

Israel

THE YEAR 1970 was marked by significant developments in the military, diplomatic, and domestic spheres. Continued Israeli air attacks on the Egyptian war machine were followed by increased Soviet involvement in the Egyptian war effort. In the middle of the year Israel, like Egypt and Jordan, accepted the American peace initiative and agreed to indirect talks, through Ambassador Gunnar V. Jarring, on the basis of a renewed cease-fire and an agreement to a military standstill in the Suez Canal zone. After Egypt's violation of the standstill agreement by the massive reinforcement of its anti-aircraft missile system along the canal, Israel suspended participation in the talks, but at year's end agreed to return to them on receiving increased American military supplies to restore the arms balance.

On the northern and eastern fronts, attempts by al-Fatah and other Palestinian armed groups to penetrate into Israel and the administered territories were frustrated, with heavy losses for the infiltrators. Israeli towns and villages near the cease-fire lines in the north and northeast were repeatedly shelled by the Palestinian organizations, especially from Lebanon where they had established an enclave known as "Fatah-land." Repeated Israeli attacks on the terrorist bases blunted the force of their assaults towards the end of the year. Arab terrorist attacks on Israeli offices abroad and international air traffic culminated in the multiple hijackings of September, which were followed by massive operations by King Hussein of Jordan against the armed Palestinian organizations in his country. Toward the end of the year, comparative quiet reigned on the northern and eastern fronts, as well as on the Suez front.

Israel's acceptance of the American peace offer was opposed by the six Gahal (Herut-Liberal bloc) ministers, who resigned from the National Unity Government; their portfolios were distributed among other ministers.

Immigration, largely from Western countries, continued on the same level as in 1969. A new feature was the publication by Jews in the Soviet Union of signed appeals for the right to leave and settle in Israel, followed, for the first time in almost half a century, by the open, though small-scale, immigration of Russian Jews.

The inflationary effects of rapid economic growth and the increased burden of defense were mitigated by a "package deal" between government, labor,

and management to limit increases in taxes, wages, and prices. There was a considerable worsening of the balance of trade; the drain on foreign currency reserves was halted by the receipt of foreign loans and increased contributions from Jewish appeal funds.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Suez Front

During the early months of 1970, Israel continued its air attacks and commando raids on Egyptian military targets in reply to the "war of attrition" launched by Nasser in spring 1969 (AJYB, 1970 [Vol. 71], pp. 498-9) and repeated Egyptian attempts to cross the Suez Canal in force. The aim, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said on January 3, a day after an Israeli raid on the Island of Shadwan at the entrance to the Gulf of Suez, was to disrupt Egyptian war preparations, undermine enemy morale, and cut down Israeli casualties. Prime Minister Golda Meir stated, February 12, that Israel would stop shooting as soon as Egypt ceased to violate the cease-fire.

Two air attacks on Egypt appeared to have accidentally resulted in civilian casualties. On February 12 the Egyptians charged that 70 workers had been killed and 49 injured in an Israeli bombing raid on a factory at Abu Za'abel, north of Cairo. Israel stated that, while every effort was made to attack only military targets, the pilots apparently mistook the factory for an army camp. Egypt was notified through the Red Cross of an unexploded delayed-action bomb in the area. Among the targets attacked were the Egyptian air force stores in the Khanka area, north of Cairo.

Another attack, on an Egyptian camp in the Salahiye area some 18 miles west of Kantara on April 8, was followed by Egyptian charges that a bomb had hit a school, killing 30 pupils and wounding 36. Israel stated the target had been surrounded by about 45 camouflaged military vehicles and other signs of army occupation, and pointed out the Egyptians denied journalists access to the site for over a week. If youths had been hit, they must have been taking part in premilitary training at the camp.

In March the USSR was reported to have begun installing in Egypt sophisticated SA-3 missile batteries, which would have to be manned by Soviet personnel and might well be given Soviet air cover. On April 18 Israeli planes on a mission over Egypt encountered Russian-piloted aircraft, broke off contact, and returned to their bases. The incident aroused grave concern in Israel. On April 29 the government stated that, for the first time, Soviet pilots had been "flying operational missions from military installations under their control in Egypt," but had not been involved in air combat. The government warned against the danger to world peace of increased Soviet involvement in Egypt. Mrs. Meir sent President Richard M. Nixon a message on the subject, and representations were made to the British, French

and other governments. While expressing hope that Israelis would not have to fight Russians, Dayan declared that Israel would fight to hold the Suez line. The purpose of the greater Soviet involvement, Foreign Minister Abba Eban stated, was to enable the Egyptians to develop a stronger attacking role under a Soviet umbrella. Press comments called for a clear stand by the United States to deter the Russians from deeper involvement.

Egyptian artillery bombardments were renewed on a scale unparalleled since March 1969; in April, 28 Israeli soldiers were killed. Repeated, though unsuccessful, Egyptian commando raids were made across the Canal at the end of April and in May. Speaking in the Knesset, on May 26, Prime Minister Meir quoted a May 1 statement by Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser: "In the last 15 days a change has taken place. As we can see, our forces are taking the initiative." Mrs. Meir warned that if the free world, particularly the United States, made no attempt to deter Russia, "then it is not only Israel that is endangered, but there is no small or even medium sized nation that can dwell in safety within its frontiers."

Israel continued the air bombardments, but restricted them mainly to the Canal zone. After the death of 13 Israeli soldiers in Egyptian ambushes on May 30, the Israeli Air Force pounded the Egyptian lines opposite the area where the ambushes had taken place, dropping more than 3,000 bombs in three days. On the night of June 11 three kilometers of Egyptian fortifications on the west bank of the Canal were overrun and destroyed by Israeli assault groups, and an Egyptian coastal station on the Gulf of Suez was raided by an Israeli unit.

In July the more sophisticated Soviet missiles supplied to Egypt began to have an effect: in the first half of the month, four Israeli planes were shot down and five of the pilots captured. However, three Egyptian Mig-21s were shot down on July 11, two Mig-17s on July 27, and another four Mig-21s, believed to have been manned by Soviet pilots, were shot down on July 31.

Eastern and Northern Fronts

Constant vigilance along the Jordan River and attacks on al-Fatah bases east of the river considerably reduced Israeli casualties from infiltration and shelling across the cease-fire line. Arab attacks generally took the form of mortar shelling or the firing of Katyusha rockets at border towns or villages like Beit She'an and Ashdot Yaakov. In January, after 120 border violations in the last week of 1969, Israeli planes destroyed a radar post at Ajlun, in the central Jordanian highlands, and a small Israeli task force spent 20 hours mopping up terrorist hideouts in Jordan territory south of the Dead Sea. Similar operations were carried out in February and July. A number of al-Fatah detachments were intercepted and suffered heavy casualties, the largest toll being 21 killed in the Jordan Valley on May 3. Attacks from Jordan practically ceased after the clashes between King Hussein's forces and the Palestinian guerrillas in September.

The main weight of terrorist activity was transferred to the Syrian and, especially, the Lebanese borders. On January 1 an Israeli watchman, Samuel Rosenwasser, was kidnapped at Metulla in the extreme north by a detachment of al-Fatah, which announced that it was holding him prisoner. The next day Israeli troops raided a Lebanese village a mile west of Metulla and brought back 22 prisoners, 11 of them soldiers. The civilians were later released.

An area in the Lebanese hills near the frontier, which became known as "Fatah-land," was, in effect, occupied by the Palestinian organizations. In the first five months of the year, over 140 attacks, in which 20 Israelis were killed and 59 wounded, were carried out from Lebanese territory. On May 12, after leaflets had been dropped from the air calling on the Lebanese villagers to expel the terrorists, an Israeli mechanized column crossed the border, occupied 70 square kilometers of "Fatah-land" inhabited by 6,000 civilians in six villages and a dozen hamlets, and scoured the area. In a 32-hour operation, 39 buildings used by the terrorists were blown up, 15 camps were destroyed, and considerable arms and ammunition, as well as 15 prisoners were brought back. Chief of Staff Hayim Bar-Lev said that the aim of the operation, to warn Lebanon to prevent attacks on Israel from its territory and to destroy terrorist bases and disrupt their plans, had been fully achieved. On May 19 the United Nations Security Council condemned the Israeli operation by 11 votes, the United States and three other countries abstaining.

On May 22, a school bus carrying children and teachers from the village of Avivim in Upper Galilee to the district school at Dovev was hit by bazooka shells from across the border, some 400 yards away. Eight children and four adults were killed, and 20 persons, mostly children, wounded. Responsibility for the attack was claimed by a small group, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (General Command)—a break away from George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The Israel government placed full responsibility on Lebanon, and severely criticized the UN Security Council for failing to demand the cessation of terrorist activity against Israel. Defense Minister Dayan declared on May 24: "If the Lebanese Government says that it is not obliged to act as a policeman to curb the terrorists, we will do the job." Israeli patrols were sent into Lebanese territory to establish and occupy observation posts several hundred yards across the border. Major General Mordecai Gur, head of the Northern Command, stated on May 26 that the Israel Defense Forces would continue to patrol the Lebanese side of the frontier "for as long as necessary."

The pattern of sporadic shelling of Israeli towns and villages from across the border, punctuated by Israeli punitive raids, continued; but the frequency and severity of the attacks declined in the last three months of the year.

From time to time, Syrian army units and Syria-based terrorists attacked military personnel and civilians on the Golan Heights and in the Upper Jordan Valley. On March 16 the Israeli government put the number of such

violations since the beginning of the year at 148. On the same day, an Israeli raiding unit crossed into Syria, cut the high-tension power line 85 miles north of Damascus, and shelled an army camp near the city, while a second raiding force destroyed a bridge in southern Syria. After a number of incidents involving regular Syrian forces in March, a combined air, artillery, and armor attack was launched, on April 2, against the Syrian front-line defenses along a 12-mile section on the Golan Heights. The objective, said Lieutenant General Bar-Lev, was to dissuade the Syrians from violating the cease-fire.

In June there were indications that Syria was "hotting up" the front, partly in the hope of reducing pressure on the Egyptians in the Suez zone. Statements were made that Syria would not tolerate Israeli settlement in the Golan Heights and, according to Israeli intelligence reports, over 900 tanks and 1,000 guns were concentrated between Damascus and the cease-fire line. After repeated Syrian attacks, including an attempt to cross the line in force, Israeli forces, on June 16, shelled a Syrian army camp about 45 miles northeast of Damascus and blew up a bridge about 30 miles south of it. On June 25 Israeli aircraft attacked Syrian camps near Damascus, and for two days a battle involving air forces, armor, and infantry raged along the entire cease-fire line in the Golan Heights. Syrian losses were estimated at 300 men (killed and wounded), and 31 tanks, as well as gun positions, bunkers, etc. destroyed. Ten Israelis were killed and 27 wounded. During the second half of the year there was a considerable reduction of activity on this front.

Total casualties resulting from enemy action on all fronts in 1970 were 8,072. These included 181 Israeli soldiers killed (119 on the Egyptian front) and 625 wounded (317 on the Egyptian front); 47 Israeli civilians killed and 157 wounded; 44 inhabitants of administered areas killed and 744 wounded, most of them in the Gaza Strip.

Attacks on Aircraft and Offices Abroad

As a part of their war against Israel, Palestinian terrorists continued to attack passenger aircraft and Israelis abroad. On February 10 passengers on a bus in Munich airport, about to board an El Al plane to London, were attacked with hand grenades and pistols. One Israeli was killed when he threw himself on a grenade in an effort to save the others and 11 persons were injured, including Hannah Marron, the Cameri Theater actress, whose leg had to be amputated later. Two small Palestinian organizations claimed responsibility for the attack. On February 21 a Swissair jet liner bound for Tel Aviv exploded and crashed 15 minutes after taking off from Zurich. The 47 passengers and crew, including 15 Israelis, were killed and evidence of sabotage was found in the wreckage. The General Command of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine claimed responsibility for the explosion. Prime Minister Meir appealed to international organizations and countries operating major world airlines to take effective action to curb

terrorism against air travel. She pointed out that the organizations responsible for these attacks received aid, money, facilities, and encouragement from Arab governments.

On May 4 the wife of an Israeli diplomat was killed and a member of the staff wounded in an attack on the Israel embassy in Asuncion, Paraguay, by two gunmen who admitted belonging to al-Fatah. El Al's Istanbul office was damaged by an explosion on April 25, and its office in Teheran on June 8.

The climax came on September 6, when four airliners were attacked by members of George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. An attempt to hijack an El Al Boeing 707 over England was foiled by security guards and a steward; one of the attackers was killed and the other, a woman called Leila Khaled, was captured. A Pan-American Boeing 747 jumbo-jet was flown to Beirut and then to Cairo, where it was blown up after passengers and crew had been evacuated. A Swissair DC8 and a TWA Boeing 707 were flown to Dawson Field, a desert airstrip near Zarka, Jordan, where they were joined on September 9 by a BOAC jet liner seized after taking off from Bahrein during a flight from Bombay to London.

The PLFP demanded the release of three Arabs held in Germany and three in Switzerland for previous attacks on airline passengers and Israeli offices, as well as of Leila Khaled who was being held in London and whose extradition was demanded by Israel. The German, Swiss, and British governments acceded to the demand, and the exchange was carried out after prolonged negotiations through the International Red Cross. After this affair, which highlighted the Jordanian government's lack of control over the armed Palestinians, King Hussein and his army took strong measures to restore his authority.

Peace Efforts

After Israel's rejection of United States Secretary of State Roger's proposals at the end of 1969 (AJYB, 1970 [Vol. 71], p. 495), dialogue continued between the two countries on strengthening Israel's defenses and the possibility of progress toward peace. President Nixon's statement, in January, that Middle East peace could be achieved only through negotiations between the parties was welcomed in Israel. But Foreign Minister Eban expressed concern, in March, at Rogers's announcement that the United States government would "hold in abeyance for now" its reply to Israel's request for 25 Phantom and 100 Skyhawk aircraft. Israel government spokesmen repeatedly expressed distrust of the Four-Power Middle East talks.

A sensation was caused, at the beginning of April, by reports that President Nasser had agreed to meet with Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress, in Cairo. Goldmann told Golda Meir that he had been approached by a go-between about the possibility of such a meeting on condition it was held with her knowledge, but that he was not certain the

approach was genuine. Mrs. Meir put the question to the cabinet, which decided not to endorse the meeting because it involved the choice of the Israeli representative by the Egyptians. The cabinet communique on April 5 stressed that the government "would have responded to any sign of willingness to a meeting . . . where each side would have been free to choose its representatives." Nasser himself denied next day that he had offered to meet Goldmann. On April 7 Eban said in the Knesset that Israel had made many proposals, through public and private channels, for a dialogue with Egypt.

Controversy on the subject continued for some time, pacifist and Left-wing circles expressing uneasiness at the possibility that the government might have let slip a chance of establishing unofficial contact with the Arabs. Considerable concern was felt when these sentiments were echoed in a letter to the prime minister by a graduating class of secondary-school pupils, shortly due to join the armed forces.

United States Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco had talks with Mrs. Meir and other leaders when he visited Israel in April during a brief Middle East tour, which started in Cairo. He reportedly asked Israel to be more "flexible" in its diplomacy, referring particularly to its refusal to use the term "withdrawal" in public statements. Sisco's proposed visit to Amman was cancelled because of anti-American demonstrations there.

Defense Minister Dayan stated in June that the only way to bring the Arabs to the negotiating table was to hit them hard: "for the greater their military failures, the greater the chance that they will talk. . . . They will shift from hope of defeating us to the realization that settlements are preferable." Referring to an Egyptian government statement on June 17 that President Nasser would agree to a temporary cease-fire in exchange for Israeli acceptance of the UN Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967, an Israel Foreign Ministry spokesman declared that the cease-fire ratified by the Security Council in June 1967 was unconditional and unlimited in duration.

On June 19 Secretary Rogers proposed that discussions on the establishment of a just and lasting peace between Israel and Jordan should be held under the auspices of Gunnar Jarring, within the framework of Security Council Resolution 242, and that, to facilitate agreement, the cease-fire with Egypt should be renewed for at least three months (the cease-fire with Jordan was still officially in force).

After prolonged discussions with the United States government to ensure that Israel's security position would not be weakened by the cease-fire and the receipt of assurances to this effect in a message from President Nixon on July 24, the Israel government decided, on July 31, to accept the Rogers initiative. The Gahal (Herut-Liberal bloc) ministers, while agreeing to the cease-fire, voted against participation in the talks on the proposed basis.

In its official reply, Israel agreed to "withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict to secure, recognized and agreed boundaries to be determined in the peace agreements." The cease-fire agreement provided for a standstill on both sides of the Suez Canal,

during which "Both sides will refrain from changing the military *status quo* within zones extending 50 kilometers to the east and the west of the cease-fire line. Neither side will introduce or construct any new military installations in these zones." It was to come into effect at 2200 hours GMT on August 7.

The Keneset endorsed the government's reply, on August 4, by a vote of 66 to 28, with 9 abstentions. Gahal's six ministers resigned from the cabinet after the party's central committee decided that they do so by a narrow majority. Herut leader Menahem Begin accused the government of accepting a "Middle East Munich."

To facilitate consultations with the governments concerned, Israel wanted the talks to be held at foreign-minister level in the Middle East or Europe, but agreed, on Egypt's insistence, to hold them in New York between the governments' ambassadors to the UN. In August Foreign Minister Eban was appointed Israel's chief delegate to the talks, with Ambassador Joseph Tekoah as his deputy.

However, before the talks got under way, Israeli air reconnaissance photographs indicated that Egypt had begun to systematically violate the standstill cease-fire agreement within hours of its coming into effect. On August 13, Defense Minister Dayan told the Keneset that the Egyptians had moved SA-2 and SA-3 missile batteries forward toward the Canal. Israel notified the Chief UN Observer, Major-General Ensie Siilaszuve, and the U.S. government of the violations, and called upon the United States to restore the *status quo ante* in the Canal zone. Up to the end of the month, Israel submitted eight complaints of similar Egyptian violations, though Dayan stated on September 5 that Israel's position on the Canal was better than it had been a year earlier and that he believed "we are now in the final phases of this war."

On September 6 the cabinet decided to suspend Israel's participation in the Jarring talks until the *status quo ante* was restored and the recently installed Soviet missiles removed from the standstill zone. At the same time, the cabinet made it clear that Israel's acceptance of the American peace initiative remained in force.

Israel continued to press for the withdrawal of the missiles, and Prime Minister Meir had talks with President Nixon and Secretary Rogers on the subject in Washington on September 18. But despite American admissions that the complaints were justified, agreement was not reached on conditions that would enable Israel to renew her participation in the talks. The death of Nasser on September 28 and the election of Anwar el-Sadat to succeed him appeared to make no significant difference in the situation. On October 26, Major General Aaron Yariv, head of military intelligence in the Israel Defense Forces, stated that the Egyptians had built some hundred missile sites and moved forward 50 batteries of artillery in contravention of the standstill agreement and estimated that there were 3,000 Soviet soldiers within the standstill zone, not counting operators of SA-3 and other missiles.

Discussions continued, the United States trying to persuade Israel to return to the talks and Israel asking the United States to compensate for the disadvantages caused by the Egyptian violations. The Israel cabinet decided, December 28, that conditions had been created to justify the reopening of the Jarring talks. In explaining the decision in the Knesset on the following day, Mrs. Meir recalled President Nixon's statement to Congress in February that the United States would view any effort by the Soviet Union to seek predominance in the Middle East as "a matter of grave concern" and stated that the United States had agreed to strengthen Israel's defenses. In this connection, she referred to Nixon's request that Congress authorize military credits to Israel totalling \$500 million. Mrs. Meir expressed the conviction that the United States did not support the Arabs in their demands for an Israeli withdrawal to the armistice demarcation lines or on the refugee problem. She reiterated the basic principle that the Israel-Arab conflict must be ended by a contractually binding peace agreement and declared that not a single Israeli soldier would be withdrawn until such an agreement was reached. Her statement was approved by the Knesset by a vote of 77 to 27.

Administered Areas

Israeli casualties from enemy action in Judea and Samaria (the so-called West Bank) dropped from 34 soldiers and 2 civilians killed in 1969, to 7 soldiers and 2 civilians in 1970.

There was a tendency for closer trade relations with Israel: Exports to Jordan dropped from I£64 million in 1969 to I£60 million in 1970, while imports to Israel rose from I£37 million in 1969 to I£40 million in 1970. During the same period imports from Jordan decreased from I£25 million in 1969 to I£13 million, and imports from Israel rose from I£161 million in 1969 to I£163 million.

Thirty thousand Arabs from the West Bank worked in Israel, receiving, under the supervision of the state labor exchanges, the same wages and social benefits as Israelis. The number of Arabs who came to the area for summer visits under the open bridge policy increased from 24,000 in 1969 to 53,000 in 1970.

In the Gaza Strip where two out of every three inhabitants lived in refugee camps, compared to one in ten in Judea and Samaria, there was a slight increase in the number of Israelis killed: 6 soldiers and 6 civilians, one soldier and one civilian more than in 1969. The number of Israeli civilians injured increased considerably: 31 as against 20, but the number of soldiers injured dropped from 83 to 62. The chief victims of terrorist activities were the local Arabs, 78 of whom were killed during the year, about half in grenade-throwing and similar incidents and the rest, it was believed, in retaliation for failure to cooperate with the Palestinian terrorist organizations.

The local population, including many of the 200,000 refugees, showed a greater tendency to cooperate with the authorities. Seventy-four per cent of

the working-age population belonged to the labor force, compared with 63 per cent in 1969 and 54 per cent in 1967, and there was almost no unemployment. Despite the attempts by the terrorists to discourage them, the average number of workers who went out to work in Israel was 7,000, compared to 4,500 in 1969. The average daily pay in the Strip itself rose from I£4 (about \$1.15) in 1968 to I£6.5 in 1970.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Population

The population of Israel at the end of 1970 was 2,998,000 of whom 2,559,000 were Jews. This was 79,600 (2.7 per cent) more than in 1969. The Jewish population increase was 63,100 (2.5 per cent).

Immigration to Israel during the year remained almost the same: 37,900 as compared to 38,100 in 1969. Of these, 22,500 were registered as immigrants (*olim*) and 15,400 as temporary residents (potential immigrants). Of the total number of immigrants, 6,800 came as tourists and changed their status in Israel. In addition, 4,010 returning residents were helped to resettle.

Of the immigrants, 10,600 came from Asia and Africa, 14,600 from Europe, 7,300 from North America, and 4,000 from Latin America. Thirty-one per cent of the newcomers were under 20 years of age, and 49 per cent between the ages of 20 and 40. These age groups constituted 41 and 38 per cent, respectively, in the population of Israel. Of 15,000 adults whose occupations were recorded, 44 per cent were in the academic and liberal professions, compared to 32 per cent in 1969, 20 per cent were clerks and executives, 17 per cent artisans and factory workers, and 16 per cent were in commercial and service vocations.

Cabinet Changes

As opinion among ministers moved towards acceptance of the American peace initiative, Mapam (United Workers' party), which had refused to accept full cabinet responsibility owing to its objections to the coalition agreement with Gahal (Herut-Liberal bloc), decided to accept the portfolios it was offered. On July 27 Victor Shemtov, minister without portfolio, became minister of health; Natan Peled, who replaced the late Israel Barzilai in the cabinet, became minister of immigrant absorption.

After the death of Haim Moshe Shapira, the National Religious party (NRP) leader, Solomon Yosef Burg succeeded him on September 2 as minister of the interior, and Michael Chazani succeeded Burg as minister of social welfare after a contest for the party's nomination with Isaac Raphael and Solomon Ben-Meir. There was no clear successor to Shapira as NRP leader.

After the resignation of the Gahal ministers, their portfolios were also reallocated on September 2: Pinhas Sapir took over commerce and industry, in addition to finance; Simeon Peres, previously without portfolio, took over transport and posts (the latter renamed communications), and Haim Gvati, minister of agriculture, also assumed responsibility for development.

At the end of the year, the cabinet was as follows: Golda Meir (Labor), prime minister; Yigal Allon (Labor), deputy prime minister and education and culture; Yosef Aharon Almogi (Labor), labor; Solomon Yosef Burg (NRP), interior; Michael Chazani (NRP), social welfare; Moshe Dayan (Labor), defense; Abba Eban (Labor), foreign affairs; Israel Galili (Labor), minister without portfolio; Haim Gvati (Labor), agriculture and development; Shlomo Hillel (Labor), police; Moshe Kol (Independent Liberal), tourism; Natan Peled (Mapam), immigrant absorption; Shimon Peres (Labor), communications and transport; Pinhas Sapir (Labor), finance and commerce and industry; Ya'acov S. Shapiro (Labor), justice; Ze'ev Sharef (Labor), housing; Victor Shemtov (Mapam), health; Zerah Warhaftig (NRP), religious affairs. Deputy ministers were: Tsevi Dinstein (Labor), finance; Ben-Zion Halfon (Labor), agriculture; Avner Sciaki (NRP), education; Yehuda Shaari (Independent Liberal), tourism; Gad Yaacobi (Labor), transport; Aharon Yadlin (Labor), education.

"Who is a Jew?"

A decision by the Supreme Court, sitting as the High Court of Justice, on the petition of Benjamin Shalit, a major in the Israel Defense Forces married to a non-Jewess, reopened the controversy on "Who is a Jew?"—the definition of Jewish nationality (*le'om*) for the purpose of entry in the population register (AJYB 1959 [Vol. 60], pp. 235–6 and 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 299). The Ministry of the Interior had refused to enter the nationality of Shalit's two young children as Jewish, since a ministry directive stipulated that only those recognized as Jewish by *halakha* (rabbinical law) could be so registered. The Court, sitting for the first time with nine justices, ruled on January 23 in Shalit's favor by a majority of five to four, mainly on the ground that the ministry's directives were *ultra vires* (in excess of authority) and that, in the absence of any statutory definition of Jewish nationality, the applicant's *bona fide* declaration must be accepted for the purpose of the population register.

The decision aroused widespread controversy, and religious circles including the National Religious party demanded that the law be amended to obviate any distinction between Jewishness by religion and by nationality. Others supported the proposal made by the High Court at an early stage in the proceedings but rejected by the government that the "nationality" entry in the population register and identity cards be abolished. However, it was argued that the entry was needed for security reasons (to enable Arabs to be identified as such whenever necessary).

The cabinet decided that, while the court's ruling would be implemented by the Ministry of Interior in the case of the Shalit children, legislation would be introduced to provide that: 1) only persons born of a Jewish mother (if not members of another faith) or converted to Judaism would be registered as Jewish by nationality; 2) the right to the acquisition of citizenship under the Law of Return, as well as tax and other concessions accorded to new immigrants, would also be guaranteed to non-Jewish spouses, children, and grandchildren of Jews, if not converted to another faith. The amending legislation was passed on March 10. Since the law did not specify that conversion to Judaism must be according to the *halakha*, it followed that Reform or Conservative conversions carried out abroad would be recognized under this law. But Justice Minister Shapiro stated that, according to an un-repealed ordinance of the British mandate period, this would not apply to conversions in Israel.

Economic Affairs

At the beginning of the year, as preparations were being made for the submission of the 1970–71 budget (delayed because of the elections and the negotiations for the new cabinet at the end of 1969), pressure mounted for general wage increases. Histadrut (General Federation of Labor) had officially discouraged new wage claims during two years, but it was difficult to maintain restraint under conditions of full employment, with rising prices and taxation, especially as the new Histadrut secretary-general Yitzhak Ben-Aharon favored a more independent and militant trade union policy.

It was calculated that an increase of four per cent in productivity and a rise in the cost of living would have justified a general wage increase of eight per cent, but the Histadrut agreed that, in negotiating renewal of collective agreements with the employers, workers would receive three per cent more in cash and four per cent in government bonds, but would buy compulsory defense bonds for nine per cent of their income (the same percentage would be purchased by self-employed persons) and increase national insurance dues by five and a half per cent. The government, on its part, would increase the income tax by five per cent, and indirect taxes on a limited list of mainly luxury goods by about I£100 million. Other indirect taxes would not be raised and subsidies on mass consumption foods would be maintained.

The budget for 1970–71, totaling I£9.874 billion (about \$2.8 billion) after final approval, was submitted by Finance Minister Sapir on February 16. The increase of I£1.086 billion over the previous year was to be spent almost entirely on defense (I£615 million more), and debt services (an increase of I£456 million). The "package deal" would pump I£1.3 billion out of the economy, as well as I£750 million due to the growth of revenue at existing tax rates, thus restraining domestic demand and releasing re-

sources for exports. Total defense expenditure including indirect costs, such as reservists' pay, shelters, and roads, would come to £4.5 billion. The biggest increase in the ordinary budget was for education, which was up 10.5 per cent to I£529 million. I£626 million, almost half the development budget, was allocated for housing, mainly for immigrants. Defense, debt services, and immigration accounted for almost two-thirds of the budget.

In August increased defense costs made necessary a supplementary budget of I£1.18 billion, of which additional foreign loans were to supply I£760 million; the rest was to come from the population through increased taxes, reduced subsidies, and higher postal rates. Manufacturers undertook not to raise prices more than needed to cover indirect tax increases and subsidy reductions; prices of basic foods like bread, milk, sugar, oil, and fats would not be affected. The Histadrut agreed that price increases directly due to these measures would not affect the cost-of-living allowance; I£30 million was allocated to compensate pensioners and other low-income groups for increased living expenses. This brought the total budget for the year to over I£11 billion.

The Gross National Product during the year was I£18 billion, 18 per cent more than in 1969—9 per cent more at fixed prices—as a result of increases of 2 to 3 per cent in the number of hours worked and 6.5 per cent in product *per capita*. The rate of growth was slower than in 1969 (10.5 per cent) and 1968 (14 per cent), as the pool of unemployed labor created during the 1965–1967 recession was almost completely exploited in 1968–1969.

Industrial production grew by 10 per cent, to over I£12 billion; agricultural output increased by 7 per cent despite a decrease of 2 per cent in agricultural employment. Construction, mainly for security purposes and immigrant housing, increased by 10 per cent. Dwellings started during the year had a total floor area of 4.3 million square meters, compared with 3.6 million in 1969. Gross domestic capital formation grew by 13 per cent, to I£4.8 billion, largely as a result of increases of one-third in investment in housing and of I£172 million in ships and planes.

The growth of consumption *per capita* (at fixed prices) was much slower than in either of the two preceding years: 2 per cent, compared to 8–9 per cent. Consumption of durable goods, especially automobiles and TV sets, fell by 7 per cent. This deceleration was ascribed to the successful implementation of the “package deal” on wages, prices, and taxes. Public consumption, however, grew by 25 per cent, mainly because of security needs.

Average salaries increased by 11 per cent, of which 3 per cent were cost-of-living allowance and 4 per cent were paid in compulsory loan certificates. Most of the increase went to low-income groups, while medium and high salary earners received smaller net incomes after deduction of taxes and compulsory payments. Prices rose by 10.5 per cent, of which

6 per cent were due to the tax increases levied in August. Means of payment grew at an average rate of 5 per cent, compared to 8 per cent in 1969 and 20 per cent in 1968. Private savings remained high: voluntary saving schemes and life insurance premiums totalled I£1.6 billion, 40 per cent more than in 1969.

There was a further increase in the trade deficit and the deficit on current account. Exports of commodities grew by 7 per cent, to \$736 million; imports expanded by 9 per cent, to \$1,410 million. Industrial exports, excluding diamonds, totaled \$416 million, a growth of 14 per cent; diamond exports, at \$202 million, fell by 6 per cent. Agricultural exports, at \$121 million, were 8 per cent higher. Citrus sales rose by only 3 per cent owing to lower prices abroad, but exports of other farm products grew by almost 60 per cent, to \$31 million. While imports of consumption goods fell by 1 per cent, 11 per cent more were spent abroad on production inputs and 22 per cent more on investment goods.

The deficit on current account grew by \$351 million, mainly owing to more defense imports and a 4 per cent rise in import prices. Exports of goods and services grew by 8 per cent, to \$1.39 billion; total imports rose by 21 per cent, to \$2.6 billion.

The gap between imports and exports was filled by net capital imports and unilateral transfers of \$1.22 billion, compared to \$900 million in 1969, raising external debts to a peak of \$2.9 billion. Thanks to the capital imports, foreign currency reserves grew from \$382 million at the beginning of the year to \$435 million at year's end.

There was a record number of tourists during the year: 436,700, compared to 409,000 in 1969.

Relations With Diaspora Jewry

The outstanding development in 1970 was the publication of scores of appeals by Soviet Jews, with signatures and addresses, demanding the right to emigrate to Israel. Many of these were directed to the government of Israel or, through it, to the United Nations. The latter were transmitted through Israel's ambassador to the UN with the request that they be circulated as official documents of the General Assembly. In previous years, Israel exercised restraint in pressing the claims of the Soviet Jews to *aliyah*, for fear of repressive action by the Soviet authorities, and appealed largely on grounds of the humanitarian principle of family reunification. Now that the Russian Jews publicly based their demand on the Zionist principle of the right of every Jew to settle in Israel, the historic homeland of the Jewish people, the government adopted a much more forthright attitude. Close to 1,000 Jews arrived from the Soviet Union during the year.

The immigration from Russia called forth a widespread response from Israeli youth, especially high school and university students. It reinforced their sense of identification with Jewry abroad, which had deepened since

the six-day war. Much sympathy was felt for the hunger strike staged at UN headquarters by Yasha Kazakov, a young immigrant from the Soviet Union.

The arrest in June of Soviet Jews in Leningrad on charges of conspiring to hijack a plane that would take them to Israel aroused nationwide indignation, which was voiced in the Knesset on July 1. A Public Council for Soviet Jewry was established, and in December, when the trial took place, delegations from all over the country came to the Western (Wailing) Wall, where a group of recent immigrants from Russia held a protest strike. The Knesset suspended its usual business and held a special protest session on December 16. Prime Minister Golda Meir, in a radio interview on December 19, described the struggle of Soviet Jewry for the right to settle in Israel as "one of the greatest revolutions, one of the greatest acts of heroism of the spirit of a people."

Another emergency session of the Knesset on December 25, the day after the Leningrad trial verdict was announced, called upon the Soviet authorities to annul the two death sentences and free the prisoners. A statement in the same vein was broadcast by President Zalman Shazar. The commutation of the death sentences was greeted with relief, but the Prime Minister and others stressed that the struggle for Soviet Jewry would continue.

The Jewish Agency submitted a record budget of \$380 million for 1970-1971 (60 per cent of it for immigration) to the Zionist General Council on February 25. The council approved plans for ideological discussion throughout the Zionist movement and a membership drive in preparation for worldwide elections for the 1971 Zionist Congress.

Representatives of the World Zionist Organization (WZO) and the largest Jewish organizations raising funds for Israel signed an agreement in Jerusalem on August 27 for the establishment of a reconstituted Jewish Agency and a separation of functions between the new body and the Zionist Organization. The governing bodies of the reconstituted Agency would be: 1) an assembly with 296 members, half nominated by the WZO, 30 per cent by the United Israel Appeal in the United States, and the remainder by leading Jewish fund-raising bodies in other countries; 2) a board of governors of 38, of similar composition, and 3) an executive of 11. The Agency would be responsible for immigration, housing and social service for immigrants, higher education and research, and agricultural settlement. The World Zionist Organization would remain in charge of education in the Diaspora, youth and pioneering, information, the Jewish National Fund, and cultural institutions.

International and Diaspora Jewish bodies which held conferences in Israel included B'nai B'rith, Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), World Mizrahi, the Conference of American Rabbis, and the World Council of Conservative Synagogues. The two latter bodies, while expressing solidarity with Israel, called for the removal in Israel of discrim-

ination against Reform and Conservative Jews, respectively, and recognition for their rabbis on a basis of equality with the Orthodox.

Personalia

Shmuel Yosef Agnon, foremost Hebrew writer and 1966 Nobel prize winner, died in Jerusalem on February 17, at the age of 81. Peretz Bernstein, minister of commerce in the first Israel cabinet, former editor of *Haboker*, author of several books on antisemitism, died in Tel Aviv on March 21, at the age of 80. Nathan Alterman, distinguished Hebrew poet and publicist, died in Tel Aviv on March 28, at the age of 60. Mordecai Kamrat, educator, pioneer of the *ulpan* system of teaching Hebrew to adults, died in Jerusalem on May 3, at the age of 55. Israel Barzilai, minister of health, a leader of Mapam and the *kibbutz* movement, died in Jerusalem on June 12, at the age of 57. Haim Moshe Shapira, minister of the interior, leader of Hapo'el Hamizrachi and the National Religious party, died in Tel Aviv on July 16, at the age of 68. Zalman Aranne (Aharonowitz), former secretary of Mapai and minister of education, died in Jerusalem on September 6, at the age of 71. Isaac Gruenbaum, former leader of Polish Jewry, Zionist leader, and minister of the interior in the provisional government of Israel, died in Tel Aviv on September 7, at the age of 91.

MISHA LOUVISH

Jews in Arab and Moslem Countries

THE NUMBER OF JEWS living in the Arab countries of the Middle East, which had declined from about 330,000 in 1948 to some 20,000 in May 1967 (AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 133), was about half that number in December 1970. In the period reviewed (December 1967 to December 1970), it became evident that the only solution for Jews in Arab countries was emigration. For the first time, United Nations Secretary-General U Thant publicly expressed concern over the plight of these Jews. In his September 29 annual report to the General Assembly, he stated:

Although I have no direct means of knowing exactly the conditions of life of the small Jewish minorities in certain Arab states, it is clear that, in some cases at least, these minorities would be better off elsewhere and that the countries in which they now live would also be better off. . . . I hope very much, therefore, that it may soon be possible to find sensible ways of solving this largely humanitarian problem.

During this period, Jews in all Arab countries, except in Lebanon, suffered discrimination, humiliation, and torture. This was especially true of the Jews in Iraq.

Iraq

The situation of the Jews in Iraq has deteriorated considerably as a result of legislation leading to their impoverishment and of the executions of Jews on charges of espionage.

On February 14, 1968, an Amending Law Supplementary to the Law for the Supervision and Management of the Properties of the Denationalized Jews, No. 12 of 1951, was issued. According to this amendment, "the Land Registration Department . . . shall abstain from the registration of sales of immovable properties belonging to a Jew, and abstain from carrying out any transactions regarding such properties." It also provided that the Minister of the Interior "may decide that the amounts due to the Jews be deposited in one of the banks. These amounts shall not be disposed of without the approval of the Minister of the Interior or of someone authorized by him to do so." These provisions, the amendment stated, "shall apply to all other transactions and dispositions which would result in sums being payable to a Jew as a consideration, excluding salaries and wages not exceeding 100 Iraqi dinars per month. Official and semiofficial departments, companies, and establishments shall not pay the amounts due to any Jew in respect of such transaction or disposition, but shall inform the Minister of the Interior thereof."

An earlier law of June 28, 1967 barred Jews from engaging in any financial transactions. Its officially stated purpose was "to prevent them [the Jews] from smuggling their property out of Iraq."

These laws impoverished even the wealthy Jews in Iraq. However, it should be remembered that most of the Jews were not permitted to hold jobs. A few were allowed to work because the government wanted to show them off to foreign journalists. The properties left behind by Jews who succeeded in leaving the country were confiscated.

On July 17, 1968, a left-wing military junta ousted President Abd-al-Rahman Arif and installed General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, a member of the radical Ba'ath Socialist party, as the new president. In October 1968 it became known that some 26 Jews had been jailed, though no charges had been brought against any of them. Iraq's Chief Rabbi Sassoon Khdoori, who tried to intervene in their behalf, was promised that something would be done in the matter. A few weeks later, it was learned that they were being charged with espionage for Israel. Nine of those Jews, together with five Moslems and Christians, were sentenced to death, and were publicly hanged on January 27, 1969. The same court sentenced Aharon Salman Aharon to a six-month prison term and acquitted five other Jews. One of the Jews was executed in Basrah and the others in Baghdad to the rejoicing of thousands who viewed the bodies in both cities. The nine Jews executed on that date were: Ezra Naji Zilhka (52), Faud Gabbai (30), Ya'acob Gurji Namurdi (28), David Yehezkel Dallal (28), Yehezkel Saleh Yehezkel (19), David Ghali (18), Sabah Hayyim (22), Na'im Khdoori Hilali (19), and Charles Raphael Horesh (45). All except Horesh lived in Baghdad.

A rabbi who visited them before their execution to say *Vidui* (prayer before death) was ordered to recite the prayer in Arabic. When he explained that it could be said only in Hebrew, he was asked to leave, and the nine Jews could not say their last prayer. Appeals for mercy by many governments and personalities were in vain. Among those who intervened were Pope Paul VI and the president of the Center of International Buddhism in Colombo, Ceylon.

A few weeks after the trial it was learned that a second group of Jews was to be sentenced to death, but pressure of world opinion saved them from execution. However, on August 25, 1969, two more Jews, Isaac Eliahou Dallal and Yehezkel Raphael Ya'acob, were hanged. In this period, more than 40 Iraqi Moslems and Christians also were executed. Although there have been no other hangings of Jews, at least 18 were reported to have been tortured to death in prisons between 1968 and 1970. Among them were Nissim Ya'ir (36), David Zbeida (59), Ya'acob Atrakchi (in his late 40's), Shou'a Sofer (70), Fu'ad Shasha (35), Naji Saati (60), Yehuda (first name unknown; 70), and M. Barukh (70). Some of the bodies were returned to the families for burial; the families of the other victims received notices that their relatives had escaped from prison.

For fear of being accused of espionage, Jews did not venture out of their

homes. They were even afraid of meeting with other Jews, to say nothing of sending or receiving letters. Most of them wished to leave, even though it meant leaving their properties in Iraq. In order to determine who wanted to leave the country, the government, for the first time in years, allowed the registration of Jews for emigration. General Lucius D. Clay, chairman of the Committee of Concern, a nonsectarian group of Americans, stated in a January 1971 report that more than 1,800 Jews applied for emigration. But the government refused to issue passports to Jews, and only about a dozen elderly persons were permitted to leave. A small number of Jews succeeded in leaving Iraq illegally.

No official Jewish population figures were given since the 1957 census. According to the census, Iraq had 4,319 Jews: 2,297 males and 2,022 females. Thirteen years later, in December 1970, Chief Rabbi Khdoori told the Baghdad correspondent Eric Pace of the *New York Times* that fewer than 3,000 remained in Iraq. According to the rabbi, there were some 200 births and 28 deaths in the Jewish community in 1970. (These figures appear to have no basis in fact, especially the grossly exaggerated number of births.)

The Baghdad Jewish community, its three synagogues and two schools (an elementary and a secondary school) which still remained open were administered by a government-appointed committee of Jews. The community's nominal head had been Rabbi Khdoori, who died on May 24, 1971.

Egypt

The Jewish population of Egypt declined from an estimated 2,500 in December 1967, to about 1,000 in December 1970. General Lucius D. Clay, chairman of the Committee of Concern, put the number lower, at 700. Until September 1968, Jews who were not in prison were permitted to leave Egypt if they agreed to surrender their property to the government. Each person could take out of the country only five Egyptian pounds. After September 1968, only persons holding foreign citizenship which had been obtained before June 1967 were allowed to leave Egypt. Egyptian Jewish citizens, stateless Jews, and other foreign citizens could not leave the country. But later, at the intervention of the French Foreign Office and other friendly governments, Jews were again allowed to leave. According to a January 1971 report in the Israeli press, 300 Jews were granted permission to emigrate during that month.

Jews who had been jailed in June 1967 were released on condition that they leave Egypt forever. Of the 234 Jews in prisons in December 1967 (See AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 136), 81 remained as of July 1970, when that last group, too, was released and flown to France.

Syria

The situation of the Jews in Syria remained precarious. According to a report issued in January 1971 by General Lucius Clay, they were still required to carry special identity cards, were barred from many jobs, were subject to curfews, could not travel farther than four kilometers (2.5 miles) from their homes, and were not allowed to emigrate. Their plight was described by two Syrian Jews, a man and a woman who had escaped from Damascus to Europe and whose identity was withheld for fear that the Syrians would take revenge on their relatives and friends.

In their testimony, on January 27, 1971, before the International Conference for the Deliverance of Jews in the Middle East held in Paris, they spoke of Jews in Syria as being subjected to torture, imprisonment, unemployment, and poverty. They themselves had been arrested several times. They said that Jews were being detained daily by the authorities for "interrogation." Jews were not being employed, and many families were entirely dependent on overseas relief. Even those allowances were doled out by the secret police, to keep the maximum weekly relief down to four dollars. According to the refugees, whenever a Jew died without heirs in Syria, his property was turned over to the Palestinian terrorists who were stationed in Jewish homes. Secret police officials supervised every Jewish gathering, including weddings and synagogue services.

Inasmuch as no emigration of Jews from Syria was possible, their number remained unchanged. At the end of 1970, it was estimated at 3,500 to 4,000. The number of pupils studying at the Alliance Israélite Universelle school also remained the same: enrollment was 431 in 1967; 456 in 1968, and 466 in 1969. The director and all teachers but one were non-Jews. The Jewish teacher's function was to give religious instruction to the boys for two hours weekly.

Libya

The revolutionary government, which seized power in September 1969 and dethroned King Idris, proved to be more anti-Jewish and anti-Israel than the previous regime. Within the first month, the new regime issued an edict authorizing the government to take into custody the properties and assets of Jews who had left Libyan territory for an indefinite period (AJYB, 1970 [Vol. 71], p. 519). On February 7, 1970, a law was enacted to that effect and, a day later, the Minister of the Interior declared that, in accordance with it, any Libyan Jew living abroad, who had no official papers from the emigration department, would be considered as having left Libya forever.

On May 5 the Libyan Jews residing in Rome asked the Libyan government to rescind the law because it contradicted the law giving equal rights

to all Libyans. A member of the Libyan government replied that the property would be returned to Jews who returned to Libya. On May 9 the government promulgated a new law, suspending the one adopted in February. It enjoined the sequestration and transfer to the official custodian for administration of the property of persons to be listed by the Ministry of the Interior. No reference to Jews was made in this law, but appended to it was a list of 620 of such persons: 573 Jews who had left Libya; 32 Jews who were still living in the country, and 15 non-Jews who had opposed the revolution. On July 21, 1970, a new law was adopted, providing compensation for confiscated property in the form of government bonds redeemable in 15 years. It reserved for the government the right to decide on the value of this property. There has been no definite information on whether any Jews received such bonds, or whether the value put on their property was reasonable.

Jews still were not permitted to leave Libya, their number was reduced to less than 100 in December 1970.

Lebanon

The Lebanese Jewish community numbered about 3,000 in December 1967. Most of the country's Jews lived in Beirut, the rest in Sidon. There was some emigration to Israel and the United States; a few left for Italy, France, England, and Canada. They were free to sell their belongings and leave the country with their assets. There were no restrictions on Lebanese Jews who wanted to stay, or on those who wished to leave. However, non-Lebanese Jews, predominantly Syrians and Iraqis, who wished to emigrate had to sign a statement to the effect that they would not return to Lebanon.

Some Jews who emigrated did so because they feared that a change of regime in Lebanon would make their situation precarious, but also because they were affected by the country's grave financial crisis. Lack of confidence in the future made credit almost unobtainable. Other Jews feared al-Fatah Palestinians who terrorized them and forced them to contribute money to their organization. On March 1, 1970, Edward Sassoon, a Jew, was killed in Beirut, probably by al-Fatah members whom he refused to pay the amount they demanded. Also, on January 18, 1970, a bomb exploded on the windowsill of an unoccupied Jewish school in Beirut, damaging the windows. No casualties were reported. Lebanese Minister of the Interior Kamal Jumblat personally visited Rabbi Shahood Shreim, spiritual leader of the Jewish community, to express his regrets over the incident.

Enrollment in the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools decreased from 1,109 in 1967, to 847 in 1968, and to 623 in 1969. Ozar ha-Torah was closed, but the Tarrab Talmud Torah continued to function. Several synagogues remained open in Beirut and one in the summer resort of Aley, near Beirut. By mid-1970 Rabbi Shreim was the only rabbi in Lebanon,

and he too, was planning to leave. The one remaining *shohet* also wished to leave, but was persuaded not to do so. There was one kosher butcher shop in Beirut.

Turkey

For the first time since 1935, no Jew was elected to the Turkish parliament in September 1969. No Jew was even considered as a candidate by either the Justice party, which was in power, or by the government opposition, the Republican People's party. Only the small liberal New Turkey party put up a Jewish candidate who, however, had no chance of being elected.

In 1966 the Jewish population of Turkey was estimated at 43,900, with some 38,000 in Istanbul, 4,000 in Izmir, and close to 1,000 in Ankara. Smaller, but still active, communities existed in Çanakkale, Edirne, Bursa, and elsewhere. It was estimated that, in 1970, the number of Jews did not exceed 39,000. Most of them were well-to-do. The annual emigration of Jews, to Europe and the Americas, but also to Israel, was small.

Although the Turkish leaders repeatedly assured the Jews that the government regarded them as first-class citizens, there was a certain feeling of insecurity in the community. There were sporadic antisemitic incidents and propaganda. On August 23, 1969, two Jordanian students in Turkey attempted to place a bomb in the Israel pavilion at the Izmir international fair. The bomb exploded in their car before they reached the pavilion, killing one and injuring the other.

Attacks on Jews were voiced by rightists in Turkey, especially during the 1969 election campaign. Neçemettin Erbakan, an independent right-wing candidate, accused the Jews of exploiting the nation's economy. The right-wing Istanbul daily *Bügin* published many antisemitic articles, accusing the Jews of deceptions, smuggling, and black-marketeering at the expense of Turkey's economy. The paper was subsequently closed down by the government and its editor fled the country to escape arrest. In Istanbul, antisemitic leaflets were secretly distributed and anti-Jewish slogans painted on walls. Some Moslem merchants went so far as to break relations with Jewish merchants. However, as in the past (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 421), there was little likelihood that this propaganda would provoke an eruption of antisemitism, which has never been an issue in Turkey.

There were three primary Jewish schools, one secondary school, and a rabbinical seminary in Istanbul, and two primary schools in Izmir. Turkish was the official language of instruction in these schools. However, one course in elementary Hebrew, needed for reciting the prayers, was permitted.

Since the majority (75 to 80 per cent) of the Jewish students attended non-Jewish schools where no Hebrew was taught, the *Mahazikei Torah* institutions provided religious instruction on Sundays and evenings.

Istanbul had a Chief Rabbi (*Haham bashi*), Rabbi David Asseo, assisted

by a religious council and lay council; there was no over-all community organization.

Of some 50 synagogues in Istanbul, 10 to 15 were in daily use; two were maintained by the Karaites, one by the Ashkenazim, and the rest followed the Sephardi ritual.

HAYYIM J. COHEN