arabic, urging the North African Jews to organize themselves in France into living and active Jewish communities.

Nevertheless, this effort at integration was faced with economic, social, and psychological difficulties. There was the usual clash between old established communities and newcomers. In *Information* of April 1954, Benjamin Heler, president of the Consistory of Algiers, inveighed vehemently against the condescending attitude of certain French Jewish circles towards Algerian Jewry. These clashes had led certain influential members of the French Jewish community to suggest that the migration of Algerian Jews be directed to Israel instead of to France. The result was a revival of Jewish migration from Algeria to Israel in the course of the year under review. This migration had taken place within the framework of the immigration policy of the Jewish Agency. This policy was the subject of debate in the action committee of the Jewish Agency, meeting in Jerusalem in August 1954, and its decisions were expected to have decisive consequences for the future of North African Jewry. The massacre at Petitjean (Morocco) in August 1954 proved that the position of Jewish communities located at a distance from the great centers remained precarious; it seemed likely to stimulate new departures for Israel in the near future.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The highly undifferentiated Moslem society had offered the Jews under its rule no outlet except as artisans, merchants, or usurers. The most far-

reaching change introduced by the French was the opening of wide economic possibilities to the Jews and the granting to them of the rights necessary to develop economically on a basis of equality with their fellow French citizens. Jews continued to occupy an important place in Algerian commercial life, both wholesale and retail. Jewish artisans, abandoning the ancient methods of the *mellah*, were learning in the French schools mechanical skills which permitted them to compete with products imported from Europe. Alongside the artisans, a class of skilled workers was growing up, trained in government technical schools and in the schools of the O.R.T. Year by year, the number of Jewish physicians, lawyers, dentists, and civil servants was growing. According to the latest available figures, as of 1953, 85.11 per cent of Algerian Jews were gainfully employed. In the Département of Algiers 13.4 per cent were unemployed, in the Département of Oran 18.6 per cent, in the Département of Constantine 27.7 per cent, and in the territories of the South 45.4 per cent. But these figures had risen considerably as a result of the economic recession. The condition of the unemployed was alarming, and was a heavy burden on the budgets of the welfare organizations which were helping them. Commerce, especially the leather and textile trades, employed 30.8 per cent of all Jewish workers. In the intellectual world, where they occupied a position of growing importance, there was a significant tendency among Algerian Jewish youth to abandon such pursuits as law and teaching in favor of the scientific professions. This trend, which could be observed in the registration lists of the universities, represented a shift of the younger generation away from the preferences of its elders.

Political Status

For an understanding of North African Jewry it is important to emphasize the differences of status among the Jews of Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco. Before the arrival of France in North Africa in 1830, all North African Jewry was identical in religion and social and political status. From Mogador to Carthage, the Jews were united by a common ritual in the synagogue and a common subjection to a single law, that of Islam, for which the Jew was a *dhimmi*, subject to very severe legal discriminations. France put an end to this system, which had kept the Jews of the Islamic countries in a humiliating status for twelve centuries, by the Crémieux Decree of October 24, 1870. This gave the rights of French citizenship to all the Jews of the Algerian *départements*. By virtue of it they ceased to be regarded as native Jews and to be subject to the Mosaic law of personal status, receiving the full legal status of Frenchmen. This decree was abrogated under German influence in 1940 and reaffirmed after the liberation of Algeria in 1943. It did not apply to the Jews of the Southern territories; hence the latter, notably those of Ghardaia in the M'zab, were still excluded from the benefits of French law, and had no regular civil status. They were forced to vote in the Moslem electoral college, and were subject to the Mosaic law of personal status, which kept women in a position of inferiority and made them subject to divorce at the will of the husband. This exception affected only about 2,000

persons, several hundred of the Jews of South Algeria having emigrated to Israel. The repeated promises of the French administration to find a solution for this problem had, so far, produced no concrete results. It was hoped that the reforms to be introduced would include the extension of the benefit of the Crémieux Decree to the Jews of the Southern territories. An appeal had been made to the French government in April 1954 for a just solution of this problem.

The Jewish community of Ghardaia could serve as a standard by which to measure the evolution of the Jews of Algeria since the time of their emancipation. Thanks to their possession of political rights and to the guarantee of equality given women by French law, the Jews of Algeria had in the course of three generations reached a high level of Western civilization. They were represented in all the political, economic, and cultural activities of Algeria. The president of the General Council of the Departement of Algiers, Marcel Belaich, and the president of the General Council of the Departement of Constantine, René Meyer, were both Jews, elected by their Christian and Moslem colleagues. This fact was characteristic of the position of the Jewish population of Algeria as an intermediary between the Christians and Moslems; they were able, under certain circumstances, to play a limited role in mediating between the Moslems and the colonists and reconciling their clashing psychologies.

If the emancipation of the Jews of Algeria was firmly rooted in reality, certain signs showed that there was still room for progress, particularly in assuring women *in practice* the rights which the law conferred on them. An interesting article by Rabbi Rahmim Naouri of Bone (Algeria), published in the July 1953 issue of the periodical *Information d'Alger*, vigorously denounced the custom by which a Jewish woman had, in order to get a husband, to bring him a substantial sum of money as dowry. This practice had led to the development of the grave abuse of "dowry-chasing," and degraded the sanctity of marriage.

Community Organization

Each Jewish community in Algeria was directed by a consistory elected and organized in accordance with the provisions of the law of 1905; under this law the consistories were specifically religious bodies, whose function was the organization of public worship. In principle, they had no role as representatives of the community, and no social function except to help the poor within the narrow limits of their budgets. They set up and organized the synagogues, named the rabbis, provided for religious instruction, and administered the Jewish cemeteries which existed in each Algerian Jewish community.

Despite their very limited role and the substantial state subsidies which they received in certain cities, and which paid part of the salaries of the rabbis, almost all the consistories faced great difficulties in meeting their expenses. Hence, with rare exceptions, the rabbis received miserable salaries which undermined their authority and discouraged the youth from devoting themselves to the rabbinical calling. Thus the Rabbinical School of Algiers

and the Talmud Torahs of Oran and Constantine recruited their students from the lowest economic levels of the population.

In order to make their work more effective, the Jewish consistories of Algeria had organized themselves, in April 1947, into a *Fédération des Communautés Juives d'Algérie*. This central organization, which united sixty of the principal Algerian Jewish communities, was the first in the thousands of years of their history. The *Fédération* held its annual meeting in Algiers on April 28, 1954. It resolved to bring Algerian Judaism into closer association with the great currents of world Judaism. The *Fédération* also set itself the goal of establishing a rabbinical school for Algeria, something which has not yet been possible because of lack of funds. The lack of such a school illustrated the grave spiritual crisis which was affecting a Jewish community whose juridical emancipation had preceded its social emancipation. The result was a marked dejudaization and a strong trend towards assimilation. In Tunisia and Morocco, where economic and social emancipation had preceded and paved the way for political emancipation, it had been possible to avoid this tendency.

The conference of the *Fédération* elected Benjamin Heler as president for the year 1954-55, Armand Attali as secretary general, Joseph Charbit as treasurer, and Paul Barkatz, Gaston Saffar, and Joseph Bensadoun as vice presidents. This board was chosen from the elected representatives of the consistories of the three Algerian departments. One of the principal decisions of the *Fédération* was to urge the extension of the work of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in Algeria, in order to strengthen the feeble life of the communities, to fight against the indifference of the Algerian Jewish middle class to Jewish questions, to remedy the absence of a network of social agencies, and thus to resist the trend toward assimilation noticeable in the growing number of mixed marriages. Conscious of its own weakness, the *Fédération* had on several occasions repeated this appeal to the JDC to extend its activities to Algeria, emphasizing the great poverty of a large part of the Algerian Jewish masses. In September 1953, the JDC announced that discussions were under way between JDC officials and leaders of the Jewish community of Algeria for the broadening of JDC activity to meet the specific needs of thousands of poverty-stricken Jews in Algeria.

The JDC contributed 1,000,000 francs (\$28,570) for the immediate relief of needy victims of the earthquake in Orleansville in September 1954. In addition, the JDC office in French Morocco was authorized to forward food, clothing, blankets, and other urgently needed supplies to the stricken area. JDC relief programs in Algeria had been previously limited to the cities of Algiers, Constantine, and Bone. Assistance of one kind or another was being provided to some 1,355 Algerian Jews annually.

The *Assemblée Générale du Comité Juif Algérien d'Action Sociale* met in Algiers on November 14, 1953. This committee had been set up in 1940 by Professor Henri Aboulker to deal with the situation created by the Vichy racial decrees. It was reconstituted in April 1948 to undertake a general defense of the interests of the Algerian Jewish community and to carry on cultural activities. At the time of writing (July 1954), it had 622 members

in all parts of Algeria; 237 were in Algiers. During the period under review the committee had been active in organizing radio programs dealing with Judaism, which had been a definite success, and had reached a large audience. The committee had also organized lectures, addressed by speakers from France, including Armand Lunel, Emmanuel Eydoux, and Jules Isaac. Isaac, an eminent historian whose book *Jesus et Israel* had wide repercussions in France, spoke on Judaeo-Christian relations; his talks in January 1954 reached a very large public and strengthened intercommunal relations. The committee also published an interesting year book of North African Jewry in September 1953.

The Commission Culturelle Juive d'Algerie, set up in December 1952 on the initiative of the North African Bureau of the World Jewish Congress, also organized lectures which were very successful.

The Jewish communities of Algeria were represented in the Consistoire Central des Israélites de France et d'Algérie, whose headquarters were in Paris. On December 5, 1953, elections took place for the ten Algerian members of the Consistoire Central—four from Algiers, three from Oran, and three from Constantine. These elections were a part of the constant and vigorous efforts of the leaders of the Algerian Jewish community to strengthen their ties with the Jews of the world. For the same purpose, Algerian Jewry was represented by a delegation at the third plenary general assembly of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva, from August 4 to August 11, 1953. Algerian Jewry was also represented by fourteen delegates at the World Congress of Sephardic Jews in Jerusalem, and sent representatives to Paris for the Assize of French Jewry and for the sessions of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in June 1954.

Algerian Jewry also expressed itself in numerous social and educational groups, including welfare organizations, the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), the World Jewish Congress, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Keren Kayemeth—Jewish National Fund, the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT), and, among the youth, the Algerian section of the Union des Etudiants Juifs de France and the Mouvement des Eclaireurs Israélites de France. And the religious Zionist youth movement B'nai Akiva, which had set up branches throughout Algeria, organized study circles and held summer encampments at Ain-Tranin near Oran and Bugeaud near Bone in July and August 1953. These were attended by delegates from all parts of Algeria and observers from Israel.

Interfaith Relations

When Léon Blum became premier of France in 1936, there was a great wave of anti-Semitic indignation among the French colonists in Algeria. This indignation was exploited by Hitlerite propaganda, which was at that time very active in Algeria. Eighteen years later, in 1954, the reaction to the accession to office of another Jew, Premier Pierre Mendès-France, was a measure of the great ideological and practical evolution in interfaith relations in Algeria. The few reactionary individuals who regretted Mendès-France's

coming to power because he was a Jew were the exception; the great majority of the population, Christian as well as Moslem, rejoiced in the chance of a renaissance which the new prime minister offered Algeria.

Algeria seemed to be abandoning its long-time role as a favorite stamping-ground for professional anti-Semites. Anti-Semitic publications, like *Rivarol* and *Aspects de la France*, no longer had an immense audience among the colonists who used to read papers like *Gringoire* and *l'Action Française*. In the sharp conflict between the French and the Moslems, the Jews tended to act as harmonizers of the clashing viewpoints, recalling those things which unite rather than those which divide. Thus they served in a mediatory role between the two major sections of the population, and this was appreciated by both Moslems and Christians. Neither the stir caused by the Finaly Affair (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 183-87), nor the grave developments in Morocco and Tunisia had disturbed this exemplary harmony.

Christian and Moslem religious festivals had in the past been considered the sole religious holidays in Algeria. As a result of the action of the Consistoire, the secretary general of the Algerian government sent a telegram to all civil and military authorities on September 2, 1953, directing that special leave be given to Jewish civil servants and soldiers on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur.

The monthly *Informations Juives*, founded in December 1951, carried news tending to give a better understanding of Jewish life, thereby strengthening the bonds between the different communities. L'Union Monothéiste des Croyants had as its purpose the development of friendship and mutual respect among Jews, Christians, and Moslems. This spirit was still growing, and during the year under review was not marred by a single act or newspaper article.

The grand rabbi of Algiers published in September 1953 an interesting historical study, *Les Juifs en Algérie et en Tunisie à l'époque turque (1516-1830)*. In *Musulmans, Andalous, et Judaeo-espagnols*, I.D. Abou in November 1953 gave a graphic description of the North African Jewish communities of Spanish origin.

In February 1954 a pastoral visit to Algeria by the grand rabbi of France, Jacob Kaplan, strengthened the bonds between the Jews of France and of Algeria. It was also an opportunity for demonstrating the friendly relations between Jews, Christians, and Moslems, from whom Grand Rabbi Kaplan received a friendly reception in all the many communities he visited.

Jewish Education

In contrast to Tunisia and Morocco, all Algerian Jews attended government schools. The Alliance Israélite Universelle, whose educational activities extended throughout Tunisia and Morocco, had no schools in Algeria. The Alliance had traditionally contributed to the efficient functioning of the Talmud Torahs by supplying them with competent teachers. For the last forty years the director of the Talmud Torah of Algiers had been Albert

Confino, founder and former director of the schools of the Alliance in Persia. He was eighty-two years old, but as his long career drew to a close, no one had been found to replace him. As a result, religious education was very much neglected in Algiers, and reached only a tiny minority of Jewish youth. In the other cities of Algeria, religious education was given in the Talmud Torahs and its quality depended on the ability of the rabbi who dispensed it. All too often the quality was mediocre, a fact closely related to the religious indifference of the youth and the strong trend toward assimilation noted above.

Young Jews received technical training in the state schools. In addition, ORT helped in the technical training of the youth in its school for the boys and girls of Algiers. This school had 225 students and rendered further service to the Jewish youth of Algiers through its medical clinic and its apprenticeship service. In July 1953 the school was inspected by Mrs. Ludwig Kaphan, president of Women's American ORT, accompanied by Mrs. Gustave Gettemberg and Mrs. Victor Segal. On the basis of their inspection, recommendations were made for additional improvements.

As a result of the initiative of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) undertook during the year under review a large-scale campaign against trachoma. This had very beneficial results for the Jewish youth, who were very much subject to this disease, especially in the communities of South Algeria.

Zionist Activities

The year under review saw a sharp rise in Zionist activities in Algeria. The growth of the State of Israel, the increasingly close bonds between that state and the Jewish communities of North Africa, and the testimony of delegates from Israel and Algerian visitors returning from that country, resulted in an increasingly intense interest in Israel among the Jewish masses. The worsening of the political situation in Morocco and the energetic measures of the Mendès-France government in Tunisia had also considerably increased the interest of the Algerian Jewish masses in the State of Israel.

The Fédération Sioniste de Algérie met in Algiers on November 22, 1953. Forty-five delegates represented all parts of Algeria. On November 23, the first meeting of the three Zionist federations of North Africa took place in the headquarters of the World Jewish Congress. This North African Zionist congress was called by I. Blumenthal, representing the Jewish Agency in North Africa, in accordance with the decisions reached at the Marseilles congress of February 1953 (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 309). This meeting decided to set up a permanent Zionist organization for North Africa and to adopt a program for the coordination of all North African activity. A council of twelve members, four from each of the three countries, and a general assembly of thirty-six members, twelve from each country, was to meet annually. They would deal with all North African Zionist activity. The second North African Zionist Conference met in Algiers February 21-23, 1954. It expressed its disquiet over the slowing down of

emigration from North Africa to Israel, and called on the Jewish Agency to recreate a climate of enthusiasm favorable to mass emigration. The conference also took steps to stimulate Zionist education among the Jewish youth, particularly in regard to the teaching of Hebrew. Delegates present from Israel included Rabbi Zeev Gold, member of the executive of the Jewish Agency and head of its department of education and study of the Torah in the Diaspora; Emmanuel Muskat, representative of the Jewish Agency, and Mrs. Abraham Guilboa, wife of the Israel Consul in Paris. They activated Zionist hopes and made preparations for the annual campaign for Israel, whose 1954 results were not yet available at the time of writing (July 1954).

ANDRÉ CHOURAQUI

TUNISIA

IN THE TWELVE MONTHS beginning July 1, 1953, and ending June 30, 1954, the conflict between the French Protectorate authorities and the Tunisian nationalists underwent a drastic change for the worse. A campaign of widespread, well-organized, and ruthless terrorism caught the Regency unprepared and finally brought home to it as never before the deadly seriousness with which the nationalists took their fight for independence. The cost in lives and property was heavy—about 300 persons killed or wounded and many homes and farms bombed and burned. Among those assassinated were Tunisians and Frenchmen high in government and military office. The government's inability to cope with the situation turned the French colonists and their representatives against Pierre Voizard, the Resident General. They accused him of weakness in dealing with the lawlessness and violence.

General Developments

On August 25, 1953, the then French Resident General in Tunisia, Jean de Hautecloque, left Tunis for a visit to Paris. A week later Tunisia learned officially that he had been replaced by Pierre Voizard, former French minister to Monaco. Voizard arrived in Tunis on September 26, 1953, and a month later lifted the press censorship, returned full powers to the civil authorities, raised the state of siege in the Sahel, and freed more than a hundred political prisoners. The bombings and assassinations abated and Tunisia settled down to a "wait and see" attitude.

The solution of Tunisia's economic problems became the government's chief preoccupation. Widespread discontent arose over the promulgation of new tax decrees by Finance Director Jean Gaston Fraissé. Aiming to decrease the heavy financial burden on France, the new taxes attempted to tap more local sources of money. Lawyers, doctors, dentists, and other professionals were to pay in advance annual fixed sums assessed on the basis of the number of workers employed and of the footage occupied by their offices, irrespective

of their declared yearly earnings, while industrial firms were to pay similar assessments based on the numbers of their employees and machines.

The lawyers struck and were followed by the other professional groups. Uneasy, tentative compromises were accepted, accompanied by promises of further study by the government. Industry's demands were less successful, and some firms went out of business, among them several small Jewish shoe manufacturers employing mostly Jewish artisans. Unemployment increased sharply.

The 1954-55 budget for Tunisia reached 42,000,000,000 francs (about \$95,000,000), an increase of 3,000,000,000 francs (about \$6,000,000) over the previous year. A deficit of 2,500,000,000 francs (about \$5,500,000) was to be met by France.

PROPOSED REFORMS

On January 26, 1954, Voizard declared in a speech delivered at the Cercle Republicain d'outre Mer in Paris that new reforms would be announced soon that would grant more sovereignty to the Tunisians while continuing to safeguard the permanent interests of France and its citizens in Tunisia. Immediately after Voizard's statement, the nationalist Neo-Destour party broke the silence it had kept during the short "wait and see" period. "No grant of reforms—but an accord freely negotiated," they declared, also demanding liberation of their leader, Habib Bourguiba, from detention on the Isle of Galete. The daily *Al Akbar* warned that any reforms not agreed on in advance with the real representatives of the Tunisian people and approved by the Bey were doomed to failure.

On March 2, 1954, the day after his return from Paris, Voizard held a press conference to announce the formation of a new Tunisian government of twelve members, under the presidency of Mohamed Salah M'zali. Eight ministers were Tunisians—namely, the prime minister and the ministers of Musulman institutions, health, commerce, justice, agriculture, labor, and construction. Four ministries remained in French hands, those of finance, public works, education, and communications. The former government had included fourteen members, half of them French and half Tunisians.

The new reforms were published on March 4, 1954. They provided for five representative bodies for which elections were to be completed by mid-October 1954: 1) the Tunisian Assembly; 2) the French delegation; 3) the economic chambers; 4) the municipal councils, including the Municipal Council of Tunis; and 5) the caidal councils. The attributes of all five bodies were purely advisory and consultative. None had legislative power.

In the Tunisian Assembly, the representation of the Jews was reduced to two, one for Tunis and one for the interior; in the previously existing consultative assembly there had been three representatives, one for Tunis, one for the Center and South, and one for the North. A *démarche* was presented to the Regency and to Premier M'zali by leaders of Tunisian Jewry protesting this reduction and asking representation more in conformity with the important role played by the Jews in the economic life of Tunisia.

The reforms were severely criticized by both the French colonists and

the Arabs. Both groups reproached the Protectorate for the secrecy in which the reforms had been drawn up and the haste with which they had been promulgated. The French complained that France had betrayed them by giving too much power to the Arabs, especially by giving the latter most of the posts in the Tunisian government. The Arabs complained that the reforms were a mere repetition of those proposed in August 1952 which they had rejected, and only confirmed and legalized the principle of co-sovereignty which the Arabs had been fighting since 1951. The political bureau of the Neo-Destour Party proclaimed its opposition to the reforms and to the government responsible for them. It criticized the Protectorate for its lack of comprehension of the desire of the Tunisian people to administer their own affairs freely and democratically, and emphasized its determination to fight ceaselessly for the restoration of genuine Tunisian sovereignty and the establishment of a free democratic regime.

TERRORISM

More direct and violent opposition to the reforms broke out¹ with the first armed attacks by the fellaghas in the region of Sbeitla. Calling themselves the Army of Liberation, these armed bands pillaged and burned the farms of French colonists and pro-French Tunisians, assassinated Frenchmen and prominent Tunisian Francophiles, attacked and set fire to trains and automobiles, and engaged in open warfare with French army detachments. Each day brought its bloody events and its mounting toll of innocent victims. The massacre on May 27, 1954, of all five male members of the French families Bessede and Palombier, on their farms near Le Kef, shocked and outraged the French colony and led them, for the first time since the emergence of the fellaghas, to protest indignantly against Voizard.

Events moved more rapidly thereafter. Voizard placed a sun-down to sun-up curfew on the central and western areas of Tunisia, prohibited all taxis and hired vehicles from leaving city limits, transferred police powers to the military, placed all members of the political bureau of the Neo-Destour under house arrest, and rushed in 2,000 infantry and parachutist reinforcements.

On May 21, 1954, Habib Bourguiba, leader of the Neo-Destour Party, was transferred from the Isle of Galette off the northern coast of Tunisia, where he had been confined since January 18, 1952, to the Isle of Croix, off the Brittany coast of France. This change of enforced residence satisfied neither the French colonists nor the Neo-Destour.

On the afternoon of May 29, an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate Premier Salah M'zali. His bodyguard was wounded. On June 16, Premier M'zali tendered the resignation of his government, giving as the reason "the return to methods of violence and incomprehension of certain groups."

The choice of Pierre Mendès-France as premier of France on June 18, 1954, and the creation of a bureau for Moroccan and Tunisian affairs under Christian Fouchet, was received with satisfaction in Tunisian political circles, but with considerable reserve among the French colonists.

¹Latter part of March 1954.

TUNISIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

In the United Nations, the Arab-Asian block again requested that the Tunisian question be included in the provisional agenda of the eighth session of the General Assembly. On September 17, 1953, the General Assembly decided to include the question in its agenda and referred it to the First Committee for consideration and report. In a letter dated October 7, 1953, the representative of France informed the chairman of the First Committee that the French delegation would not participate in the discussions, since the French government considered them an intervention by the United Nations in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of France. The First Committee considered the Tunisian question at meetings held on October 21-26, 1953, and recommended to the General Assembly that all necessary steps be taken to ensure the realization by the people of Tunisia of their right to full sovereignty and independence. The First Committee requested the Secretary General to transmit this resolution together with the record of the proceedings to the French government and to report to the General Assembly at its ninth session. The effect of this resolution differed in no respect from that passed at the meeting of the First Committee on December 17, 1952, and left the situation *status in quo*, since it could be interpreted as conforming with the declared position of France toward Tunisia.

Jewish Population

The last government census (1946) estimated the population of Tunisia at about 3,500,000, of whom more than 3,000,000 were Moslems, 250,000 Europeans (comprising French and other foreigners), and approximately 100,000 Jews.² The most recent figures of the Jewish population (1953), obtained from the Jewish communities, gave a total of 100,264. About 70 per cent of the Jewish population was believed to reside in Tunis and its suburbs, such as La Goulette, Ariana, and La Marsa.

The latest government figures on the occupational distribution of the Jewish population were published in 1948. At that time Jewish workers and artisans were chiefly employed in shoemaking, needle trades, wood-working, and light metal trades. They constituted 46.5 per cent of the gainfully employed Jews. Commerce and small businesses employed 31.1 per cent, while 8 per cent were in the professions, and the remainder in various other types of work, including transportation, fishing, domestic work, and government service.

EMIGRATION

From July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954, 758 Tunisian Jews emigrated to Israel, as compared to 496 in the previous twelve months. The overwhelm-

²Of the 100,000 Jews in Tunisia, about 25,000 had French citizenship.

ing majority of the emigrants originated in the small towns of the interior and came from the lowest economic level. For most of them the Jewish Agency paid transportation expenses.

In June 1954 Zalman Shragai, chief of the immigration department of the Israel government, visited Tunisia to see what could be done to increase the number of emigrants. He visited most of the towns in the South and met with the leaders of the communities throughout the country. It was decided: (1) to create an Aliyah commission consisting of the Jewish Agency, the Zionist Federation of Tunisia, and the Community of Tunis, to act as the policy-making body in all matters pertaining to the encouragement of emigration; (2) to open a Tunisian Bureau in Israel to help in the absorption and integration of Tunisian immigrants, under the supervision of the department of immigration in Israel; (3) to appoint a local Tunisian, responsible to Shragai, to handle cases of business people wishing to relocate their businesses in Israel; (4) to permit 600 persons from the towns of Hara Srira and El Hamma to emigrate without undergoing the usual selective screening, in order to liquidate these two towns as quickly as possible.

The critical political situation and the worsened economic conditions led to fears for the future and created greater interest in emigration to Israel, particularly in the South, where the small Jewish communities felt themselves most exposed. It was anticipated that substantially larger numbers would leave Tunisia for Israel during 1954-55. Emigrants from Tunisia encountered no difficulties in obtaining passports and other travel documents.

Civic and Political Status

The Jewish population of Tunisia fell into three nationality categories: Tunisian, French, and foreign. About three-quarters of the Jews belonged to the first category; most of the remainder were French.

Tunisian nationality antedated the French Protectorate, which came into existence in 1881 under the Treaty of Bardo. Tunisian nationality was defined in the basic treaty of September 10, 1857, and in the Tunisian Constitution of April 26, 1861. The treaty provided in Article 4 that Jewish citizens not be required to change their religion and be permitted to practice their religious rites, and in Article 8 that no distinction be made between Tunisian Moslems and Tunisian Jews. Article 86 of the constitution of April 1861 guaranteed all subjects of the Tunisian Regency, no matter of what religion, the right to complete security of person, property, and of honor.

The constitution also provided for permanent allegiance to the Regency. It stated that all Tunisians who left the country, for whatever reason, whether or not they had been naturalized in another country, would become Tunisian subjects whenever they returned to the Regency. All Jews born in Tunisia and unable to establish a foreign nationality were considered Tunisian under the law. The one exception to the principle of permanent

allegiance was the provision that a Tunisian could become a citizen of the Republic of France upon individual application.

Under various laws the Jews had the rights of freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, and freedom to form trade unions and to establish Jewish organizations for any legal purposes. For Tunisian Jewish citizens the law governing personal status, such as matters of marriage and inheritance, was expressly reserved to the Rabbinical Court. The Rabbinical Court was composed of rabbis appointed by the state. This court applied the Mosaic law and had the right to decide on questions of fact and law. Its decisions were enforced by the Tunisian governmental authorities. Cases outside the jurisdiction of the Rabbinical Court were tried in Tunisian courts, if they involved Tunisian Jews. For other nationalities, the French Consular Court had jurisdiction.

Discrimination and Anti-Semitism

It is a fact of singular significance that in the course of the numerous attacks on French colonists and pro-French Moslem Tunisians, not a single Jew or Jewish community was touched. It must be remembered that small Jewish communities were surrounded by many thousands of Arabs, and that many of these communities were in the areas most affected by the terrorists. Anti-Semitism, however, showed itself in the campaign launched by Arabs in the larger cities to keep Arab women from accepting work as housemaids in French and Jewish homes. Vigorous protests against this campaign were delivered to some of the leaders of the Neo-Destour Party by influential Jews. The Neo-Destour leaders disclaimed all responsibility, blamed extremist elements over whom they had no control, and reaffirmed their friendship for the Jews of Tunisia.

Community Organization and Communal Affairs

Two rival Federations of Jewish Communities of Tunisia carried on their internecine warfare, despite attempts made by the executive committee of the World Jewish Congress to reunite them. The first federation had been organized in 1948 under the presidency of Charles Saada, president of the community of Sfax. The second was organized in May 1953 under the sponsorship of Charles Haddad, president of the Tunis community. Legal recognition was refused to either federation, since the French refused to take a position favoring one against the other. This division made it impossible for either federation to meet the needs of the communities of the interior or to provide a unified voice for the Jewish people of the country.

Neither federation had sufficient funds to carry on its activities, nor could any agreement be reached for a unified fund-raising appeal for the entire country. Since a single unified campaign for the country was blocked by the struggle between the two federations, OSE-Tunisia, ORT-Tunisia,

and Nos Petits conducted their own campaign. This raised only 3,000,000 francs (\$8,500) because the community of Tunis refused to give its support.

The Jewish communities were financed by tax monies collected by the government from kosher meat and Jewish sacramental wine. The government allocated this money on the basis of population figures. For the first time the French government agreed to the repeated requests of the Jewish communities for the inclusion of their welfare and religious needs in the annual budget along with those of the Moslems. The sum of 250,000,000 francs (\$71,400) was provided in the 1954-55 budget for Moslems and Jews. This represented an important departure from previous practice, since previously the Jewish minority was never assured of definite government aid. The communities also received funds from contributions made in the synagogues, from religious rites in the cemeteries, and from special appeals made during Passover and the High Holy Days.

Independent of the organized communities, a multiplicity of small local organizations carried on specialized programs, such as summer camps, kindergartens, and canteens, and providing trousseaux, Bar Mitzvah clothing, and blankets. These organizations were financed by membership fees and periodic social affairs. Most of them received substantial assistance from the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), either in the form of supplies, technical assistance, or cash.

The Jewish communities of Tunisia had maintained active contact with many foreign and international Jewish organizations, notably the Jewish Agency, JDC, the World Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the World Sephardi Union, the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT) and OSE. Both federations of Jewish communities of Tunisia sent delegates to the congress of the World Sephardi Union held in Jerusalem on May 9, 1954.

Social Services

Significant advances in social welfare services were made in 1953-54 by many communities and local private agencies. The communities continued to look after their poor with regular weekly or monthly financial grants and with special assistance in cash and food supplies for the Passover holidays. Local Nos Petits organizations fed about 7,000 needy children daily hot lunches and morning and afternoon snacks in some thirty excellently organized canteens throughout the country. About 2,500 children from the ages of eight to fifteen were sent to summer camps by the Zionist Youth Federation, Nos Petits, the Union Universelle de la Jeunesse Juive, and Sport et Joie. Summer and winter clothing was distributed to about 20,000 children and adults. All of these organizations received the greater part of their funds and supplies from the JDC. The JDC subvention was in the neighborhood of 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 francs monthly.

The Tunis community, with the help of the JDC, finished repairing its old age home, opened a dispensary for the care of adults, provided a special canteen for active tuberculars, and rendered substantial financial

assistance to the orphanage and to the Garderie Israelite, the largest nursery school for Jewish children in Tunisia. The social service department, staffed by workers trained in France at the JDC-supported Paul Baerwald School for Social Work, made significant contributions to the rationalization and reorganization of the welfare services founded by the community. Permanent case records were set up and the city divided into sectors and assigned to specific workers. From an amorphous, undifferentiated caseload, specific categories of relief recipients were pulled out, and budgets and services bearing some relation to individual needs were established. Thus, tubercular heads of families, the aged, abandoned children, foster-home services, potentially employable widows with children, etc., were given an individual attention previously unknown in Tunis.

OSE-Tunisia provided medical care and services for more than 16,000 children and adults through its chain of clinics. Pre-natal care, confinement, and postnatal care for needy mothers and their babies were given special emphasis, while some 1,500 babies received a daily allocation of safe, sterilized milk. For the first time, a mass examination of 2,500 Jewish inhabitants of the Tunis *hara* (ghetto) was successfully undertaken during the last three months of 1953. A new health center, offering all medical services, was opened in the city of Sousse in August 1953. OSE-Tunisia also continued its excellent work in combatting the three widespread contagious diseases, trachoma, tinea, and tuberculosis.

The Caisse Israélite de Relèvement Economique (loan society), financed by the JDC and the Jewish Colonization Association, opened in June 1953, and by the end of June 1954 had given 259 artisans loans totaling 12,529,000 francs (\$35,700). A branch of this society was opened in the city of Sfax on June 30, 1954.

Education

According to the government's figures for the scholastic year 1953-54, there were 16,356 Jewish children attending French schools. Of this number 12,915 attended primary schools; 1,477, technical schools; 1,807, secondary schools; and 157, schools of higher learning. Of these, about 3,500 attended five schools operated by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, three of them in Tunis, one in Sousse, and one in Sfax. About 200 Jewish students attended the Institute des Hautes Etudes in Tunis. More than 100 Jewish students attended universities in France on scholarships provided by the community of Tunis and the JDC. The number of Jewish children in all French schools showed an increase from 13,694 in 1950 to 16,356 in 1954. Throughout the South, religious and Hebrew education was provided for the boys, but no provision was made for girls of school age. Attempts to enroll Jewish children in the French schools in the extreme south of the country, notably on the island of Djerba, were not favored by the rabbinate.

The JDC-sponsored Paul Baerwald School for Social Work continued its in-service teacher training program for nursery school teachers with considerable success. This in-service training for employed teachers and for

new candidates was scheduled to take place periodically, since there was an increasing demand for more nursery schools throughout Tunisia. Twenty-two employed nursery school teachers took part in the program in 1953-54.

ORT-Tunisia completed the third section of its boys' school, begun in May 1953, thus bringing to fruition its plans for a full three-year course of vocational instruction. Courses in automobile mechanics and woodworking were added to the curriculum, and the student body was increased to 350 boys. The needle trades' school for girls added a third year of study and increased its student body from 60 to 80.

In addition to its vocational training classes, ORT-Tunisia[†] operated an apprentice placement program with considerable success. Boys and girls whose level of education would not permit them to attend the regular courses were placed in jobs in private industry. Where wages were below a minimum of 2,000 francs (\$5.73) per month, the community and ORT contributed the balance. About 540 apprentices were placed in jobs during 1953-54.

Jewish Education

In the three Alliance Israélite schools in Tunis, the number of teachers of modern Hebrew increased from eight to thirteen and the number of hours of instruction for all students was consequently augmented. The Alliance Israélite school in Sousse added one additional teacher of modern Hebrew to the staff as a result of an agreement between that community and the JDC. Jacob Madar, a young Tunisian graduate of a French seminary, was engaged by the community of Tunis and the JDC to give religious and Hebrew instruction to students at the Lycée. About 125 students attended these courses. Hebrew books of all types were distributed to all of the schools, making it possible for the first time for all students to possess copies and to familiarize themselves with the written texts. Several of the most promising Hebrew teachers were provided with one-year scholarships by the cultural and religious department of the Jewish Agency and the JDC for advanced studies in Israel. Three hundred students attended the community's Or Thora school full-time and about 500 youths and adults attended the special evening courses in Tunis and the suburbs. Courses in Hebrew, Jewish history, and Palestinography, conducted by the Zionist youth movements, reached another 1,500 students in Tunisia.

In the South Simon Cohen was appointed to supervise the new schools established by the JDC and the rabbinate. He helped in guiding the teachers and developing the progressive curriculum initiated early in 1953. In addition to religious training and modern Hebrew, the students received instruction in personal hygiene, elementary arithmetic, Jewish history, and geography. Teachers were encouraged and assisted to use Hebrew as the language of instruction instead of Judeo-Arabic. New schools were opened in Moknine and Bizerte, in addition to those already established in Hara Sghira, Zarzis, Fom-Tataouine, and Medenine.

Religious Life

Religious life in Tunisia was marked by strict adherence to old traditional forms. Jewish holidays and customs were strictly observed, as were the annual pilgrimages to El Griba, the famous synagogue on the island of Djerba, and to the tombs of revered rabbis. The Mosaic law governed marriage, dowry, and inheritances. A conference of all officiating rabbis was held in May 1954 to discuss the liberalization of dowry and inheritance provisions in cases resulting from divorce actions. The government respected this communal religious life and contributed financially toward its upkeep. A very active rabbinate was headed by Chief Rabbi David Bembaron, who was appointed by the Bey.

Zionism and Relations With Israel

Interest in Israel was more lively in 1953-54 than it had been during 1952-53. Emigration increased and more frequent exploratory visits to Israel by business people and rabbis reawakened closer contact. Representatives from various departments of the Jewish Agency and the government of Israel visited Tunisia, held many meetings and conferences, and stressed Israel's preeminent concern for the Jews of North Africa. The Zionist Federation of Tunisia launched a new membership drive, re-established closer working relationships with the communities, and took an active part in the plans for an accelerated *aliyah* (emigration to Israel). A summer camp program organized by the Zionist Youth Federation and assisted financially by the JDC sent 1,250 children to the beaches and the mountains.

The inability of the director of the Israel fund-raising campaign to travel through Tunisia caused a sharp drop in the amount collected as compared with the previous year. As of the end of June 1954, 11,000,000 francs (\$31,400) in cash had been raised, with 3,000,000 francs (\$8,500) pledged still outstanding, whereas by the end of June 1953, 20,000,000 francs (\$57,000) had been collected. It seemed reasonably certain that the campaign would be extended for several months in order to achieve the target of 25,000,000 francs (\$71,000).

The Arab daily newspapers, *El Ayoun*, *Ennahda*, and *Azzorha* frequently carried anti-Israel articles in their columns. On Radio Tunis the Arab radio commentator, Abdelaziz Laroui, continued his anti-Zionist campaign. The effect of the anti-Israel articles and speeches was to increase the insecurity of the Jewish population and lead them to distrust all official utterances of friendship which emanated from private talks with Neo-Destour leaders. Furthermore, since many of these articles gave support to pronouncements issuing from Arab League sources, they served to add to the insecurity and uncertainty of the Jewish leaders and population. It was inferred that even if the Neo-Destour Party should be successful in obtaining internal autonomy from the French, the Neo-Destour leaders would not be able to control the more extreme elements in the party.

Cultural Activities

The Jewish theatrical group Ha Kol resumed its activities after a lapse of seven years. Former students of the Alliance Israélite Universelle had organized this group in 1941 to acquaint the public with Jewish literary, theatrical, and musical works. For the season of 1953-54 Ha Kol presented several attractions, including the play *Tsedoka* by Ryvel, the pen name of Raphael Levy, director of the Alliance Schools in Tunisia. The weekly Jewish half-hour on the radio continued.

HENRY L. LEVY

FRENCH MOROCCO

BEGINNING IN DECEMBER 1953, French Morocco was the scene of tragic events. Terrorist attacks were directed against the highest officials, including the Sultan himself, Pasha El Glaoui of Marrakech, and the French governor of that area, Commandant d'Hauteville; similar attacks were made on ordinary citizens. At the time of writing (November 1954), Resident General Francis Lacoste was carrying on discussions with representatives of the Moroccan people on a program for the future development of the Protectorate, with the goal of raising the standard of living and permitting the local population to participate more fully in the affairs of their country.

Anti-Semitic Activities

Although the terrorists asserted that they wished no evil to "Moroccan" Jews, whom they regarded as their "brothers," these declarations were contradicted by their acts. At Petit Jean, a group of Moroccan Jewish merchants from Meknes were savagely murdered and burned by their "brothers." Bombs were placed in Jewish stores; letters signed with the death's-head which was the sign of the terrorists were sent to leading Jews, threatening them with death if they did not close up shop or get rid of all imported merchandise. School children were threatened.

Only the heavy police guards placed in the local ghetto, the *mellah*, near the schools, and in all places where there were large numbers of Jews, had protected the Jewish population from attack. The Jews of Morocco were fearful that if France should hand over a large part of its power to the extremists, and if Morocco should obtain independence or even autonomy on the Tunisian model, they would no longer be able to live in this country, which had been their home for centuries. The Moroccan Jews would be in danger of once again becoming the *dhimmi* of the nineteenth century, bowed beneath humiliation and ill-treatment.

Emigration

It was this fear which was responsible for the widespread desire to emigrate to France, Israel, the United States, or elsewhere. Where between 1946 and 1953 only the very poor sought to emigrate, in 1953-54 white-collar workers, middle-class people, and even the rich were preparing to leave, whether immediately or in the near future. Thus, the United States immigration quota of 100 persons a year had never been reached in the past; but so many Moroccan Jews applied during the course of 1954 that they could not hope to receive visas for many years to come.

Jewish Population

The official census for the year 1951 gave a total Jewish population of French Morocco of 199,156, of whom 97,497 were males and 101,659 females, or a proportion of 104 females per 100 males. Casablanca was the place with the largest Jewish population in French Morocco (88,529), followed by Marrakech (41,698), Meknes (19,794), Rabat (19,412), Fez (19,011), Agadir (5,400), and Oujda (5,312).

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Moroccan Jews had assimilated Western culture much more easily than had the Moslems. In the economic field they had become the equals of Western workers. The census of 1936 showed that of 162,000 workers, 28,000 were Jews; in 1947, Moroccan Jews accounted for 61,164 out of a total of 204,000 workers reported by the census. The percentage of workers in the Jewish population had risen from 17.9 to 30.4; that of gainfully employed men from 28.4 to 46.1, approaching the European percentage of 56.5. Unemployment had become practically unknown. Like other inhabitants of Morocco, the Jews benefited from the adoption of labor legislation, and especially legislation regulating the labor of women and children. The above figures were the more significant in view of the fact that of the Jewish population reported, 33.8 per cent were children under fifteen, 58.2 per cent were adults of working age, and 8 per cent were over sixty. Of the 46,752 gainfully employed men, 23,638 were proprietors and 23,114 were manual or white-collar workers; of 14,412 employed women, the census reported 1,403 as proprietors and 13,009 as manual or white-collar workers. It should be noted that the retail businesses covered by the term "proprietors" were often very small.

About 28,000 Jews—44 per cent of the gainfully employed—were to be found in commercial occupations, including the hotel and restaurant trade, clothing, textiles; Jews served as representatives of big stores, brokers and commission agents, in banking, insurance, and small-scale trade. Artisans and industrial workers comprised about 36 per cent of the Jewish labor force, some 22,100 persons. Most of them were employed in the traditional occupations of tailors and garment workers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, jewelry

workers, and watchmakers. In these fields, numerous trade classes helped the workers and artisans to acquire modern techniques and reach a European level of life.

In the extreme south of Morocco there were some small communities of farmers who still lived by the traditional cultivation of their lands. The reintegration of these rural communities was on the order of the day, but it posed numerous problems.

There was also an educated class of bookkeepers, secretaries, lawyers, doctors, and civil servants. The rapidity with which the Jews of French Morocco had passed from an Oriental society and adjusted themselves to the requirements of a modern economy was a progressive and hopeful factor not only in their own life, but in that of all Morocco and even the Western world.

Social Services

In the unhealthy atmosphere of the *mellah* the Jews of Morocco, undernourished and ignorant of hygiene, physically impoverished by inbreeding, had long been decimated by epidemics. But thanks to the efforts of the directorate of public health under Dr. Sicault, the financial assistance of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), and the devoted day-to-day work of the physicians of the social services, periodic epidemics were on the way out.

The birth rate was now exceeding the death rate, infant mortality was on the decline, and despite the emigration of an average of 15,000 persons a year, there was no longer a decrease in the Jewish population, a phenomenon particularly noticeable in Casablanca. OSE, the directorate of health, the World Health Organization, and the Jewish Agency had conducted systematic and coordinated examinations of the urban and rural Jewish population, with special emphasis on scurvy, trachoma, tuberculosis, and syphilis, which were veritable social plagues. Anti-trachoma centers opened by OSE in the *mellahs* of Casablanca, Marrakech, and the villages of the interior, had made possible the timely treatment of eye diseases which would otherwise have led to complete blindness for children and adults. These centers had operated under the supervision of the directorate of health with funds supplied locally as well as by the government and, above all, by the JDC. Seriously affected children were being sent to Paris for operations and appropriate care and then brought back to Morocco. During 1953-54 not a single new case of blindness among these children was recorded, thanks to timely preventive treatment. The fight against scurvy had been equally effective, although the financial resources available for it were still insufficient.

Pioneer work in these fields had been done by Drs. Benzaquen and Mosberg, chief physician and director of OSE, respectively, the ophthalmologist Dr. Saccone, and Drs. Lapidus, Abecassis, and Levy Lebhar in the fight against scurvy. Despite the magnificent work of the services of the Protectorate, the extraordinary results recorded during 1953-54 could certainly not have been obtained without the invaluable financial assistance of the JDC. The establishment of well-baby clinics and milk stations, and the provision of pre-

natal care and aid to mothers was progressing to the extent that finances permitted.

The most striking medical development of 1953-54 was the establishment of hospitals open to all without distinction of nationality or religion. There still existed, especially in the larger cities, hospitals reserved primarily for Moroccan Jews (the Jules Mauran Hospital), for Moroccan Moslems (the Maurice Gaud Hospital), and for Europeans of whatever religion (the Colombani Hospital). But the year 1954 saw the opening in Rabat of a magnificent hospital of 675 to 715 beds where Moroccan Jews and Moslems and Europeans were all received. A mosque, a synagogue, and a chapel were attached to the hospital. This hospital, named after the famous eleventh century Arab physician and philosopher Avicenna, was a real link between the Orient and the Occident.

The campaigns against syphilis and tuberculosis continued actively. Because the Jews of Morocco were much more amenable to vaccination and treatment than the Moslems, their health had been improved to a greater extent. Except for scurvy and trachoma, Moroccan Jewish health conditions were approaching those of Europeans.

AID TO CHILDREN

French Moroccan youth were being singled out for extensive medical, social welfare, and nutritional aid. Essential support had been given in these fields by welfare organizations, and especially by the JDC. All Jewish schools now had canteens, largely subsidized by the JDC, the Direction de l'Instruction Publique, the municipalities, and the Jewish communities. More than 4,000,000 hot meals and as many light lunches were distributed during 1953-54. Every Jewish school had regular medical supervision, with its own infirmary. The majority of schools also possessed modern sanitary equipment to combat trachoma and scurvy.

A good example of welfare work was furnished by the l'Aide Scolaire of Casablanca, of which Jo Levy was president and Israel Benarroch treasurer. This organization assisted 6,200 students, coming from the poorest sections of the population and divided among seventeen schools. Its total budget was over 30,000,000 francs (\$85,000), and it received substantial help from the public authorities, especially the Direction de l'Instruction Publique, and from the JDC.

Jewish Education

The Alliance Israélite Universelle, founded in Paris in 1860, had established its first schools in the French zone even before the signing of the Protectorate treaty in 1912. Since the creation of the Direction de l'Instruction Publique, which operated impartially among all groups, the Alliance had continued its work on behalf of Moroccan Jewry. Thanks to the subsidies received from the Protectorate and the JDC, and to funds raised directly in the United States and in France by the Alliance, the education of Moroccan Jewish children was increasing each year.

According to figures furnished by the official services of the Protectorate, school attendance approached 100 per cent in such Atlantic coastal cities as Safi-Mazagan, Mogador, and Salé. In Casablanca it was 74 per cent, in Marrakech 80 per cent, in Meknes 86 per cent. Even in the small towns of the extreme south, approximately 80 per cent of the Jewish children were receiving a regular education. About 38,000 Jewish children attended school in all of Morocco during 1953-54.

To supplement the work of the Alliance and meet the needs of the ultra-Orthodox who wished their children to receive a Hebrew education, the Moroccan Jewish communities had established forty-two communal Talmudic schools, which gave an education meeting the official standards but with a large number of hours also reserved for the Hebrew language and religious studies. These schools accommodated 3,000 new students in Casablanca, 350 in Rabat, and 200 in Sefrou. Modern Talmudic schools conducted privately by Ozar Hatorah, Em Habanim, and Mogen David, were attended by 500 students in Fez and 700 in Casablanca.

The governmental French Jewish schools were attended by some 3,000 students in 77 classes. But these schools seemed destined to disappear in the face of the increase of the schools of the Alliance, for which the French government paid the cost of construction and equipment, as well as the cost of training and in large part of salaries. The Direction de l'Instruction Publique supervised the quality of instruction in all schools, but did not touch matters of religion and Jewish culture.

Fortunately, the accelerated development of these schools during the period 1952-54 had permitted the closing of many of the *chedarim*, where staffs without pedagogical training had taught children from two to ten years of age in classrooms lacking the most elementary hygienic requirements.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The high schools and colleges conducted by the Direction de l'Instruction Publique were open to all without distinction. There were 512 Jewish boys and 571 girls studying for the baccalaureate, while 800 others were studying for their degree. In the Centers of Legal Studies and the Scientific Institute, there were 88 Jewish students, of whom 60 were studying law and political science, 6 were pursuing Arabic studies, 16 were studying science, and 6 were preparing to meet the entrance requirements of the great French schools. Other Moroccan Jewish students (151 in 1954) had chosen to go to the universities of Metropolitan France and Algeria.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Almost all the vocational education received by Moroccan Jews came from schools of the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT) in Casablanca and the trade schools of the Alliance Israélite in Marrakech, Meknes, Rabat, and Fez. The 500 boys attending the ORT school at Ain Seba received specialized training in iron work, carpentry, electrical work, and the building trades. President Jules Senouf and Director General B. Wand-

Pollak had given this school and the girls' school at Val d'Anfa a novel energy. Approximately 600 girls were receiving training as dressmakers, embroiderers, laboratory workers, beauticians, and cosmeticians, and in domestic science. After three years of this specialized training, the boys and girls were finding jobs at salaries which raised the standard of living of their entire families. However, it was obvious that the two schools in Casablanca were insufficient to solve the problem of Jewish vocational education, and that additional centers were needed in Marrakech, Meknes, and Fez.

SPANISH MOROCCO

SPANISH MOROCCO is about 220 miles long and 25 miles wide. It stretches around the International Zone of Tangiers and borders on the Atlantic Ocean, where it has the port of Larache; the Straits of Gibraltar, with the harbor of Ceuta; and the Mediterranean, where the cities of Tetuan and Melilla are located. Even before the Sultan and France signed the Protectorate treaty in 1912, Spain had established a fairly important colony in the Riff province of Morocco on the Mediterranean.

Administratively, this small territory was divided into two parts. Ceuta, Melilla, Alhucemas, Charafinas, and Penon de Villez were considered Spanish territory and had been since the fifteenth century, and were administered as part of the Province of Malaga. These cities were administered directly by Spain without any French or Moroccan influence. The rest of the territory had a dual sherifien and Spanish administration. The Sultan of Morocco was the sovereign of the country and was represented by a deputy called the Khalifa of Tetuan. Beside him there was a representative of the Spanish government, who was always a general of the army, which assured the successful operation of the Hispano-sherifien administration.

When France concluded the Protectorate treaty with Sultan Moulay Hafid in 1912, it at the same time concluded an agreement with the Sultan and with Spain by which the latter country was assigned the Spanish zone in view of its *de facto* historical, economic and cultural interests. Thus by a treaty of November 1912, supplementing the one signed in March 1912, France delegated to Spain the right to pacify, unify, and administer the territory which Spain occupied. By the same treaty France agreed to aid Spain in this task. When the Arabs of the Riff revolted against the Spanish occupation, France and Spain waged war side by side until 1925.

The French resident general in Morocco, who had his seat at Rabat, also possessed the title of minister of foreign affairs of the Sultan of Morocco, and by virtue thereof was the official representative of the government of the Spanish zone in dealings with foreign nations. From 1912 to 1953 relations between the governments of the two zones were excellent. But there had been a marked deterioration in this relationship since the end of 1953.

Political Developments

The Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, was deposed on August 20, 1953, and Sidi Mohammed Moulay Arafa was designated to succeed him. Under the Franco-Spanish treaties of March and November 1912, the new Sultan was to reign over all Morocco, including the Spanish zone and Tangier. But the Spanish government, whose foreign minister had a few months previously made a good-will visit to the Arab states, refused to recognize the new Sultan and maintained that the Moroccan sovereign of the Spanish zone was still Sultan Sidi Mohammed V, now in exile in Madagascar. The Khalifa of Tetuan did not take the oath of allegiance to the new Sultan. Hence the Spanish zone became a rallying point for the opponents of the new government installed in the French zone in August 1953, and the refuge for those who wished to free Morocco from the protection of Western powers.

Jewish Population

Before the Spanish civil war of 1936-39 there were about 25,000 Jews living in the Spanish zone. Since that time emigration to Tangier, the French zone, South America, and Israel had reduced the membership of the various communities to about 13,000. They were distributed as follows:

TABLE 1

JEWISH POPULATION, SPANISH MOROCCO, 1953-54

<i>Community</i>	<i>No.</i>
Tetuan	5,500
Larache	1,250
Alcazarquivir	1,400
Villa Nador	200
Villa Sanjurjo, Puerto Capaz, and Cuatro Torres	200
Arcila	300
Other small centers	150
Ceuta	300
Melilla	3,000
TOTAL	12,300

The total population of the zone was about 1,130,000. There were about 125,000 Spanish colonists and members of the army corps stationed in the zone; the remainder of the population were Arabs. The Spanish and sheri-fen authorities had always maintained excellent relations with the Jews, who had never been the victims of any pogrom or discrimination.

Community Organization

There was no federation of Jewish communities in the Spanish zone; however, autonomous communities did exist in Larache, Alcazarquivir, Arcila,

and Tetuan. The Tetuan community was particularly well organized and had members devoted to the interests of the Jews in their zone. Under the leadership of its president, Jacob Benmaman, and its vice president, Moses A. Hassan, a *de facto* federation had been established for aid to the needy and to Hebrew studies. Tetuan had the oldest Sephardic community in Africa. The best-known families of Tangiers, Oran, Gibraltar, and even South America were descended from emigrants from this city.

FUND RAISING

The extreme poverty of the majority of the communities and the constant emigration made it difficult to set up a system for collecting funds. Nevertheless, since 1951 the members of the communities had, at the instance of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), substituted an increase of the semi-annual *Nedaba* ("gift") contribution to the council of the community for direct individual aid, in order to channel gifts more effectively to philanthropic work.

At Tetuan, the *Nedaba* came to 86,000 pesetas in 1950 (\$1,720), while in 1951 it reached 108,950 (\$2,175), and in 1952 it climbed to 147,300 (\$2,946). In Larache, the *Nedaba* and taxes came to about 17,000 pesetas (\$340) during 1953-54. But Alcazarquivir, Arcila, and the other small communities had almost no resources aside from state subsidies and the aid they received from the JDC. The latter's contribution had risen from 55,000 pesetas (\$1,100) in 1951 to about 405,000 (\$8,100) in 1953 for relief and cultural purposes, in addition to valuable technical assistance.

Jewish Education

Jews could go to the schools operated by the Spanish Directorate of Public Instruction. The Alliance Israélite Universelle had three schools—one each at Larache, Alcazarquivir, and Tetuan. The old Tetuan school was to be replaced during 1954-55 by a beautiful modern building under construction. Approximately 250 Jewish children attended the Spanish schools and 852 those of the Alliance. Secondary education was too expensive for the masses.

In Tetuan the community had opened a Hebrew school called Yagdil Torah whose physical facilities were inadequate. The Isaac Toledano Foundation had established a school called Or Hayeladim where 82 children received a Hebrew education and learned such trades as those of carpenter and electrician. Hebrew courses for adults had been organized under the auspices of the community and the JDC.

Recently established dressmaking courses for girls had given excellent educational and social results. A general reorganization of education was needed so as to avoid duplication and meet the need for more secondary education, Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT) schools, and a unified program of Hebrew education.

Social Services

School canteens had been opened for the poor at Larache, Arcila, Alcazarquivir, and Tetuan, but they were all inadequate. A canteen for old people, which could serve as a model for any institution in North Africa, had been opened in Tetuan. That city also had a children's dispensary and a maternity center. The beautiful building used by the dispensary and maternity center was constructed for these purposes by the Isaac Corcias Foundation at a cost of 1,500,000 pesetas (\$30,000).

Zionism and Relations with Israel

Emigration to Israel was slight during 1952-53 but had increased as a result of the developments in Morocco during 1953-54 (*see* p. 445). The Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), Youth Aliyah, and the Orthodox Zionist parties were active and very popular with the Jewish population.

Cultural Life

There were no Jewish periodicals or radio programs. Since April 1951 there had been a Jewish library with an assembly hall where local or foreign lecturers could speak freely.

TANGIER

TANGIER had been successively occupied by the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Visigoths, the Arabs (in the eighth century), the Portuguese (fifteenth century), and the English (sixteenth century). In 1684 the English, regarding Tangier as a center of pirates and Berbers in which it was too expensive for the Crown to keep order, abandoned it. The Arabs, and later Spain, then occupied Tangier. These various civilizations had all left their traces. In 1954 Tangier was an island of freedom from economic and fiscal regulation.

The strategic situation of Tangier, twelve miles from Europe, had played a part in its relations with the Western powers. In 1787 the United States established there its first consulate in Morocco, and by an agreement of 1856 between the Sultan of Morocco and the representatives of the European populations, the city of Tangier received the status of "diplomatic capital of Morocco."

For political and economic reasons the European nations had sent to Tangier the families which now constituted the French, Portuguese, Spanish, Austrian, Dutch, and other foreign colonies. Their third- and fourth-generation descendants in Tangier preserved the nationality of their countries of origin. Hence in Tangier there were many Jewish families of the most diverse

European nationalities, forming a nucleus of western civilization in the midst of the indigenous population.

In December 1923 the representatives of France, Spain, and England prepared a special statute for Tangier; this was modified in 1928 at the request of Italy. Under this statute Tangier, while remaining part of the sherrifien empire whose unity was proclaimed by the Act of Algeciras on April 7, 1906, became the capital of an international zone of some 350 square kilometers. In June 1940 Spain took advantage of the collapse of the Allied armies to occupy Tangier, and replace its international administration with a purely Spanish one. But on October 11, 1945, Tangier again became international.

In July 1952 the international statute of Tangier was amended. The local legislative assembly was now composed of representatives designated by the signatory powers of the Act of Algeciras and by the United States, and of representatives of the Moslem and Jewish Moroccan population. The assembly consisted of six Moslems, three local Jews, four Frenchmen, four Spaniards, three Britons, three Americans, three Italians, one Belgian, one Netherlander, and one Portuguese. It was presided over by the Mendoub, the local representative of the Sultan at Rabat. There were six vice presidents, one of whom was Joë Hasan, former president of the Jewish community of Tangier, who represented Portugal. The assembly voted the budget and appointed civil servants.

This state, one of the smallest in the world, had a regime of exceptional freedom, in which all nations and creeds fraternized without distinction. The population was about 175,000 of whom 120,000 were Moslems, 13,000 Jews, and the remainder Europeans and Americans.

Jewish Refugees

Tangier was the chief haven of refuge in North Africa for those who fled Nazism. Since 1938 the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) had given substantial assistance to the refugee committee headed by Abraham J. Laredo. Persons who still possessed the nationality of their country of origin were able to remain in Tangier without any special authorization or difficulty. Those who had been expatriated had to furnish a guarantee before they were admitted, and were subject to police supervision. Some refugees, chiefly those of Hungarian origin, remained in Tangier, where most of them were bankers. Others emigrated to North and South America, the Belgian Congo, Australia, and elsewhere, with the assistance of the JDC.

Of several thousand transients, during 1953-54 only thirty-five old, sick persons were being supported by the refugee committee, all of whose funds came from the JDC. During 1953-54 no new case had been registered or helped, as the majority were returnees from Israel or Canada. Tangier was no longer a place of refuge for penniless expatriates, since the absence of local industry made it impossible for them to obtain jobs, lacking which they were expelled from the international zone.

Community Organization

The Jewish community was composed of all the Jews in Tangier, whatever their nationality. (Those who had no other nationality to return to were considered Moroccans.) In contrast to the French zone, Jews of a nationality other than Moroccan, but born in Tangier or of Tangerine descent, could be members of the directing committee of the community. This committee was elected by all those who paid the *Nedaba* and was genuinely representative of the Jews living in the international zone. The majority of the heads of welfare groups took part in it, so that it was a *de facto* if not *de jure* welfare federation.

Social Services

A social service agency set up under the auspices of the community and staffed by graduates of the JDC's Paul Baerwald School in Versailles was in the process of transforming the philanthropic aid to the needy into an efficient system of rehabilitation. The community was replacing its dilapidated buildings in the center of the city with modern new buildings. In four or five years the welfare organizations of the Tangier communities would have no need of outside aid. At present, almost all welfare organizations were subsidized or received aid in kind or technical assistance from the JDC.

The Oeuvre de Nourriture et d'Habillement, headed by Joë Hasan, had originally been established for the children in the Alliance Israélite Universelle school. In 1953-54 it consisted of a central kitchen distributing meals to 1,372 children, of whom 900 were in the Alliance school, 55 in the Seminary, 217 in trade courses, and 200 in the kindergarten. There were 1,773 children enrolled in these schools. The number of the needy continued to grow because of the increasing migration of families from the Spanish zone, especially from Melilla, Arzila, El Kasar, and Larache.

HEALTH SERVICES

In the international zone the various nations had their own hospitals and dispensaries, used by their nationals, in which the expenses of the indigent were met from the budget of the zone. The Benchimol hospital, founded by the first Moroccan to become a naturalized French citizen, Haim Benchimol, cared for indigent Moroccan and expatriate Jews with the aid of a zonal subsidy. The hospital was administered by a committee headed by M. Benoualid. It had recently acquired a modern operating room and a room for paying patients. Rich and poor received the same care.

With the aid of subsidies from the JDC and the community and local contributions, OSE expanded its activities during 1953-54. It conducted a milk station for 120 children, 4 dispensaries in the schools, a yeshiva, and trade courses, and gave daily help to infants and children up to fifteen years old.

An anti-tuberculosis center established by a committee headed by Jaymes

Nahon, the president of the directing committee of the community, was the first group to attempt to combat the ravages of tuberculosis in Tangier with local resources. The JDC had furnished the necessary streptomycin since the opening of the center. The Anti-Tuberculosis League of Tangier cared for the sick without distinction and subsidized the center. Despite the poverty of the majority of the population of Tangier, there was a noteworthy absence of the trachoma and scurvy which plagued the other parts of Morocco.

Jewish Education

Since the nineteenth century, the European powers had sent teachers to Tangier. In 1864, the Anglo-Jewish Board of London established English courses under Moses Haim Nahon. The Alliance Israélite opened its schools, and until 1914 teachers from Germany conducted private courses. In 1953-54 there were in Tangier a French *lycée*, an American school, several Spanish schools, Alliance schools, and numerous private classes. The Alliance was located in old, unhealthful buildings belonging to the community, and was badly in need of new accommodations for its 1,300 students. The teachers of the Alliance schools were subsidized by the Direction de l'Instruction Publique at Rabat, with the community of Tangier paying the teachers of Hebrew.

The Association d'Aide à l'Enseignement Professionnel de la Jeunesse Israélite de Tanger had been founded in 1949 by Jack Pinto and Abraham I. Laredo. During 1953-54, it had ninety-four girls and fifty-four boys in courses in carpentry, electricity, radio, masonry, dressmaking, etc. From 1950-52 the school had a section for student fishermen, but it closed down for security and financial reasons. The six graduates of that section sent to Israel were so useful that the Israel ministry of agriculture offered to take all the graduates of the section. The association was financed almost entirely by the JDC. The students helped by the association would not be eligible to take the courses in the zonal government schools, because they lacked the diplomas required for entrance, so that without the association they would add to the number of those without skills or jobs.

The Alliance schools gave about an hour of Hebrew instruction a day. Adult courses had been organized by the Association des Anciens Elèves de l'Alliance, with financial and technical assistance from the JDC. The Talmud Torah taught fifty-five students in the buildings of the community; the Yeshiva Etz Hayim had sixty-five resident students between the ages of twelve and eighteen. The yeshiva had been built by one of its donors, the architect Samuel Toledano, and was one of the most beautiful school buildings in North Africa. Its teachers came from England, France, and Israel, and its students received an advanced Hebrew and secular education. Its graduates were rabbis, professors, and interpreters able to teach Hebrew under modern conditions while preserving a strict Orthodoxy.