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## North Africa

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### ALGERIA

THE HISTORY of Algeria in the year under review (July 1, 1954, through June 30, 1955) was dominated by the rise of terrorism and the establishment of a center of active armed resistance in the Aures mountains. As early as 1945, there had been disturbances in the region which was now in upheaval. But at that time it has been a case of spontaneous action by an undernourished population, in the aftermath of World War II. Several dozen Frenchmen had been savagely killed, followed by a terrible repression which caused the death of several thousand Moslems. For ten years Algeria had been very quiet.

In 1947 General Charles De Gaulle, taking up where Léon Blum had begun in 1936, had put through the Statute of Algeria. This granted French citizenship to all Algerian Moslems, and provided for their representation in an Algerian Assembly composed of delegates from two electoral colleges which were theoretically equal. This was the triumph of the policy of "assimilation." Unfortunately, the Statute of Algeria remained a dead letter in a number of respects. The benefits which would have accrued from genuine Moslem representation in the Algerian Assembly were destroyed by the way in which the elections of 1948 and 1951 were organized.

Among the principal causes of the upheaval which broke out in November 1954 were low wages, the unemployment of a large part of the Moslem population, an Algerian Moslem rate of population growth of 1.8 per cent annually (one of the highest in the world), the fact that only a fifth of the Moslem youth received any schooling, propaganda from the Arab countries, the success of the Tunisian nationalists, and the interest and emulation aroused by the example of Morocco.

The insurrectionary movement did not come unheralded. The years 1952 and 1953 were marked by very severe police measures, such as the suppression of newspapers and the arrest of leaders, but with a few exceptions no blood flowed. The development of terrorism in Tunisia and its appearance in 1953 in Morocco helped to produce resistance in Algeria. On November 1, 1954, there were simultaneous terrorist attacks throughout Algeria. Order was rapidly reestablished everywhere except in the mountainous and inaccessible Aures region, which since that date remained under the control of two or three thousand unsubdued Moslems, with the active or passive collaboration of the general population. In the rest of Algeria there were no further disturbances during the remainder of the year under review. Nevertheless, the happy conclusion of the Franco-Tunisian negotiations and the

efforts of Resident General Gilbert Grandval beginning in July 1955 to solve the Moroccan problem reinforced the determination of the Algerian nationalists to secure their demands.

The gravity of the events of November 1954 led the new Governor General of Algeria, Jacques Soustelle, to formulate a new policy of "integration" to replace the policy of "assimilation," whose failure was universally recognized. Against this policy of integration some nationalists, particularly the group centering around Messali Hadj and his *Parti du Peuple Algérien*, demanded independence; others, such as the *Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien*, led by Ferhat Abbas, asked a federative solution within the French Union, with guarantees of internal autonomy.

### *Jewish Population*

The Algerian census of October 1954 was published on July 1, 1955. It recorded a population of 9,530,000, as against 8,682,000 in 1948. Since 1921 the population of Algeria had risen 65 per cent. In the nine most important cities, the number of Moslems had more than tripled. The census gave no indication as to the religious affiliations of the "Europeans," the category under which the Jews were included. In the absence of new demographic information on the Jewish population, the figure of 150,000 might be regarded as representing the maximum number of Jews in Algeria. On the basis of the statistics for Tunisia and Morocco, it could be assumed that the Jewish birth rate was midway between the Arab and European figures. This accorded with the sociological position of the Jewish population in Algeria, which was in every respect intermediate between the Arabs and the Europeans.

There had been a substantial increase in the Algerian urban population. Algiers grew from 473,000 to 571,000 inhabitants between 1948 and 1954; the other cities increased proportionately. From these figures, an increase in the urban Jewish population could be assumed; 80 per cent of Algeria's Jews now resided in the cities, more than 60 per cent in the three cities of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine. A movement from the rural areas to the northern cities, and northward again from Algeria to France, was characteristic of North African Jewry; the recent disturbances had not notably increased the number of departures. Emigration to Israel, in particular, had not attained significant proportions; it was still on a purely individual basis, and there were at present no signs of a mass movement.

Although no exact statistics were available, there were a large number of Jews among the 400,000 Algerians who earned a precarious livelihood in France. The situation of these immigrants was often deplorable; they were isolated from the Judaism which sustained them in Algeria. On the recommendation of Grand Rabbi Maurice Eisenbeth, an association of North African Jews had been founded in Paris (*see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK*, 1955 [Vol. 56], p. 428). Its first accomplishment had been the establishment of a synagogue with rites in accordance with the North African tradition, in the heart of the quarter where newly arrived Jews usually lived. In practice, this synagogue had run into considerable difficulties, since the sociological

conditions of the native Jews of Algeria were very different from those residing in the metropolis.

Many of the Algerian Jews living in France held leading positions in the French Jewish community. A recent example of the reinforcement which they had brought to French Judaism was the election on June 22, 1955, of Rabbi Meir Jais, a native of Algeria, as Grand Rabbi of Paris, the first Sephardic rabbi to hold this post.

#### ECONOMIC SITUATION

The transformation and emancipation of Algerian Jewry began with the French conquest in 1830. At that time the Jews in the Moslem city occupied the position of guests or protégés, "dhimmis," whose position was defined by their dress; they were middlemen or small artisans. They were permitted to integrate themselves into the French city, and their economic situation was normalized in two ways; opportunities became much more numerous, and they were equal for the Jews and the Europeans. In time, Algerian Jews had penetrated into all occupations; they were in industry, handicrafts and the professions, and numerous in the civil service; they played their largest role in commerce. More than 30 per cent were in commercial occupations; however, this percentage was decreasing in the Départements of Algiers and Oran, which were more westernized than that of Constantine. A large number of young Jews were going to trade schools; in the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT) schools of Algiers, there were more applicants than could be accepted every year. (Thus, in January 1955, the ORT boys' school in the city of Algiers had 177 applicants for 45 vacancies; this was exclusive of a large number of applicants from the interior.) Many of them came from the interior of the country, where there was an increasing preference for learning manual skills. Lastly, the steady growth of the small community of Colomb-Bechar, the most southerly in the Département of Oran, was noteworthy. On the border of the Sahara, Colomb-Bechar had had a development of military bases which had attracted an increasing number of merchants and small manufacturers, who were developing into one of the most thriving Jewish communities of the Sahara.

#### *Political Status*

Since the Crémieux Decree of October 24, 1870, the Jews of Algeria had been considered French citizens. They were the only group of North African natives who enjoyed, as a body, all the privileges of French citizenship. Although the Statute of 1947 had given the Moslems also the designation of French citizens, they still formed a group politically and sociologically distinct from the French nation, whereas the Jews had for eighty-five years been completely integrated into French political life, enjoying all its rights and fulfilling all its duties. This had permitted the rapid westernization of the Jewish community. In previous issues of the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, we have discussed the paradoxical situation of 1,500 Jews of the Ghardaia, whom the government continued to ignore completely. Excluded from the

Crémieux Decree since the conquest of the M'zab by France in 1880, they had remained subject to the Mosaic personal law, and had been administered entirely as "Jewish natives." This arbitrarily assigned juridical status continued, although the Alliance Israélite Universelle took the matter up again in April 1955 with Governor General Jacques Soustelle, and he took personal cognizance of the question. Forgotten in a sort of juridical "no man's land," these Jews had no regular civil status, no personal status adapted to their aspirations, and no possibility of effectively exercising their civil rights. The continuous migration of the Jews of the M'zab to northern Algeria or to Israel had reduced their number from 5,000 to 1,500, a development harmful to the area because of the important role played by the Jews in the commerce of the Sahara. All these facts were not enough to overcome the opposition to reform in the bureaux of the government general, paralyzed as these were by the immobility which was one of the basic factors in the Algerian crisis. Because of the status of inferiority to which they were condemned, the Jews of the M'zab had no chance to send their children to school, and were the victims of the plagues which ravaged the area, such as trachoma, tuberculosis, and alcoholism.

The political emancipation of the Algerian Jews was far-reaching and had produced its effects in all aspects of life. The deep social cleavage that existed in Algeria was not peculiar to the Jews, but was a problem of the country itself, in which the three groups—Christian, Moslem, and Jewish—coexisted without really interpenetrating. Especially in times of crisis, barriers bristled everywhere; they grew higher and more forbidding in the degree that political problems erupted more violently. In the conflict between French and Moslems, there seemed to be general agreement to disregard the Jews. When the rightist Deputy from Oran, François Quillici, in July 1955 used the security of the Jews as an argument against approval of the Franco-Tunisian accords, his concern for them was merely tactical and deceived nobody. The Algerian Jews were happy to see a Jew, Pierre Mendès-France, courageously solve the Tunisian crisis, as was clearly stated in an article by Jacques Lazarus in the August-September 1954 issue of *Information*. They were likewise happy to see a Jew, Albert Bessis, as one of the members of the Tunisian delegation and one of the architects of the Franco-Tunisian compromise. And they followed with passionate interest the courageous efforts of Gilbert Grandval, of Jewish descent, though a Catholic convert, hoping to see him surmount all the difficulties and restore peace and order to Morocco.

These facts emphasized the natural role of the Jews of North Africa as intermediaries between the two antagonistic groups. They had fulfilled this thankless task sometimes with more and sometimes with less success, but it was a necessary one in their situation. In Algeria the Jews elected to the Algerian Assembly and to the Departmental Councils General had tended to perform their duty to the satisfaction of everyone, and had sometimes succeeded in maintaining friendly relations between the conflicting parties. The future of Algerian Jewry depended on the reestablishment of peace and confidence between the Moslems and the French.

## *Community Organization*

The emancipation of Algerian Jewry had been accompanied by a far-reaching assimilation. The communities passed abruptly from the Moslem middle ages to the French twentieth century, with no transition. Before the arrival of the French, the consistories were veritable little governments, dealing with the affairs of the communities and having judicial authority in questions of marriage, divorce, and inheritance. The Crémieux Decree wiped out this close dependence in the course of one day. The consistories ceased to be anything more than private associations, which, under the Law of 1905, were charged with the administration of public worship and assistance to the poor within the narrow limits of their budgets. The structure of the social cohesion of Algerian Jewry was undermined, and there was nothing to replace it in maintaining the internal cohesion of the community except religion, whose influence was substantially weakened by the reduction of religious instruction to a minimum. For a long time the elite of the community lacked interest in a community life which had been reduced to its most elementary forms. The leaders of the consistories and the rabbinate had to struggle against this constant tendency toward disintegration.

In April 1947 the consistories were strengthened by the creation of a *Fédération des Communautés Juives d'Algérie*, whose chief accomplishment had been the establishment of an *Ecole Rabbinique* in Algiers. The last General Assembly of the *Fédération*, meeting in Algiers on June 7, 1955, heard a report from Secretary General Armand Attal on its activities in 1954-55. These included participation in the Second World Sephardic Congress, held in Jerusalem May 9-14, 1954; assistance to the victims of the terrible Orleansville earthquake of August 1954, and of the massacre at Petitjean, Morocco, in the same month (see *AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK*, 1955 [Vol. 56], p. 445); and the agreement reached with the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and the Religious Education Department of the Jewish Agency in July-August 1954 for the provision of teachers of Hebrew to the communities, which took effect during the school year 1954-55. M. Attal stressed particularly the action taken by the *Fédération* toward the imminent construction of a new building in the middle of Algiers for the rabbinical school, to replace the present one on the outskirts. Benjamin Heller followed with a discussion of "Jewish Defense: Religious, Cultural, and Political." On the third point he reported the refusal of the *Fédération* to attend the London conference called by the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the American Jewish Committee, and declared the *Fédération's* exclusive affiliation with the World Jewish Congress (WJC).

Of the numerous organizations in the social and cultural fields, the most active in the year under review was the *Commission Culturelle Juive d'Algérie*, established in December 1952 on the initiative of the North African Commission of the WJC and subsidized by the JDC and the WJC. The commission organized lectures (by Raymond Bénichou, Rabi, Emmanuel Lévinas, André Néber, Isaac Pougatch, and Rabbi André Zaoui) in the chief

cities of Algeria which drew an enthusiastic public, and sent a large number of books to the Jewish libraries of Oran, Constantine, Blida, Tlemcen, Aïn-Témouchent, Mascara, Mostaganem, Relizane, Rel-Abbès, Batna, and Sétif. In general, the commission tried to create local cultural centers, which were entirely lacking. In Algiers it was attempting to establish a central Jewish library in French and Hebrew, as well as a central collection of phonograph records. The commission had published and distributed the studies by Raymond Bénichou, *Simone Weill, la prophète égarée* and *l'Épreuve sans Danger*, and Jules Isaac's *la Dispersion d'Israël: fait historique et myth théologique*. The commission was planning to set up a moving picture circuit and a training school for professional workers, and it had organized a school of Jewish studies with courses in Jewish history and philosophy and Biblical exegesis.

The Comité Juif Algérien d'Études Sociales continued to publish *Information Juive*, edited by Jacques Lazarus, a monthly which was the sole Algerian Jewish organ. André Chouraqui and Gérard Israël of the Alliance Israélite Universelle had lectured in the principal communities. As in the past, Algerian Jewry was represented by Elie Gozlan at the annual Assize of French Judaism held by the Alliance in Paris June 20-25, 1955.

These various activities had revived the local centers. The Union des Étudiants Juifs d'Algérie with about 170 members, and the Éclaireurs Israélites d'Algérie with some 400 (a small number for a population of 150,000), also conducted activities, but on a restricted scale because of lack of personnel and funds.

### *Interfaith Relations*

The period of crisis beginning in November 1954 brought to the fore the internal conflicts threatening a country composed of three distinct groups. The Moslems bitterly resented the discrimination to which they were subjected politically, socially, and in the universities, where there was one student for each 227 Europeans, but only one for each 15,342 Algerian Moslems. Moreover, the Moslem youth of all social classes saw a bleak future looming up before them; each year the Moslem population of Algeria increased by 150,000, but each year only 10,000 new jobs were created in the country, thus condemning large numbers to unemployment. Under these circumstances, a great deal of effort on the social, economic, and political planes was required before any real normalization of interfaith relations could become possible. Reforms were at present under consideration, particularly in regard to insuring full employment; it was hoped that they would bear fruit before it was too late.

Under these conditions, there was all the more reason for admiring the profound solidarity which united Moslems, Christians, and Jews when catastrophe destroyed the city of Orleansville in September 1954. Relief was organized without distinction of race or religion in a great wave of sympathy for the victims.

The fact that both Pierre Mendès-France and Gilbert Grandval were of Jewish origin had undoubtedly improved relations between Jews and Mos-

lems. On the other hand, the ultra-reactionary groups did not hesitate to launch an anti-Semitic campaign against the Mendès-France policies in Tunisia. As for Gilbert Grandval, in August 1955 the anti-Semites, suddenly solicitous of Jewish orthodoxy, talked about the "renegade Jew"! But these campaigns were not of major importance, and nothing could disguise the immense economic, social, and political problems which surrounded the future of North Africa.

As against the above-mentioned assimilationist tendency among Jews, and the anti-Semitism of a part of the reactionary population, one could descry on the Jewish side, among the defenders of tradition, an effort to assure the permanence of Jewish life. From this stemmed the development of cultural activities, as well as an increasing rigidity on certain points such as that of mixed marriages, which were vigorously denounced by Prof. Raymond Bénichou in *Information* (November 1954 and January 1955). These articles met with the enthusiastic approbation of certain Jewish circles and the sharp criticism of a Christian, M. Espy of Blida, who charged that the Jewish attitude was one of intolerance, untinged by a certain racism. In the development of the polemic, everyone was agreed that intolerance and racism were the two great plagues which threatened the peace of North Africa. Nevertheless, it was difficult to maintain the balance between religious conviction and the absence of aggressiveness toward other religious groups, and such polemics in an atmosphere of passion often carried the risk of misunderstanding, if not of conflict. More than ever, a rapprochement among Christianity, Judaism, and Mohammedanism was indispensable; the Union des Croyants Monotheistes, which had done excellent work, had unfortunately been inactive for several years, and one could only regret it at this decisive stage of Algerian history.

### *Jewish Education*

The chief cause for the assimilation of the Algerian Jews was their secular education in the state schools. The Jewish community abruptly lost its sociological structure in 1870. Religious education came under the control of rabbis who kept to the ancient methods; the children deserted the synagogues and rejected the education which was given them as a part of a past which they wished to be rid of at any price in order to become "modern." The reform instituted by the Alliance at the beginning of the twentieth century, when it sent Albert Confino to Algiers, was superficial and never extended beyond a part of the population. The disintegrative tendencies in the Jewish community increased in the years which followed, and it was only since the end of World War II that, thanks to the creation of the State of Israel and to the joint efforts of local and world Jewish organizations, there had been a rebirth of Jewish culture in Algeria.

In the field of education proper, the Jewish Agency was instrumental during 1954-55 in supplying a director for the Talmud Torah of Algiers, two teachers for the Talmud Torah of Oran, and a teacher for the Talmud Torah of Constantine. It had also placed a youth chaplain and a general superintendent for the rabbinical school at the disposal of the Algerian

communities, had continued its correspondence courses of religious instruction, and had offered a scholarship in Israel to two Algerian religious teachers.

The Alliance Israélite sent Nissim Korah to Algiers as director of religious instruction at the end of April 1955. These measures, with the support of the Jewish consistory of Algiers and the Fédération, were expected to lead to the necessary improvement in the field of religious education.

The Ecole Rabbinique of France, under the direction of Rabbi Abraham Fingerhut, continued to expand. Three young rabbis, Benhaim, Haik, and Hadjadj, completed their studies during 1954-55 and conducted their first services on June 7, 1955, in the Jais synagogue. Thirteen students successfully passed the examinations for their baccalaureate and elementary certificates.

### *Zionist Activities*

Zionist activities attracted the interest of an increasing number of communities, and even non-Jews often sought information on the development of Israel. Large audiences were addressed in the course of the year by André Blumel, André Narboni, Meyer Bellity, Elie Gozlan, Yehuda Braginski, and others. There were regular courses in Hebrew, classes for the youth, and religious ceremonies in celebration of the Herzl Year. The Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) and the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth) continued to hold dances and charity bazaars for philanthropic purposes. The youth movements Bne Akiba and Dror (whose delegates Golec and Warcel returned to Israel in March 1955) were trying to develop youth activities, particularly at Relizane. At Oran, the new committee of the Zionist Federation was headed by President Albert Smadja, with Rabbi Samuel Cohen as secretary general. On March 17, 1955 Leo Muskat began the annual campaign for aid to Israel; he stated that he expected a 30 per cent increase in funds raised during 1955. Finally, the Zionist Federation was planning to develop tourism to Israel, and was planning to send Algerian children to spend their vacations there in collective settlements.

### *Personalia*

During 1954-55 there took place: the death of Marcel Ghozi; the nomination to the Legion of Honor of Victor Benaim from Relizane, and Germaine Sonigo from Bougie (presidents of the consistory); an official visit to North Africa by United States Congressman Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, who visited Algiers November 17 to 19, 1954.

ANDRÉ CHOURAQUI

## TUNISIA

**D**URING the period under review (July 1, 1954, through June 30, 1955) France reached an agreement with the Tunisian nationalist Neo-Destour party, under which Tunisia received autonomy, after almost eight decades of direct French control.

*Political and Economic Background*

On July 28, 1954, after months of assassinations, bombings, and civil war, Resident General Pierre Voizard left Tunis for Paris. Two days later General Pierre Boyer de Latour, commander of the French forces in Tunisia, was named to replace Voizard.

On July 31, Premier Pierre Mendès-France made a dramatic unannounced flight to Tunis. With Marshal Alphonse Juin and Christian Fouchet, Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, at his side, he told the Bey: "The internal autonomy of the Tunisian state is recognized and proclaimed without reservation by the French Government. Agreements will be reached outlining the reciprocal obligations of the two countries, and on guarantees for France and for Frenchmen living in Tunisia." He declared further that a Tunisian cabinet would be formed, which would then negotiate with France an agreement giving internal sovereignty to the Tunisians and protecting the rights of the 170,000 French colonials living in the country. That night, in a broadcast from Tunis to France, Mendès-France said that he had made his sudden trip so that "resentment and violence could be replaced by confidence and peaceful order" in the French protectorate. He declared that even during the negotiations for the Indochina truce, solutions were being drafted for the Tunisian dispute, and that he had come to Tunis to persuade both sides to accept these proposals.

In France, Mendès-France's action and policy won support from French newspapers of almost every political complexion. From his place of confinement at Montargis, near Paris, Habib Bourguiba, exiled leader of the Neo-Destour party, described the premier's offer as "a substantial and decisive step toward Tunisia's complete sovereignty." But in Switzerland the party's secretary general, Salah Ben Youssef, said that the offer did not go far enough in meeting the demands of the Tunisian people for complete independence. In Tunisia the French population split into two groups. *Présence Française* charged that Mendès-France had betrayed the interests of the French settlers and that the inevitable next step was total abandonment of French North Africa. *Le Comité d'Action Franco-Tunisienne pour l'Amitié et la Coopération*, more moderate, hailed Mendès-France's policy and called for a quick agreement to end the long and costly conflict.

The unexpected offer of internal sovereignty to the Arabs caused increased apprehension about the future among the Jewish population of Tunisia. Despite repeated assurances by the Neo-Destour leaders as to their good intentions and friendship, many Jews remained pessimistic about their future

status in the country. The American Jewish Committee (in October-November 1954) and the World Jewish Congress (August and November 1954), as well as the government of Israel, sent fact-finding missions to Tunisia which met with officials of the Regency, with leading Neo-Destourians, and with leaders of the Jewish communities.

On August 2, 1954, the Bey, Sidi Mohammed al-Amin, appointed Tahas ben Ammar, a moderate nationalist landowner, as premier to negotiate the details of autonomy with the French, and appealed to his people for calm and an end to terror in the country. Ben Ammar had consistently advocated the policy now proposed by Mendès-France—internal autonomy, but close relationship with France. The nine members of Ben Ammar's cabinet included four prominent in the Neo-Destour Party. On September 4 negotiations between the French and the Tunisians opened at the Bey's palace at Carthage. Christian Fouchet, Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, and General Boyer de Latour represented France. Tahas ben Ammar and the Neo-Destourian ministers Mongi Slim and Mohammed Masmoudi represented Tunisia. The negotiations were later shifted to Paris and continued until the end of May.

On November 18, 1954, M. Fouchet and the Tunisian Ministers reached an agreement whereby the two governments, acting jointly, proposed conditions for the cessation of the armed conflict which had been raging between the fellaghas (Tunisian guerillas) and French troops. On November 22, Tahas ben Ammar and Boyer de Latour offered complete amnesty to all fellaghas who gave up their arms and returned to their homes within six days after November 30. By December 11, 1954, 2,713 fellaghas had responded.

On February 5, 1955, Mendès-France fell from power when the French parliament voted against his North African policy, and the discussions were interrupted. Edgar Faure became premier on February 23, and discussions were resumed on March 15. Pierre July replaced Christian Fouchet as Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs.

On June 3 the conventions were signed and submitted to the French parliament. They were ratified by the National Assembly on July 6, 1955, by a vote of 538 to 44, with 29 abstentions. On August 4, 1955, the Council of the Republic approved them 253 to 26.

#### CONVENTIONS

The 150-page document embodying the new basis of Franco-Tunisian accord, accompanied by a sheaf of interpretive letters, still left much to be clarified. In particular, Article 6—treating of the reciprocal rights of Frenchmen resident in Tunisia and Tunisians resident in France—became an immediate item of legal controversy. Its implementation in practice was left to the legal experts of both countries. The six main provisions of the conventions were: 1. France was to continue to control Tunisia's foreign policy and national defense; 2. Three-sevenths of the municipal councils in towns with a large French minority were to be French; 3. Tunisia was to remain in the franc monetary bloc and to keep its customs union with France; 4. The

chief of police was to be a Frenchman for the next ten years, and in big towns one-third of the police force was to be French for an additional ten years; 5. The administration of justice was gradually to be turned over to the Tunisians during a twenty-year period; 6. French was to be taught in most Tunisian schools, although Arabic was made the official language of the country. Other agreements covered civil aviation rights, communication facilities, strategic coastal strips, and port areas.

Habib Bourguiba, the leader of the Neo-Destour Party, who had spent ten years in prison or exile for his nationalist activities, returned to his homeland on June 1, 1955. In his speech to the welcoming crowds Bourguiba called the newly concluded agreement with France "a first very important step toward our ideal of total independence."

On June 28, 1955, a bomb smashed in the front of the United States Information Service, located in the center of Tunis. Later that day a powerful bomb with the fuse half-burned was discovered in the home of Howard Hill, American vice consul, in the village of La Marsa, about ten miles from Tunis. Suspicion was directed at the extreme elements of the *Présence Française*, opposed to the ratification of the Franco-Tunisian agreement.

#### ECONOMIC REPERCUSSIONS

The year of civil war, political unrest, and uncertainty seriously damaged an already enfeebled and marginal economy. Severe drought deepened the economic stagnation and caused near-famine conditions, particularly in central and southern Tunisia. Unemployment skyrocketed; the number of idle ranged from 400,000 to 600,000, according to government estimates. Thousands of tons of wheat were rushed from France and distributed to the needy with the help of the French Army. Many millions of francs in cash were also distributed to the residents of the stricken areas. A large-scale public works program was launched to provide work for the unemployed on roads, railroads, and street repairs.

Money became scarce and credit restrictions tightened. During the first six months of 1955, about 175 bankruptcies were recorded, and capital investments dropped sharply. Many French settlers bought land in France as a safeguard against possible loss of their present holdings. The transference of capital to safer havens outside Tunisia increased sharply and became an open subject of discussion among business men. The liberal professions, with a high percentage of Jews, also suffered drastically from the economic crisis. About fifty Jewish artisans, members of the loan institutions maintained by the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), closed their workshops and emigrated to Israel.

#### *Jewish Population*

There had been no government census of the population of Tunisia since 1946. At that time the population of Tunisia was about 3,500,000, of whom more than 3,000,000 were Moslems, 250,000 French and other Europeans,

and approximately 100,000 Jews. Of the Jews, about 25,000 had French citizenship. In 1953 figures obtained from the Jewish communities showed a total of about 100,000. During 1954-55 the number of Tunisian Jews emigrating to Israel for the first time exceeded the natural increase in the Jewish population, estimated at 2,500 a year. During this period there was also a movement of Jewish families from the small towns in the south to the larger cities in the central and northern parts of the country. The town of Tozeur in the south central part of Tunisia was completely emptied of its Jewish population with the removal of the remaining five or six families. The town of Hara Sghira on the Island of Djerba was reduced from a population of about 1,000 Jews to about 600. The homes vacated in Hara Sghira were bought by Arabs, and for the first time in the long history of this village, it ceased to be a completely Jewish community. The same phenomenon was repeated in other towns and in the large ghetto of Tunis, where more and more Arab families installed themselves in an area which had been completely Jewish. About 75 per cent of the Jewish population was believed to reside in Tunis and its suburbs, such as La Marsa, Hammam Lif, Ariana, and La Goulette.

There had been no government figures on the occupational distribution of the Jewish population since 1948. At that time Jewish workers and artisans were chiefly employed in shoemaking, needle trades, woodworking, 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 engaged in the liberal professions and the remainder in transportation, government service, fishing, domestic work, and other miscellaneous occupations. Since the overwhelming majority of the Jews who emigrated to Israel during 1954-55 were workers and artisans, it is clear that these figures are only approximate.

### *Emigration*

Immediately after Premier Mendès-France offered internal autonomy to the Arabs, emigration of Tunisian Jews to Israel increased sharply. Between July 1, 1953, and June 30, 1954, only 758 Jews had emigrated, whereas during the similar period under review, 4,872 Jews departed for Israel. New registrations for emigration with the Aliyah Department of the Jewish Agency increased steadily, and by the end of June 1955 had reached about 9,000. Whereas in 1953-54 the overwhelming majority of the emigrants had originated in the small towns of the interior, more than 60 per cent of those who departed during 1954-55 came from the larger cities of Sfax, Sousse, and Tunis. Almost all were from the lowest economic level, and for most of them the Jewish Agency paid transportation expenses. The emigration of children between the ages of ten and twelve under the auspices of Youth Aliyah of the Jewish Agency also increased; about thirty-five children a month left for the Herbert H. Lehman Home in Cambous in southern France, where they remained for several months before departing for Israel. About 150 *chalutzim* (pioneers) trained by the various Zionist youth movements left for *kibbutzim* (collective settlements) in Israel.

New eligibility criteria for emigrants were introduced in November 1954, and a commission of four specialists arrived from Israel to implement them. More detailed social, vocational, and medical histories were secured, and emigrants were assigned either to industrial development areas or to agricultural settlements in Israel. The maximum age limit was set at forty-five years, except for those families with at least one son over eighteen years of age who could support the family on arrival. The head of a family could take with him a maximum of six members if he could support them in Israel. However, if the son was the only working member of the family, no more than five members could emigrate. Families assigned to the colonization area could not exceed a total of six persons. Medical criteria were tightened to exclude the infirm and chronic or serious invalids. These new restrictions accounted for the decrease in the number of Jewish families coming from the southern part of the country, and led to considerable dissatisfaction among them. The Zionist Federation of Tunisia had protested against these regulations since their first enactment, and insisted that Tunisian Jews be permitted to emigrate to Israel *en masse* without any selective screening.

#### FRENCH AND ARAB REACTION

As the exodus of the Jews from Tunisia gained momentum, expressions of concern were heard from the French and the Arabs. Samuel Markuse, Jewish Agency representative, was officially cautioned by French officials at the Residency in November 1954 to restrict the number leaving monthly to about three hundred. Neo-Destour circles repeatedly appealed to the Jews to stay and gave assurances that they had nothing to fear. In some of the villages in the south, Arabs urged the French *Contrôleur Civil* to forbid Jewish artisans to leave, since there were no qualified Arab workers to take over the shoemaking, saddle repair, tailoring, and other trades traditionally monopolized by the Jews. Many of the best Hebrew teachers emigrated, in particular from the city of Tunis, and left the communities with an almost impossible job of finding qualified replacements.

#### *Civic and Political Status*

The conventions granting internal autonomy to Tunisia guaranteed the rights of religious minorities in Tunisia. Tunisians of French nationality might opt for Tunisian nationality if they so desired.

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 had been 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 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, of whatever religion, the right to security of person, property, and 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 Jews who were Tunisian citizens, the law governing personal status, such as matters of marriage and inheritance, was expressly reserved to the Rabbinical Court. This court, composed of rabbis appointed by the state, 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*

During a visit to Gabes, in Southern Tunisia, Tahas ben Ammar declared in March 1955: "We do not have here either Moslems or Jews, only Tunisians having the same rights and privileges. Between these two sections amity and confidence will always reign." Neo-Destour leaders in private conversations with prominent Jewish personalities spoke of their desire to see the Jews remain in Tunisia, and reaffirmed their feelings of kinship and amity for the Jewish population. But as the attitude that "they were coming into their own" grew among the Arab masses, anti-Semitic acts and discrimination against the Jews increased.

In January and August 1955, in the town of Medenine the small Jewish cemetery was desecrated by a group of Arab vandals, who overturned and broke several of the tombstones. In early November 1954 in Hara Sghira Jewish carpenters were beaten up by Arabs because they refused to undertake work demanded of them. In the spring of 1955 in the town of Zarzis, because of an old Arab superstition that rain would fall if a stranger's blood would flow, Arabs beat up a Jew. In the city of Tunis several attacks were made against Jewish shopkeepers in the Souks (market stalls). A soccer game between two Zionist youth groups in the Belvedere Park in Tunis was broken up in September 1955 by a mob of young Arabs, who demanded that the Jewish players speak Arabic.

Economically, Jewish business men were hard hit by a growing Arab competition which was aided by Nationalist slogans urging Arabs to trade with Arabs. Jewish lawyers, doctors, and dentists who had always commanded a large Arab clientele, suffered severe losses as this clientele increasingly patronized their own nationals.

Throughout the entire country Jewish business men and some of the smaller Jewish communities were subject to the payment of taxes to local

branches of the Neo-Destour party. During the course of the Franco-Tunisian discussions Neo-Destour branches in the south forced some of the Jewish community leaders and rabbis to sign a petition protesting against the separation of the southern part of Tunisia as a military area to be controlled by the French. At its second national congress held on July 18, 1954, the National Union of Tunisian Students passed a motion urging the fusion of the Union des Etudiants Juifs with the Tunisian Students Union and declaring that they saw no reason why Jewish students should continue membership in a separate organization.

Throughout the dispute between Israel and Egypt over the border incidents at the Gaza strip (*see* p. 501), the Arab newspapers *As-Zohra* and *As-Sabah* supported the Egyptian position and sharply attacked the Zionists and the Jews. One Arab weekly, *Al Irada*, official organ of the Old Destour party, printed articles against the Zionists and the Jews in its issue of March 18, 1955, that were so violent that it was suspended by the Residence on March 23, 1955.

### *Community Organizations and Communal Affairs*

On April 24, 1955, elections for the governing council of forty were held by the Jewish community of Tunis. Two lists, one headed by the incumbent president, Charles Haddad, the other by Eli Nataf, honorary president of the community, were presented to the voters. The electoral campaign, because of the long and bitter personal struggle between the two contestants, called forth 6,609 registered voters, an increase of more than 2,500 over the 1951 elections. Haddad's list emerged victorious with thirty-seven candidates elected, as against three for the list of Nataf. Charges of fraud were immediately leveled by the Nataf group, who demanded a government investigation of the elections. The government conducted an investigation which upheld Haddad's list and validated the election. The election of the executive council of ten took place on June 13, 1955, and Haddad was reelected as president of the Tunis community for another four-year term.

The two rival Federations of Jewish Communities of Tunisia, immobilized by their protracted conflict, continued their separate unproductive existences. The first federation had been organized in 1948 under the presidency of Charles Saada, the president of the community of Sfax, and the second in May 1953 under the sponsorship of Charles Haddad, president of the community of Tunis. All attempts to unite the two federations had proved futile. Meanwhile, the pressing needs of the communities of the interior for financial assistance and guidance went unheeded. Neither federation could obtain recognition by the government, nor did either possess funds to carry on any activities. Nor could any agreement be reached for a unified fund raising appeal. The communities looked forward to the April 24, 1955,<sup>1</sup> election of the Tunis community in the hope that the outcome of this election would somehow set the stage for the renewal of negotiations between the two federations for unity.

<sup>1</sup> As a result of this election an agreement for the merger of the two federations was reached in Tunis at a general assembly of all the communities held on August 4, 1955.

The Jewish communities were financed by taxes collected by the government on kosher meat and Jewish sacramental wine. The government allocated this money on the basis of population. For the tax year 1954-55 the community of Tunis received 35,000,000 francs (\$100,000) from the tax on kosher meat, and 15,000,000 francs (about \$43,000) from the tax on the wine. 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.

While the organized communities concerned themselves specifically with religious matters and with financial assistance to the poor, a multiplicity of small local organizations carried on other specialized programs, such as summer camps, kindergartens, canteens, and the provision of trousseaux, bar mitzvah clothing, and blankets. These organizations were financed by membership fees and periodic social affairs, as well as small subventions from the government. Almost all of them received substantial assistance from the JDC, either in the form of supplies, technical assistance, or cash.

The Jewish communities of Tunisia 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 Oeuvre pour Secour des Enfants Israélites (OSE). The international conference in London on June 14, 1955, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the Anglo-Jewish Association, was attended by two delegates from Tunisia, Charles Haddad, president of the community of Tunis, and Isaac Hayat, president of the community of Sousse.

### *Social Services*

All 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. For all of them 1954-55 was particularly difficult because, in addition to a bad economic recession, the government reduced its subventions materially. The community of Hara Kebira, for example, received 50,000 francs (about \$142.00) for the 1955 Passover holidays, as against 150,000 francs (about \$428.00) for the 1954 Passover holidays. The community of Sousse received 600,000 francs (\$1,714), as against 2,000,000 francs (\$5,714) for 1954-55. Tunis received 9,000,000 francs (\$25,714) for 1955-56 plus a promise of an additional 5,000,000 (\$14,286), as against 20,000,000 million francs (\$57,143) for 1954-55.

Local Nos Petits organizations fed about 6,000 needy children daily hot lunches and morning and afternoon snacks in some thirty canteens throughout Tunisia. An intensive educational campaign was undertaken to improve the meals and to introduce the use of butter, cheese, powdered milk, and cottonseed oil, which the JDC received from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). In addition to fortifying the meals served in the canteens with these foods, many of the larger communities organized distribution centers from which hundreds of needy families received regular allot-

ments of these supplies. By the end of June about twenty tons of USDA supplies were being distributed by the JDC monthly. New summer and winter clothing was distributed to about 20,000 children and adults. Because of the political unrest, the local organizations were able to send only 1,500 children to summer camps in 1955, as against 2,500 in 1954. All of the local organizations, such as Nos Petits, the Zionist Youth Federation, the Union Universelle de la Jeunesse Juive, and the Union des Etudiants Juifs received the greater part of their funds and supplies from the JDC. The JDC monthly subvention increased from about 9,000,000 francs (\$25,714) monthly to about 11,000,000 (\$31,571) monthly.

The community of Sfax completed the construction of a magnificent community center which comprised a synagogue, a ritual bath, six Alliance classes, a Garderie (nursery school), a canteen, showers, an OSE medical center, a large conference hall, and offices and apartments for the grand rabbi and the director of the Alliance school. The center cost about 40,000,000 francs (\$111,111) to build. Of this sum, 28,000,000 (\$80,000) came from the government's war reparation funds, 7,000,000 (\$20,000) from local appeals, and 5,000,000 (\$14,286) from the JDC.

The Tunis community, with the help and guidance of the JDC, continued to improve its home for the aged, its adult dispensary, and its special canteen for active tuberculars. The construction of the new community center in suburban La Goulette was completed in January 1955; it was officially opened at the end of February. This center comprised a canteen for 400 children, 4 Hebrew classes, 3 Garderie classes, an office for the social worker, and an OSE dispensary. In La Marsa a new canteen was opened for about 70 children. In the center of Tunis a new community library was opened.

In the five years since the social service department of the community of Tunis was created, a staff of social workers had been trained with the help of the JDC-sponsored Paul Baerwald School of Social Work. As this department developed it became the embryo for a social service exchange through which the many private local organizations engaged in welfare work cleared their requests for aid, thus avoiding duplication of services. It became the center of a council of the directors of all welfare agencies and institutions. This group met monthly to discuss questions of eligibility, criteria, standards, etc. These monthly meetings helped to broaden the horizons of the participants and to rationalize relief in the city of Tunis. Budgets and services relating to the individual needs of these relief recipients were established by the community and the JDC.

On November 1, 1954, a social worker was assigned to the Alliance schools in Tunis. Sousse had two social workers, one for the community, the other for OSE. Sfax had one social worker and on the island of Djerba a part-time social worker was engaged.

OSE Tunisia, after seven years of servicing the Jewish population, was in May 1955 granted official status as a public health organization. The effect of this recognition was to make OSE eligible to receive inheritances and gifts from private estates, as well as a larger subvention from the government. To OSE was due in large measure the continuing decline in the rate of infant mortality and the decided improvement in the health of Tunisian

Jewish children. In 1945 it had not been unusual to find half of the Jewish children affected with tinea and trachoma. In 1955 the incidence of these infectious diseases had become negligible in the north and had been radically reduced in the south. Tuberculosis, fortunately not as widespread, had yielded more slowly to OSE's work, although considerable progress had been made in uncovering and treating this disease.

During 1954-55 about 16,000 children and 2,100 adults were carried on OSE's registers in its twelve clinics throughout Tunisia. About 2,500 children and 700 adults monthly received various medical services from a staff of fifty doctors and twenty-six nurses, aided by a team of ten social workers. An average of 375 pregnant women attended the clinics monthly. About 65,000 bottles of specially prepared milk were distributed monthly to about 900 infants up to the age of two. About 125 layettes were distributed monthly. Modern antibiotics were available at all times in all of the centers. The Paul Baerwald School assigned one of its instructors from November 1, 1954, to June 30, 1955, to give in-service training to the social service workers.

A modern three-story dispensary in the center of the ghetto of Tunis was to be completed by the end of 1955. Expenses for this new building were shared equally by OSE-Tunisia and the JDC.

The Caisse Israélite de Relèvement Economique (Loan Society) financed by the JDC and the Jewish Colonization Association granted loans totaling 14,500,000 francs (\$41,428) to 280 artisans. Since its inception in June 1953, loans had been given to 539 artisans for a total of 27,029,000 francs (\$77,226).

### *Education*

Of the 700,000 Tunisian children of school age, 264,530 attended public school during 1954-55; 16,710 of this number were Jewish. There were 48,158 Tunisian children enrolled in private schools. About 3,500 Jewish children attended five schools operated by the Alliance Israélite Universelle—three 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 given by the government, the communities of Sousse, Sfax, and Tunis, and the JDC. In the south there was a slight increase in the number of Jewish children attending French schools, but attempts to encourage a larger enrollment were not favored by the rabbinate.

ORT-Tunisia added additional courses to its boys' vocational school and increased the number of students from 350 to 375 during 1954-55. Besides the academic subjects, the school offered a full three-year vocational instruction in electricity, machine mechanics, carpentry, automobile mechanics, plumbing, and light metal work. In the state examinations at the end of the school year 1954-55, 65 per cent of the ORT students successfully passed the examinations, as against 42 per cent for the students from the government schools. The needle trades school for girls offered a three-year course and had an enrollment of eighty students.

In addition to its vocational schools, ORT-Tunisia operated an apprentice placement program which had increased from 540 in 1953-54 to more than

700 in 1954–55. In November 1954, ORT headquarters sent Herman Muller to Tunis to take charge of this program. Under his professional guidance the placement of the boys and girls as apprentices was improved considerably and the starting salaries raised for many of them. Plans for a large apprentice center were completed in June 1955, and it was expected that this center would be ready for occupancy in October 1955.

### *Jewish Education*

Increased emigration to Israel was reflected in a greatly expanded interest in Hebrew education. Evening courses for youth and adults were begun in Gabes, Sfax, Sousse, and Beja. The community of Sfax engaged a teacher from Israel to conduct its program. In Tunis evening classes were overcrowded for lack of competent teachers. More than 800 youths and adults attended, many of them from the white-collar and professional group. The three Alliance schools in Tunis, aided by the community and the JDC, reorganized their Hebrew curriculum and increased the hours of Hebrew instruction. Rabbi Jacob Madar, a young Tunisian graduate of a French seminary, gave religious and Hebrew instruction to about 150 students at the Lycée. The Jewish Agency and the JDC gave five of the most promising Hebrew teachers a one-year scholarship for advanced studies in Israel, and sent twelve Hebrew teachers to Israel for a month's seminar in modern pedagogical methods. Three hundred students attended the Tunis community's Or Thora school full time. The Zionist youth movements conducted classes in Hebrew, Jewish history, and Palestinography for about 1,600 students. The Union des Etudiants Juifs opened classes in Hebrew for 300 students.

New Hebrew schools were opened in Ben Gardane, Beja, Nabeul, and Kebili, in addition to those already established in Hara Sghira, Zarzis, Foun Tatahouine, Bizerte, Moknine, Gabes, and Medenine. Additional Garderies were created in Sfax and Nabeul. Hebrew instruction for girls was begun in Hara Sghira and Hara Kebira under the auspices of Daber Ivrit, subsidized by JDC. Hebrew books and pamphlets of all types were prepared locally by the JDC and distributed to all of the schools and to the adult evening classes. In the south the JDC inspector, Rabbi Simon Cohen, supervised the teachers and guided them in the application of the progressive curriculum. Special attention was given to problems of personal hygiene and sanitation, in addition to religious training and Hebrew instruction. The use of Hebrew rather than Judeo-Arabic as the language of instruction became more widespread.

### *Religious Life*

On September 6, 1954, the Bey declared Yom Kippur a legal holiday for all Jews, at the request of the Jewish community of Tunis. Strict adherence to all traditional forms, customs, and Jewish holidays continued to characterize religious life in Tunisia. Annual pilgrimages to the tombs of revered rabbis and to El Griba, the famous synagogue on the island of Djerba, continued to attract a large number of Jews. The Mosaic law governed marriage, divorce, dowry, and inheritance. The government respected this religious communal life and contributed financially to its upkeep.

The Grand Rabbi of Tunisia, David Benbaron, died on May 2, 1955. Rabbi Meis Cohen, chief of the Rabbinical Court, was appointed provisional Grand Rabbi of Tunisia.

### *Zionism and Relations with Israel*

Despite the economic crisis, the Israel fund-raising campaign succeeded in collecting 15,000,000 francs (\$42,857) by the end of June 1955. One million francs (\$2,857) in pledges remained outstanding. In proportion to population, the provinces did better than the larger cities. The Grand Rabbi of Hara Kebira, Shushan Cohen, was invited by the Jewish Agency to visit Israel to look for a favorable location to establish a colony. He planned to emigrate to Israel with 100 families. Seminars at the Hebrew university in Jerusalem were organized during 1954-55 by the Zionist youth movement for students and instructors who had evinced a desire to settle in Israel. Representatives from various departments of the Jewish Agency and of the government of Israel paid frequent visits to Tunisia.

Anti-Israel and anti-Zionist propaganda originating from Radio Cairo found its way into the columns of *As Zohra* and *As Sabah*, the Arab daily newspapers, and served to increase the insecurity of the Jewish population.

### *Cultural Activities*

Two Jewish theatrical groups, Ha Kol and Les Compagnons des Arts, carried on very active programs during 1954-55. Each group presented several plays as well as lectures on literary and religious subjects. The Zionist youth movement opened up a Centre des Etudes Juives where prominent Jewish personalities lectured on Israel. The weekly Jewish half-hour on the Tunis Radio, prepared by Felix Allouche, continued its broadcasts.

HENRY LEVY

## FRENCH MOROCCO

**D**URING MOST OF 1954-55 Morocco was still torn by the terrorism, counter-terrorism, and repression which had marked the period since the deposition of Sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Youssef on August 20, 1953. During the year, violence spread from the cities to the interior. Towns were attacked by tribesmen, and French troops responded with punitive expeditions. In some areas a state of guerrilla war developed. In a number of cases Jews were among those who suffered from mob violence, and Jewish property was destroyed.

Although proposals for raising the standard of living of the peasants and workers, improving public education, and increasing Moroccan participation in the administration were advanced by Resident General Francis Lacoste on September 20, 1954, no progress was made on implementing them. On July 8, 1955, Lacoste was replaced by Gilbert Grandval, former French High

Commissioner in the Saar. Grandval tried to reach an agreement with the leading Moroccan political parties, the Istiqlal and the Democratic Independence Party, which had never recognized the removal of Sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Youssef. Opposition from French settlers in Morocco and from some members of the cabinet of French Premier Edgar Faure, however, delayed the acceptance of Grandval's proposals.

On August 22, 1955, Premier Faure met with French and Moroccan political leaders, as well as with representatives of Moroccan Jews, at Aix les Bains. Moroccan Jewry was represented by Jacques Dahan, secretary general of the Conseil des Communautés, and Dr. Benzaquen. These conversations resulted in an agreement for the departure of Sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Moulay Arafa, the appointment of a council of regency, the formation of a Moroccan government with the participation of the nationalist political groups, and the transfer of Sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Youssef from his exile in Madagascar to France. The nationalist groups submitted the agreement to Ben Youssef for his approval, and the French government sent emissaries to him to urge that he accept it. Meanwhile, Premier Faure accepted Grandval's resignation as Resident General and on August 30, 1955, appointed General Pierre Boyer de la Tour, former Resident General of Tunisia, to succeed him.

After a month during which, supported by some elements in the French population of Morocco, he resisted the efforts to secure his abdication, Ben Moulay Arafa departed for Tangiers, designating a representative to act in his name. After some hesitation, the French government decided to disregard his choice and to carry out the agreement. On October 17, 1955, a four-member council of regency was appointed. Meanwhile large-scale fighting had broken out between French troops and tribesmen, believed to be based in Spanish Morocco, in the Riff mountains near the border between the French and Spanish zones.

While Sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Youssef was on the way from Madagascar to France, peaceful mass demonstrations in his favor took place in the cities of Morocco. After he arrived in the French town of St. Germain en Laye, delegations from various groups in Morocco, including the Conseil des Communautés and the rabbinate, visited him there. Among his visitors was the pasha of Marrakech, Thami el Glaoui, who had played a leading role in Ben Youssef's deposition but now called for his return to the throne. When Ben Moulay Arafa in Tangiers also added his voice to the call for Ben Youssef's restoration as Sultan, all French opposition also ended. Pierre Andre Dubois, former Paris Prefect of Police, replaced Boyer de la Tour as Resident General on November 9, and on November 16 Sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Youssef reentered his capital of Rabat.

### *Political Status*

There had not, at the time of writing (November 1955), been any change in the legal status of Moroccan Jews. They were still *dhimmi*, or protegés of the Sultan, and had not yet received the same civic and political rights as their Moroccan compatriots. But delegations from the Grand Rabbinate of Morocco and from the Conseil des Communautés were invited by Sultan

Sidi Mohamed Ben Youssef to the discussions which took place at St. Germain en Laye. And representatives of both the Istiqlal and the Democratic Independence Party declared that they considered Moroccan Jews as citizens on the same basis as Moroccan Moslems. Both they and Fatmi Ben Slimane, first prime minister of the new government, pledged that the Jews would not be forgotten in the reforms to be introduced. In the first cabinet, the ministry of posts and telegraphs was reserved for a representative of the Jewish community. At the time of writing (November 1955), the community had not yet been able to agree on a designee for his post.

### *Jewish Population*

The Jewish population of French Morocco in 1954-55 was estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Protectorate at 191,000, and by the government Inspector of Jewish Institutions, Maurice Botbol, at 263,000. The latter figure included 250,000 Moroccan Jews and 13,000 others (Algerian, Spanish, Tunisian, etc.). Past census figures for Moroccan Jews were 107,552 in 1926; 124,585 in 1931; 161,942 in 1936; 202,000 in 1941; and 227,000 in 1948.

### EMIGRATION

Emigration to Israel in 1954 totaled 10,261. In the first eight months of 1955 it had already reached 15,194. These figures compare with 6,440 in 1951; 4,683 in 1952; and 2,423 in 1953. The number who had been able to go to Israel had been sharply limited by that country's absorptive capacity and by the available funds.

### *Community Organization*

The councils of the various Moroccan Jewish communities were legal entities. A decree of 1918 precisely defined their purpose and functions. They were assigned the fields of philanthropy and religious affairs, and were allotted revenues from taxes on kosher meat and sacramental wine, as well as from the *mahia* and the *nedaba*, semi-annual collections from Moroccan and non-Moroccan Jewish families. The members of the councils were to be designated from a list of notables subject to the approval of the Grand Vizier. In 1945 an amendment permitted the election of the council members by secret ballot, in which every man or adult woman paying a minimum *nedaba* set by each community could vote.

In practice, the elections in the majority of the major cities gave rise to scandals, since certain candidates did not hesitate to shepherd to the polls people whom they had rounded up and for whom they had paid the *nedaba*. Parents of pupils attending certain schools were threatened with the expulsion of their children if they did not vote for particular candidates. As a result, some of those elected were incompetents or even illiterates and intriguers. The Inspector of Jewish Institutions, Maurice Botbol, sought to stop these frauds and frequently refused to recognize particular elections. But it was hoped that the new government would reform the structure of the communities. (It is worth noting that non-Moroccan Jews were not eligible to be

either candidates or voters, although paying the *nedaba* and cemetery, marriage, and circumcision fees on the same basis as all other Jews.)

The total receipts of the communities from taxes and donations in 1954 were 185,000,000 francs (about \$525,000). This sum was insignificant in comparison to the needs of the Jewish masses in the *mellah*. It was swallowed up without significant result in the doling out of sums "too large to die on but too small to live on" to needy families in the form of *hillouk*. For several years the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) had been trying to reorganize this archaic apparatus and create a rational system of social work. The most progressive community in Morocco, that of Fez under the presidency of M. Hamou, had asked the JDC to try this experiment in its city. Agadir had done likewise.

By a decree of May 7, 1945, the presidents of the most important communities were called on to hold a congress every March to coordinate their activities. These congresses had been held under the presidency of the Inspector of Jewish Institutions. Since 1945, Jacques Dahan had been re-elected secretary general each year. Although it did not have the status of a legal entity, the Conseil des Communautés had broader functions in practice than the communities on which it was based. It was the *de facto*, if not the *de jure*, representative of Moroccan Jews in all political and social fields. The Conseil had established general rules for the fifty-three communities to follow, and its treasury was subsidized by the government of the Protectorate.

In 1954 the budget of the Conseil des Communautés was 52,000,000 francs, or approximately \$150,000. This sum was used for the general expenses of the Conseil and for the religious and philanthropic requirements of the communities, each of which received an amount proportionate to its importance. This distribution of the funds had been criticized on the ground that it left the various communities unable to accomplish anything of importance, whereas if the entire grant from the Protectorate had been used for a single project on behalf of all Moroccan Jews or of those of a single city, it could have been more efficiently employed. The Conseil had itself asked the government and the JDC to take a larger part in remedying this deficiency.

The various congresses from 1951 to 1955 adopted motions calling for the emancipation of women, the education of children without discrimination, and so forth. But often no action had been taken to carry out these resolutions. After the March 1955 congress, the JDC indicated its readiness to assist the Conseil des Communautés in putting the resolutions adopted into practice.

In the congress of March 1955 it was possible to distinguish a conflict between two tendencies. One group favored the integration of the Jews of Morocco with the Moroccan people, and urged that they join with the Arabs in the struggle for independence. They felt that the powers of the Conseil des Communautés should be sharply restricted. The other group felt that the Conseil should restrict itself to representing Moroccan Jewry, and to maintaining close relations with international Jewish organizations. During 1954-55 the Conseil was represented at various congresses in France and London and was visited by leaders of such organizations as the American Jewish Committee, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Oeuvre pour Secour

des Enfants Israélites (OSE), the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT), and the World Jewish Congress. Various of these delegations were received in audience by the Resident General. The contacts between these Jewish leaders and the French authorities, the leaders of the nationalist parties, and the Sultan undoubtedly led to a better understanding of the need to regard the Jews of Morocco as Moroccan citizens, rather than as a minority group with a special status.

At the time of writing (November 1955) the future status of the Conseil des Communautés was rendered uncertain by the complex political situation and the negotiations taking place for the establishment of Moroccan self-government and the revision of the treaties binding Morocco to France.

### *Social Services*

The OSE had become a veritable ministry of health for the Jews of Morocco. Its medical director, Doctor Benzaquen, and its president, Jack Sabah, had extended OSE's activities so that they now reached from the newborn baby to the grandfather. In the realization that nothing could help a child if the adults in the family were diseased, OSE had undertaken the regular medical examination of the entire family. It had become easier to direct each patient to the appropriate center for treatment, because the government had established hospitals for the entire population regardless of nationality or religion for the treatment of lung, nervous, and venereal diseases.

In 1954 the budget of OSE was 112,243,605 francs, and for the first six months of 1955 it was 71,050,090. Actual expenses were 108,713,485 francs in 1954 and 64,813,521 for the 1955 period. Of these sums, the JDC contributed 94,990,127 francs in 1954 and 54,935,619 francs in 1955. The directorate of public health gave 9,375,000 francs in 1954 and 9,500,000 in 1955. The Jewish communities and the municipalities contributed, respectively, 2,551,500 francs and 4,079,633 francs in 1954; in 1955, they gave 990,695 francs and 3,874,276 francs. In each year, the OSE of Melbourne and the ORT-OSE of South Africa gave 500,000 francs. The remainder of the budget was raised locally, except for a gift of 147,345 francs from the British OSE.

Among the noteworthy social welfare activities of 1954-55 were the establishment of four kindergartens, including one for pre-tuberculous children; two centers in the heart of the Mellah for the treatment of trachoma; four social service centers staffed by graduates of the Paul Baerwald School; and five centers for the distribution of babies' bottles. The OSE had collaborated closely with the directorate of health, the OSE Union, and the medical director of the JDC in setting up programs and budgets. Drs. Sacha Gonick, director of the OSE Union, and William Schmidt of the JDC, made frequent visits to Morocco to assist in working out the programs and putting them into execution.

### *Education and Culture*

In October 1955, for the first time in several years, the majority of the children applying for admission to schools was accepted. Departures for Israel

left vacancies which permitted the admission of children without scholarships into the Alliance schools, those of the Ozar Hatorah, the Talmud Torahs, and the kindergartens. Departures were particularly noticeable in the schools of cities in the interior of French Morocco, since Casablanca remained a magnet for their Jews, and those leaving it were replaced by newcomers, leaving the *mellah* as crowded as ever.

The Jewish Agency played an active part in educational work among both children and adults. A kindergarten was set up on the model of two in Israel. Day and evening courses were offered for prospective emigrants and those interested in Hebrew culture. With the aid of Mr. Blumenthal of the Jewish Agency and Mr. Margalith of its cultural department, numerous seminars were set up, and the reading of Hebrew poetry helped to produce a wider acquaintance with the literature of Israel.

There was also an active development of religious education, chiefly in the Lubovitscher centers. Established in Morocco for several years, these centers had gained the confidence of the predominantly Orthodox communities. They had won universal respect for their honesty, their disinterested work, and their devotion. In the *yeshivot* which they conducted for boys they permitted no secular education. But they had accepted French women as teachers in their schools for girls.

The Social Center of the *mellah*, established in 1949 by the Jewish Agency, later became a local association organized under the laws of the protectorate. It concerned itself with children who, unable to enter school in time, became illiterate and abandoned street waifs. The number receiving care at the center had risen from one hundred to three hundred. Situated in the center of the *mellah*, it had given accelerated courses for children between the ages of eight and sixteen, and had now opened well-attended evening classes.

During 1954-55 the ORT schools continued to expand their program. On June 3, 1955, the wife of Resident General Lacoste opened the auditorium dedicated to the memory of Miriam Adler Earle, constructed with gifts from the Women's ORT and some local contributions. The large modern building was decorated with paintings and sculptures contributed by the ORT schools of Israel, Teheran, and France. It had a library, lecture halls and auditoriums, and workshops for seven new classes.

The Service d'Apprentissage Patronal (SAP) served seven hundred apprentices, placed in workshops and factories in Casablanca. It helped those who had not received elementary education because of the lack of openings in the schools, and who were unable to enter the vocational schools.

Aron Syngalowski and the delegates of the Women's American ORT decided to establish an accelerated course for adults to raise the educational level of the artisans.

During the school year 1954-55 ten young Moslem girls were admitted to the ORT school of Val d'Anfa. The Jewish and Moslem students worked excellently together.

Canteens had been opened in a majority of the schools of Morocco. An investigation by Dr. Tremolieres, head of the department of nutrition of the French National Institute of Health, showed a serious lag in the devel-

opment of children of all ages, especially in Casablanca. This was due not only to the miserable conditions under which they lived, but also to the defective diet of their families. Children of eleven to fourteen were two years behind in height and strength. They were apathetic and much quieter than groups of the same age in France. There had been a considerable effort to improve the meals furnished the children in school canteens, in accordance with their environment and age. Of 29,560 children attending the 79 Alliance schools, 16,777 were fed in the canteens. In the other 33 schools, 6,903 of a total of 13,165 children were served by the canteens, making 23,680 children who each day received meals which helped to make up for the deficiency of their diets at home. The budgets of these canteens were supplied by contributions from the government, the JDC, and local resources.

HÉLÈNE CAZES-BÉNATAR

## Union of South Africa

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PERHAPS THE most important development in the Union of South Africa during the period under review (July 1, 1954 through June 30, 1955) was the retirement of Premier Daniel François Malan at the age of eighty, and his succession by Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom, formerly minister of lands.

On October 11, 1954, Malan informed the cabinet that he intended to resign on November 30. At first it was expected that the unanimous choice as his successor would be Finance Minister Nicholas C. Havenga, Malan's chief government partner and deputy premier, who had for so long held office in Nationalist governments; but as the weeks passed, it was increasingly rumored that Strijdom, party leader in the Transvaal province, would be a contender. When at the party caucus on November 30 it became evident that Strijdom had more support, Havenga withdrew and Strijdom was chosen. Havenga resigned from the cabinet and followed Malan into retirement. This removed from public life the last two leaders, contemporaries of the late Jan Smuts, who had played leading roles in South African politics almost from the inception of union.

The new prime minister retained virtually the same cabinet as Malan, and in a national broadcast on December 3, 1954, pledged his government to a policy of equal treatment for the two European (white) sections of the population, and fair treatment for non-Europeans (Negroes, Asiatics, mulattoes). He affirmed that his government would do everything possible to strengthen good relations between the union and all other countries sharing the Western democratic way of life.

The government's legislative program for 1955 contained a number of bills which caused bitter political controversy.

On March 25, 1955, Minister of Justice Charles Robberts Swart announced introduction of a bill to enlarge the Appeal Court bench from six to eleven judges, providing that five judges form a quorum for civil and criminal appeals, and all eleven judges be required for a forum on issues affecting the validity of an act of parliament, with a majority in each case (three and six) to be binding. He also announced the appointment of five additional judges of appeal for the new positions. The opposition attacked the bill (passed May 6, 1955) as designed to obtain an Appeal Court bench more favorable to government legislation.

The Johannesburg Bar Council issued a protest (April 22, 1955) criticizing the bill as political, and expressing concern that several eminent and senior judges had been passed over in the new appointments.

On May 11, 1955, Minister of the Interior Theophilus Ebenhaezer Dönges introduced a bill to enlarge the senate from forty-eight to eighty-nine mem-

bers, and to change the system of electing senators. Hitherto, electoral colleges consisting of members of parliament and provincial councilors of all parties in each province had elected the senators for the province by proportional representation, and the government had nominated eight additional senators. The new bill increased the number of government-nominated senators to eighteen, and enabled the majority party in each province to elect all the senators for the province.

Mass meetings against the bill took place in Johannesburg and other cities; there was widespread church criticism; and statements of protest were issued by 286 professors and lecturers at leading South African universities. A women's petition with 100,000 signatures urged the governor general to refuse assent to the bill. The government nevertheless forced its passage.

The practical effect of the new senate act was to assure the governing National Party seventy-seven out of the eighty-nine seats in the enlarged senate, and thus finally make it possible for the government to muster the two-thirds majority at a joint sitting of both houses of parliament required to transfer colored (mulatto) voters from the common roll to a restricted communal register. (*See AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK*, [Vol. 54], p. 396-99; [Vol. 56], p. 457.)

There were differences in the United Party, the chief opposition group, on whether it would be politic to make advance pledges to restore the rights of colored voters if the government should withdraw them. As a protest, United Party member of parliament Bernard Friedman, who called for such a pledge, resigned on June 17, 1955, to fight a by-election in his Hillbrow (Johannesburg) constituency on the issue. Friedman, standing as an Independent, was defeated by the United Party candidate Louis Steenkamp in September 1955.

Other important legislation during the parliamentary session included the Departure from the Union Regulation Bill, imposing new restrictions in regard to passports. Under this law, it became a criminal offense for any citizen to leave the union, or any carrier to transport him from the union, without a passport. Minister of the Interior Dönges claimed it was directed at preventing union nationals from visiting Communist countries and returning to spread Communist propaganda in South Africa. The opposition contended that it made opponents of the government virtual prisoners of the state.

A number of cases of refusal of passports to Union citizens received notice in the press. These included Prof. William Harold Hutt of Cape Town University to whom a passport was eventually granted; Mrs. Jessie McPherson, chairman of the South African Labor Party and a former mayor of Johannesburg; Sydney Katz, a Cape Town University student; and Stephen Ramosodi, a native student offered a scholarship in the United States. All the persons in question disclaimed any connection with Communism or Communist propaganda.

Under the government's anti-Communist legislation, (*see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK*, [Vol. 53], p. 388; [Vol. 54], p. 398-99; [Vol. 56], p. 458-59) several more people were banned from various organizations and positions, and there were a number of prosecutions.

Further *apartheid* (segregation) legislation affecting the education, employ-

ment, and domicile of natives (Negroes) was implemented during the year. This included the Bantu Education Act, which denied government grants-in-aid to native mission schools unless the churches placed them under government control. The Roman Catholics, forfeiting the state subsidy, continued to run the schools at their own expense, instituting a new fund for the purpose. The Anglicans, unable to raise sufficient funds to follow the same course, closed their schools in preference to placing them under state control, and instituted "family centers" for native children instead. Other churches and some of the Anglicans, while protesting against the act, decided to lease their schools to the state, rather than close them or lose part of the government grants-in-aid. The United Jewish Reform Congregation of Johannesburg, which had established a school for native children and which participated in the maintenance of some others, also decided, during the first quarter of 1955, to follow this course.

### *Jewish Population*

No new figures were available for the Jewish population. As of the 1951 census, there were 108,496 Jews out of a European (white) population of 2,588,933 and a total population (all races) of 12,437,277. Jews now constituted 4.18 per cent of the European population, as compared with 4.4 per cent in the 1946 census.

### *Civil and Political Status*

On February 3, 1955, Prime Minister Strijdom told the writer of this article, as South African correspondent of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency: "The rights of Jews as full and equal citizens of South Africa, with all other sections of the white population, remain the same under my government as under all previous governments of the Union. No differential treatment will be meted out by my government to the Afrikaner, English, Jewish, or any other section of the white population: all are full and equal citizens without differentiation."

Some concern was expressed in Jewish quarters during 1954 at the adoption by the Orange Free State Provincial Council of a new education ordinance making it obligatory on teachers to foster "Christian Nationalism."

The ordinance laid down that no teacher might be appointed to the staff of a school "unless he is prepared conscientiously to give the religious instruction required . . . or unless the Director has exempted him from such obligation."

It also, however, provided that "no doctrine or dogma peculiar to any religious denomination or sect is to be taught at a public school; and that a pupil shall not be compelled to attend religious devotions or instruction if his parent has notified the head of the school to that effect."

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies, reporting in August 1955 on this ordinance, said of the exceptions: "These stipulations are wholesome and safeguard the position of Jewish pupils at schools. On the other hand, it would seem that in many schools in the Orange Free State a Jewish teacher is likely to find it very difficult to secure an appointment."

The board pointed out that an analagous situation existed at the University of the Orange Free State in Bloemfontein, which required applicants for staff posts to state their religion. "In referring to these developments we do not suggest that discrimination against Jews is in fact being practiced, but we deem it our duty to say that the introduction of such religious tests is a relatively new phenomenon in South Africa, which, if it became general, could seriously threaten the principle of academic freedom and equality of Jews in educational matters," the board report said.

#### PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS

Several Jews were among citizens appointed during the year to high public office. In July 1955 Simon M. Kuper and E. S. Henochsberg were appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court, the former in the Transvaal and the latter in Natal. Earlier in the year Justice Leopold Greenberg retired from the Appeal Court Bench. Louis Dubb was elected mayor of Port Elizabeth in September 1954, and Gustav Haberfeld was reelected mayor of Kimberley in October. In November 1954 David Gamsu was elected mayor of Nigel. Jews also held mayoralty office in some smaller towns. In the election for the natives' representatives in Parliament in October 1954, Leslie Rubin, a well-known member of the Jewish community, was among the successful Liberal Party candidates.

#### *Anti-Semitic Propaganda*

Anti-Semitic propaganda circulating in South Africa included pamphlets emanating from Einar Aberg, of Sweden, and also from some South American sources. Although the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* had been banned by the minister of the interior during World War II as objectionable literature, copies still infiltrated from England.

Ray K. Rudman of Pietermaritzburg and Johan Schoeman of Broederstroom continued to disseminate anti-Semitic leaflets locally, chiefly through random postal distribution. On the whole, however, such publications were not numerous and had no appreciable impact on public opinion. However, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies maintained vigilance in regard to them and made representations where necessary to the government. Pamphlets published by the board on Jewish customs and teachings did much to offset the poison of anti-Semitic literature and to acquaint non-Jews with the facts of Jewish life.

#### *Communal Organization*

South African Jewry during 1954-55 faced financial problems which formed the subject of much acrimonious debate. This applied especially to Jewish education, where expanding programs ran so far ahead of previously agreed budgets that special arrangements had to be made by the South African Zionist Federation and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies to meet the deficit of the South African Board of Jewish Education. In addition, a

capital campaign for the Board of Jewish Education was launched on March 14, 1955.

The United Communal Fund (UCF), which met the major domestic budgets of South African Jewry, raised £500,000 (\$1,400,000). This was better than the last UCF campaign, but still left a deficit of some £20,000 (\$56,000) on the promised allocations to participant bodies.

The United Hebrew Congregation of Johannesburg found itself compelled to increase its already high membership fees to meet rising expenditures. Some other congregations had similar problems.

#### YOUTH ACTIVITY

In addition to the problem of providing facilities for Jewish studies for school-age children, the Jewish community was faced with the need to reach the growing number of adolescents who tended to move away from Jewish life.

The former Israel minister to South Africa, S. Cecil Hyman, spoke of this problem in his valedictory address before leaving Johannesburg in January 1955. Hyman urged that the Jewish day school program be extended as much as possible, and that the community implement some of the recommendations of the report on South African Jewish youth submitted by Rabbi Louis Milgrom of the United States Hillel Foundation (*see* AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1955 [Vol. 56], p. 463.) Hyman urged "a sweeping extension of the Jewish and Zionist approach to those individuals who at present have no contact with official Jewish organizations."

The operative idea of the Milgrom Report—that an over-all committee of all major organizations should be constituted, and that trained youth counsellors should be appointed to function under this committee, to serve the needs of any and all sections of Jewish youth—was debated at length during 1954–55. The South African Jewish Board of Deputies invited cooperation from the South African Zionist Federation to implement the recommendation, but the federation, hitherto exclusively committed to Zionist youth work, had reservations. Differences were partially ironed out at an inter-provincial conference of the Board of Deputies in June 1955, when it was agreed that the board proceed with establishment of its own youth department. The board indicated that in doing so it would seek Zionist cooperation.

The South African ORT-OSE continued its training farm, vocational guidance, and other activities during 1954–55, and sent a delegation of eight members to the ORT Jubilee Congress in Geneva in June 1955. One of the movement's leading personalities, Abel Shaban, was reelected chairman of the World OSE Executive.

#### *Religious Life*

In October 1954 a conference of Orthodox congregations held in Bloemfontein called on congregations in the Orange Free State to affiliate with the Transvaal Federation of Synagogues, which in May 1955 became the Federa-

tion of Synagogues of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Israel Kuper, president of the federation, expressed the hope that its expansion would pave the way for the eventual creation of a union-wide organization of Orthodox congregations.

In April 1955 Cape Town's New Hebrew Congregation, the Cape Town Orthodox Congregation, and the Green and Sea Point Hebrew Congregation also decided to reaffiliate with the United Council of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of the Cape and South-West Africa. This council, headed by Chief Rabbi Israel Abrahams, included approximately thirty congregations.

In Johannesburg, Chief Rabbi Louis Isaac Rabinowitz tendered his resignation from the spiritual leadership of the United Hebrew Congregation in November 1954, in order to settle in Israel. Widespread appeals were made to him to remain in the service of South African Jewry. The Federation of Synagogues, of which Chief Rabbi Rabinowitz was the spiritual head, sent a deputation to appeal to him to continue his ministrations, at least for a few years. After returning from a visit to Israel and Europe, Rabbi Rabinowitz acceded to these appeals.

New buildings for religious and educational purposes were opened in a number of centers. Thus, a new synagogue was consecrated at Maitland, Cape Province; a new Talmud Torah and nursery school was opened at Krukersdorp, Transvaal; a new communal hall and nursery school was opened in Rossetenville, Johannesburg; the foundation stone was laid of the new Sydenham-Highlands North Synagogue in Johannesburg, to be one of the largest in South Africa; and plans were projected for the building of a new synagogue in Emmarentia (Johannesburg). All these were Orthodox institutions.

The Reform movement, which during the year celebrated the twenty-first anniversary of its establishment in South Africa and of the ministry of its leader, Rabbi Moses Cyrus Weiler, continued to register progress. It was disclosed in February 1955 that enrollment at Reform Hebrew schools in Johannesburg now exceeded 1,000 pupils, with some 500 more in the six other centers where Reform congregations existed—Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Pretoria, Germiston, and Springs. A £60,000 (\$168,000) building program for the movement's Johannesburg schools was adopted.

### *Jewish Education*

An important step in the expansion of Jewish education was the completion by the South African Board of Jewish Education of a new building for the King David High School in Johannesburg. The board's contemplated building program also included extended premises for its hostel, a seminary for teachers, and further nursery schools.

To finance this building program, a special campaign for a capital fund of £250,000 (\$700,000) was instituted in March 1955. Rabbi Kopul Rosen came on a brief visit from England to launch this campaign.

The Cape Board of Jewish Education provided similar services in that province, and during 1954-55 commenced building operations on its new Herzlia Day School. Plans for the new school included provision for a prepar-

atory (kindergarten), a primary, and a secondary school. A total of 1,738 children attended the Talmud Torahs under the supervision of the Cape Board during 1954-55.

During a visit to South Africa in March-June 1955, Nahum Levin, head of the Jewish Agency's Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora, prepared a scheme for closer cooperation between South African Jewry and Israel in Hebrew education. Among the provisions agreed on were: a one year's study course in Israel for graduates of South African Jewish seminaries; refresher courses for practising teachers; a one year's study course in Israel for pupils from South African high schools; and the establishment by the South African Zionist Federation of centers for Jewish youth in Johannesburg and Cape Town which would exert a "Hebraizing" influence.

### *Zionist Activities and Relations with Israel*

Cordial relations between South Africa and Israel continued throughout the year. S. Cecil Hyman was succeeded as Israel minister to South Africa by Itzhak Bavly in May 1955.

Harry M. VoreMBERG arrived in South Africa in November 1954 to assume the position of vice-consul (trade) attached to the consulate general of Israel in Johannesburg.

Israel was again represented at the Rand Easter Show (South Africa's biggest trade fair), and Minister of Economic Affairs Albertus Johannes van Rhijn welcomed the fact that "the foundations have been laid for fruitful trade relations between our two countries."

After heading the South African Zionist movement since 1949, and playing a leading part in it for many years before that, Simon M. Kuper resigned from the chairmanship of the South African Zionist Federation when he was elevated to the bench in July 1955. He was succeeded as chairman by Israel DUNSKY.

Building was commenced on the new Zionist center, which was to become Johannesburg's chief Jewish communal building. It would include, in addition to the offices of the South African Zionist Federation, a hall to seat 1,000 people; two smaller halls; a library, and an exhibition gallery.

In March 1955 the foundation stones were laid for the new Witwatersrand Jewish Aged Home.

Valuable services in the field of social welfare were rendered by the Witwatersrand Jewish Welfare Council, which coordinated Jewish welfare societies in Johannesburg and to a partial extent in neighboring towns; the welfare department of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, which dealt principally with advice on employment, naturalization, claims for compensation by locally resident victims of Nazism, and related problems; the Jewish Women's Benevolent and Welfare Society, which carried out relief and rehabilitation work (with emphasis on rehabilitation) in respect to persons in financial difficulties, handicapped by illness or related difficulties, assistance to needy parents for education of their children, and similar services; and Chevra Kadisha and benevolent societies, which generally gave relief to the poor, and extended free loans to persons in financial difficulties.

### *Cultural Activities*

Cultural activities during 1954-55 included the programs of organizations already noted. Special mention should be made of the Peoples College Program, sponsored jointly by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and the South African Zionist Federation, which had become a permanent institution in South African Jewry, and was gradually being extended to a larger number of centers. Equivalent work in the Yiddish field was carried out by the Yiddish Cultural Federation, while the Histadruth Ivrit rendered valuable service in spreading Hebrew culture.

Publications by South African Jewish writers during the period under review included *Hebrew Grammar and Grammarians*, by the late David Mirowsky; *Jaspers' Metaphysics*, by Adolph Lichtigfelt; *Because I Believe*, by Rabbi Harris Swift; *The Measure of My Days*, by Sarah Gertrude Millin; *My Seventy Years*, by Bernard Abrahams; *Johannesburg Friday*, by Albert Segal; *The Crooked Bluegum*, and *Poems with Flute*, by Lewis Sowden; *Taste of Bitter Fruit*, by Stella Friedman Helman.

### *Personalia*

Notable South African Jews who died during the year included: Justice Israel Louis Horwitz of Bloemfontein (July 25, 1955); Henry Godfrey Lewis, former judge of the Eastern Cape Supreme Court (January 14, 1955); Harry H. Morris, famous Johannesburg barrister (October 6, 1954); Louis Gradner, former mayor of Cape Town (March 31, 1955); Leon Segal, Cape Town communal leader (August 24, 1954); Harry Herber, president of the South African Board of Jewish Education (December 12, 1954); Abraham Smith, founder of the South African Mizrachi (February 8, 1955); Harry Landau, former chairman of the South African Jewish Appeal (September 29, 1954); and David Klempman, former Revisionist leader (January 6, 1955).

EDGAR BERNSTEIN

## AUSTRALIA

**D**URING 1954-55 Australia continued to enjoy prosperity, while continuing to move from a preponderately agricultural country toward industrial expansion. Both industry and agriculture suffered from a shortage of labor, in spite of considerable immigration. But the government was concerned at developing inflationary signs, and an unfavorable trade balance led to import restrictions.

The general elections of May 1954 resulted in a victory for the government of Robert G. Menzies, based upon the Liberal and Country Parties, over the Labor opposition.

There was not a single Jewish member in the Federal parliament at Canberra and only three in the state parliaments: Abram Landa, minister for

labor and industry in the New South Wales state cabinet; L. S. Snider; and the newly elected member of the Victorian state parliament, Baron D. Snider.

### *Population and Immigration*

The total population of Australia at the end of 1954 was 9,090,738; of this number, about 54 per cent lived in the metropolitan areas of the six states.

Australian governments in postwar years had pursued a dynamic immigration policy. October 1955 would see the millionth migrant to enter Australia since the end of World War II. Almost half were of British nationality. The gross intake of immigrants in 1954 was 104,014, and the net gain of the population through immigration was 68,565.

During the period 1947-51 the International Refugee Organization (IRO) had brought 182,000 European migrants to Australia. Its successor, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, brought 66,650 migrants from February 1952 to the end of 1954. Most immigrants were young, with a preponderance of males. (Australia had a ratio of 102.38 males to each hundred females in 1954). The increase of the working population since the war was 450,000, or 12 per cent.

The White Australia policy and the opposition of the government to national group settlements had remained unchanged.

In 1953 the number of German immigrants was 7,924; it grew in 1954 to 12,979, almost all government-assisted. The Jewish community, through its representative body, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, persistently protested against German immigration, but to no avail. The program for 1955 envisaged a German immigration of 10,000 out of a total of 115,000, but that number was not likely to be reached because of the prosperity and rearmament of West Germany.

The Jewish community was well represented at the Sixth Annual Citizenship Convention in January 1955, organized by the government to discuss with civic, church, and voluntary bodies the problem of the integration of migrants into the community. Insofar as Jews were concerned, this problem was less pronounced, and integration had been proceeding harmoniously. The convention was attended by Benjamin Disraeli Goldberg, member of Parliament of the Central African Federation, who had been sent to Australia on a government mission to study immigration.

### *Jewish Population and Immigration*

Some 95 per cent of all Australia's Jews lived in the six capital cities. Melbourne and Sydney alone contained 90 per cent of the total Jewish population. The Jewish population of Australia was estimated at 55,000, as compared with only about 27,000 in 1937. This increase was due almost exclusively to immigration. Australia's Jewish immigration since 1938 constituted a higher percentage of the pre-1938 Jewish population than that of any other country outside Israel. The peak was reached in 1949-50, and the intake in 1954-55 was rather low. Only 250 migrants came as assisted and

guaranteed cases of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Societies. About 200 entered under private sponsorship. This did not include the relatively high number of settlers from Israel, a category that had greatly increased of late (some 648 Israelis entered Australia in 1954). In addition, a number of Israel emigrés came via European countries.

In June 1954 the government limited migrants from Israel, Spain, Portugal, and Italy to those sponsored by relatives, or guaranteed employment on the land. Representations of the Jewish community to have this restriction removed had not been successful. The government's argument was that Israel was itself a country of immigration.

Jews from Asia experienced great difficulty in obtaining permits to enter Australia. Representations on the part of the Jewish community, even in regard to close relatives of Australian Jews, had not been successful.

Among the immigrants who arrived during 1954-55 were forty-six persons from Foehrenwald, the last remaining displaced persons (DP) camp in Germany. These "hard-core" cases came under the guarantee of the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies. Generally, no difficulty was encountered in finding employment for them. They were excellent migrants, many of them skilled tradesmen. Over 100 Jewish migrants came from Hungary, and joined their relatives in Australia. Another 100 had been issued permits and were awaiting transportation.

### *Social Service*

The welfare societies granted many loans for the establishment of businesses and the purchase of homes from funds made available by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (CJMCAG) and the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). Many of the new arrivals were housed for a time in the eleven hostels conducted by the societies in Sydney and Melbourne. The welfare society in Sydney introduced, successfully, the Sheltered Workshop for the Rehabilitation of the Aged, in which fifty old people up to the age of eighty-three were provided with light work on the premises of the society. The society also defrayed all traveling expenses. The whole income was distributed among the old people. This had proved a boon for many.

### JEWISH CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY

Australian Jewry was a member of the CJMCAG, a signatory to the agreement, and had a representative on the directorate. Sidney D. Einfeld, former president of the Executive Council, attended the first conference in 1954 and obtained a grant for Australia of £40,000 (\$88,000) for 1954-55. At the conference in February 1955, Maurice J. Ashkenasy, president of the Executive Council, represented the Jewish community of Australia and received an allocation of £55,000 (\$121,000) for 1955-56, plus a special grant of £12,000 (\$26,400) for Mount Scopus College, Melbourne. The latter contribution was to be repeated for another two years.

By far the greater part of the allocation had gone to the Australian Jew-

ish welfare societies. The Sir Moses Montefiore Home for Aged Jews and the Isabella Lazarus Home for Children, both of which had in large part served newcomers, had also received a share. Under the agreement, also, scholarships would be made available by the Executive Council for students who were victims of Nazism.

The United Restitution office had appointed officers in Australia who worked under the auspices of the Executive Council.

### *Communal Status and Relations*

Australian Jewry was well organized and united through the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, which had existed since 1944. As the official lay body of the entire community, the Executive Council was recognized by government authorities in matters relating to the rights, welfare, and status of the community as a whole. The Executive Council was composed of twenty-four delegates elected by the boards of deputies of the various states, which, in turn, were representative of the synagogues and organizations in each state. The head office alternated every two years between Melbourne and Sydney.

"The status of Australian Jews has never been higher in the eyes of our fellow-citizens throughout the Commonwealth," was the verdict of the annual report of the Executive Council. Anti-Semitism had been greatly reduced and did not for the moment present a serious problem. There was no organized anti-Semitic movement in Australia. No instances of discrimination in employment had been reported. This was ascribed both to the good will of the responsible leaders of the nation, and to the work of the public relations committee of the Executive Council. In Queensland, the legislature passed a law in December 1954 that membership of any club might not be denied on racial or religious grounds.

This did not mean that anti-Semitism had been entirely eliminated. Some anti-Jewish pamphlets were circulated from a Queensland source and vigilance was still necessary.

Moreover, in Melbourne, the largest Jewish community in Australia, there was some disturbing agitation against Shechita. The main assault came from Rev. W. J. Slater, chairman of the Animal Welfare League. But the Jewish community responded effectively through letters and scientific articles, interviews over the radio, and pamphlets, widely distributed, which enlightened the public on the humaneness of the Jewish method of slaughter. All Shechita in Melbourne was done with the help of an automatic casting pen, which eliminated any of the discomfort from which the animal might have suffered prior to the act of Shechita. The anti-Shechita agitation had subsided, but it was not altogether dead.

### GERMAN REARMAMENT

Apart from German immigration, mentioned above, the Executive Council was preoccupied with the questions of German rearmament, and of Jews trading with Germany, both of which it disapproved of. The Victorian Zion-

ist State Council resolved in May 1955 to recommend to the Zionist Federation executive that none who traded in German goods should hold public office on the council; but no such resolution was accepted by the Executive Council. Instead, disapproval of such trade was registered in a resolution of the Executive Council's annual conference in August 1955. German trade with Australia had greatly increased, and there was no doubt that many Jewish firms participated in it. In April 1955 a German trade delegation visited Australia.

At the instance of the Executive Council, many copies of Lord Russell of Liverpool's book, *The Scourge of the Swastika*, was widely distributed to members of parliament and other leaders of the general community.

### *Religious Life*

The growth of religious activity had been one of the outstanding characteristics of Jewish community life. A number of new congregations had arisen in Melbourne and Sydney in recent years. Several had made notable progress. During 1954-55 there were some thirty-five congregations in the commonwealth, but a number of them were not strong enough to maintain a full-time minister. The community was preponderately Orthodox.

The Great Synagogue of Sydney was building a center to serve the cultural, educational, and youth needs of the largest congregation of the commonwealth. The foundation stone was laid in February 1955 in an impressive public ceremony attended by government leaders. The project was to cost £90,000 (\$200,000), and to include a hall, classes, and club rooms for the youth, and a library for the finest collection of Jewish books in Australia, which the synagogue recently acquired.

Temple Emanuel, Sydney, was building extensions to its present structure. In March 1955 the Brisbane Hebrew congregation consecrated its community hall, dedicated as a memorial to the victims of Nazism. The new synagogue and school in Caulfield, Victoria, were consecrated in June 1955. The Maroubra synagogue, Sydney, opened in May 1954. The Paramatta Hebrew Congregation had completed its own hall and classrooms. The Liberal group in Perth, Western Australia, formed late in 1953, had been holding regular services.

The synagogue of Geelong, Victoria, celebrated its centenary in July 1954. Geelong, formerly a gold mining camp and now an industrialized provincial town, had been founded in 1838, and Jews were among its early settlers.

### INTERMARRIAGE

Intermarriage had always been a serious problem in the remote and relatively small Jewish community of Australia. Prior to the recent waves of immigration it had been an acute threat to the existence of the community. In 1921, for instance, when the Jewish population numbered 21,600, almost 23 per cent of all Jews had married non-Jews. This figure dropped to 15 per cent in 1933, after the immigration in the 1920's. Intermarriage had contributed to the elimination of the smaller communities that had been scat-

tered throughout the country in the second half of the nineteenth century, and had led Jews to concentrate in the larger cities. Since the beginning of large-scale immigration in 1937, there had been a marked improvement in regard to intermarriage, but it still represented a grave problem.

The Australian government was approached by the rabbinate and the Executive Council with the request to oppose any calendar reform which might interfere with the fixity of the Sabbath. In a letter to Rabbi Israel Porush, Prime Minister Menzies conveyed the government's opposition to the proposed reform.

### *Zionism and Israel*

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, the gap between the organized Zionists and the rest of the Jewish community had grown narrower. All Zionist activity was represented in the Zionist Federation of Australia and New Zealand, whose head office alternated every four years between Melbourne and Sydney. The United Israel Appeal yielded £125,000 (\$275,000), in 1954-55, slightly less than in 1953-54.

A certain reorientation had taken place in the Zionist movement of Australia. Much more attention was paid to the problems and needs of Jewish education throughout the community. Not only was there a liaison between the various Zionist councils and the local education boards, but the Zionist Federation at its last conference, in October 1953, also resolved to allocate a part of its income for the specific needs of Jewish education, and educational officers were appointed to further these aims.

Rabbi Max Kirschblum, president of the Mizrahi Organization of America, visited Australia in July 1954 to lecture on Mizrahi and conduct an appeal on its behalf.

There was a lively participation on the part of Australian Jews in the British Commonwealth project of the Coronation Forest, to be planted in Israel in honor of Queen Elizabeth. Almost 30,000 trees was the contribution.

In the field of public relations the Zionist councils worked in the cause of public enlightenment concerning Israel. One of the most persistent friends of Israel, Bishop Charles Venn Pilcher, was honored in June 1955 by the Jewish community at a special function held by the Zionist Federation in Sydney.

During 1954-55 ten *chalutzim*, trained at the agricultural training *hachsharah* farm of the Victorian Zionist State Council, left for Israel. In all about 120 Australian Jews had settled in Israel since the establishment of the state in May 1948, and the number of visitors' visas for Israel was about 500 a year.

Several *shelichim* (youth emissaries) from Israel arrived to help the youth organizationally and culturally, and several young people from Australia were sent to Israel as scholarship students to be trained as leaders.

The attitude of the Australian government to Israel continued friendly throughout, and when the Dulles plan (*see* p. 283) was propounded, Australian Minister for External Affairs Richard Gardiner Casey gave it his full moral support.

Efforts were being made to transfer the Israel legation from Sydney to the Federal capital city of Canberra, where all embassies were situated. The requisite building was to be a gift from Australian Jewry, and a fund had been opened for this purpose in February 1955.

The term of office of the present Israel minister, Mordechai Nurock, had been extended by one year to March 1956. Arye Lapid, former consul general and first secretary of the legation, had returned to Israel, and his place had been taken by Zvi Dover.

Trade between Australia and Israel had increased, but was still far below its potentialities. Australia-Israel chambers of commerce now existed in Sydney and Melbourne for the purpose of promoting trade between the two countries.

The experiment by Solomon Goldberg of Griffith, New South Wales, of transplanting Australian quality sheep to Israel had shown encouraging signs of success. The second consignment left by air during 1954-55.

### *Jewish Education*

Throughout the Jewish community there had been a marked awakening to the importance and the needs of Jewish religious education. The idea of the Jewish all-day school had grown more popular, and it was in this field that the greatest progress had been made. During 1954-55 Mount Scopus college in Melbourne had more than 600 primary and secondary students. The extensions to its new buildings in Burwood had proceeded according to plan.

In addition, there were several smaller day schools and kindergartens in Melbourne. The Jewish day school in Sydney, Moriah College, had also advanced, but less spectacularly. It was a primary school with some 140 pupils, who were expected to reach the top primary class during 1956.

In Sydney the first yeshiva was founded in June 1955, on the initiative of Abraham Rabinovitch; Rabbi Gedalia Herc of Tel Aviv was appointed as its head. The Melbourne yeshiva, which had been in existence for some years, acquired in August 1954 new premises in the heart of the Jewish district.

Apart from the all-day schools and the *yeshivot*, there were numerous Hebrew classes, mostly attached to synagogues, meeting from two and a half to six hours a week. The standards reached were low, there was a shortage of trained teachers, and accommodations were mostly inadequate. Several thousand Jewish pupils received a weekly Scripture lesson in the state schools. The teachers were provided by the Jewish community, just as the other denominations provided their instructors. Though only a token of religious instruction, the lesson was being maintained as a valuable contact with the bulk of Jewish children, who received no other Jewish education.

### *Cultural Activity*

The year 1954-55 was marked by lively cultural activity both in English and in Yiddish. Lectures, exhibitions, and symposia took place everywhere. Both young people and adults were active.

There were in Australia three Jewish weeklies in English, the *Australian Jewish News*, the *Australian Jewish Herald*, *The Jewish Times*, and two in Yiddish, *Yiddishe Naves* and *Yiddishe Post*, apart from numerous monthlies and organizational publications.

Five books were published during 1954–55 by Australian Jewish authors. Herz Bergner wrote in Yiddish, later translated into English, a new novel, *The House of Jacob Isaacs*, dealing with the life of a Jewish migrant family in Australia. Judah Waten published *The Unbending*, also on the subject of the Jewish newcomer to Australia. Waten was the holder of a Commonwealth literary scholarship.

Rabbi Lazarus Morris Goldman of Melbourne Hebrew Congregation was the author of the first full-size book on the history of Australian Jewry, *The History of the Jews of Victoria in the Nineteenth Century*.

Hans Kimmel published the second volume of his *Sydney's Jewish Community—Material for a Postwar History*, a compilation of topical articles and notes on the postwar development of Australian Jewry. This work mirrored the local scene in its cultural and social settings.

Rabbi Rudolf Brasch of Temple Emanuel, Sydney, published a book on the principles and customs of Judaism, *The Star of David*. It also contained a chapter on the contribution of Australian Jews to the life of the country.

## Personalia

Adolf Basser, a well-known Sydney Jewish philanthropist, was honored by the Queen with the C.B.E. (Commander of the Order of the British Empire) in June 1955. Sydney University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Science (*honoris causa*). Basser donated £50,000 (\$110,000) to the Nuclear Research Foundation of the Sydney University for the building of an electronic brain; he established a trust of £100,000 (\$220,000) for the support of charities, research, and education, a third of which was designated for Jewish institutions; and apart from many subscriptions to Jewish and non-Jewish charities, Basser had given £50,000 (\$110,000) for cancer research.

Cyril Rosenbaum donated £10,000 (\$22,000) to the Sir Moses Montefiore Home for Aged Jews, Sydney.

Mrs. Ida Cohen of Tamworth, New South Wales, was honored by the Queen with the M.B.E. (Member of the Order of the British Empire) for her work on behalf of the Red Cross; Matthew Harrison of Melbourne was similarly honored for his work on behalf of ex-servicemen.

Aaron Levine of Sydney was appointed district court judge in New South Wales. Levine, who had been active for years in the Jewish community, was the youngest judge in the state. There were now four Jewish judges in New South Wales, and one in Western Australia.

Fanny Reading, for over thirty years Federal president of the National Council of Jewish Women, which had branches in every community in Australia, had retired from her position. She was the mainstay of the council and prominent beyond the confines of the Jewish community.