DOMESTIC POLITICS during the year under review (July 1960 through June 1961) were dominated by the Lavon affair, which led to the resignation of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, a general election, and Mapai's loss of most of its 1959 gains.

Adolf Eichmann was tried in Jerusalem for his part in the murder of six million European Jews during World War II. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion had talks with heads of state and other leaders in the United States, Canada, France, and Great Britain, and relations with new countries in Africa were expanded. The 25th Zionist Congress in Jerusalem was particularly concerned with immigration, which increased towards the middle of 1961.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In September 1961 Israel had 51 embassies, 20 legations, 1 diplomatic mission, and 34 consulates in foreign countries. Of the 12 new missions established during the period under review, 9 were in Africa.

The Arab countries, especially the UAR, continued their economic boycott and sought to undermine Israel's friendships with African and Asian nations. Israel's borders were comparatively quiet and there were no serious incidents, although Syrian forces fired repeatedly at Israelis engaged in development work near the border and at fishermen on Lake Tiberias, and there were numerous crossings from the Gaza Strip into Israel and back by armed UAR intelligence agents.

In March and April 1961 Jordan complained to the Mixed Armistice Commission and the UN Security Council that Israel's bringing tanks and artillery into Jerusalem for the Independence Day parade would be a violation of the armistice agreement. Israel replied that a similar Jordanian complaint in 1958 had not been supported by the chairman of the UN commission on the ground that the violation was a purely formal one, and that Jordan had committed similar formal violations in its part of Jerusalem in 1960 and 1961, without any complaint by Israel. Attention was also drawn to Jordan's repeated breaches of essential clauses of the agreement since it had been signed.

* For meaning of abbreviations, see p. 497.
UN observers were offered facilities for ascertaining that no ammunition was brought into Jerusalem for the parade.

Speaking on the Arab refugee problem in the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly on November 28, 1960, Israel’s delegate Michael Comay reaffirmed that “if a solution by integration in the Arab world were actually carried out, and if the international assistance offered in 1955 were available, Israel would be prepared to pay compensation even before the achievement of a final peace treaty or the solution of other outstanding problems.” In the context of a solution by integration in Arab lands, he added, “we do not exclude further extension of the family-reunification scheme.”

In a Keneset report on March 20, 1961, Foreign Minister Golda Meir stated that the correct number of Arab refugees from Israel “does not greatly exceed 100,000 families or half a million souls.” In the course of a reply in the Kneset on May 11, 1961, to President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion stated: “About 500,000 Jewish refugees from Arab countries have reached Israel since the revival of the Jewish state. In fact, what has happened has been a Jewish-Arab exchange of population; indeed it was unplanned and not organized in advance, but it was carried out in practice, and it cannot be undone.”

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion paid an official visit to Canada on May 24–28, 1961, and was received by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker and Governor General Georges Vanier. From Canada Ben-Gurion went to the United States, remaining until June 2, 1961. He conferred with President John F. Kennedy on May 30 and also met with UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, United States Ambassador to the UN Adlai Stevenson, many other American leaders, and representatives of American Jewry.

Israel opened consulates in Dallas and Philadelphia, bringing the number in the United States to six.

On June 2, 1961, Ben-Gurion met with British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Earl of Home, and Sir Winston Churchill. In France, a few days later, he conferred with President Charles de Gaulle, who assured him publicly of France’s solidarity and friendship and referred to Israel as “our friend and ally.”

United States assistance to Israel included $25.9 million in agricultural surpluses and $7.5 million in special assistance. It was agreed on November 29, 1960, that the broad program of United States technical assistance should be terminated by June 30, 1962, “in view of the remarkable advance in technical skills made by Israel during recent years.” This did not affect the bilateral technical-assistance agreement or other forms of United States development assistance to Israel.

Closer economic ties were developed with Europe. Contacts were established with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and with the European Economic Community (Common Market) with a view to closer cooperation. There was an expansion of trade and tourism with the Mediterranean countries: Turkey, Greece, Cyprus (whose greatest number of tourists come from Israel), and Yugoslavia.
The Soviet Union rejected all Israeli efforts to improve economic and cultural relations, refusing to participate in most of the important international conferences held in Israel or to provide material for the Eichmann trial. However, there were isolated exceptions, such as visits by an archeological and by a church delegation and appearances by Soviet musicians. A Soviet basketball team played in Israel and an Israeli football team in Riga. The Soviet press and radio continued to be hostile.

Relations with Poland continued friendly and were somewhat expanded. Poland supplied material for the Eichmann trial and there were exchanges of visits by writers, scientists, and artists. Normal economic and social relations continued with Yugoslavia; there were frequent visits to Israel by Yugoslav journalists and delegations and Israel participated in a number of conferences in Yugoslavia.

Relations with other East European countries remained unchanged.

Relations with Latin American countries continued to develop favorably. Agreements were concluded with Bolivia and Colombia to raise the status of their respective representatives to the rank of ambassador. New ambassadors were exchanged with Argentina when the dispute over the Eichmann case was terminated (AJYB, 1961 [Vol. 62], pp. 199–208). Economic, cultural, and technical aid agreements were signed with several Latin American countries.

There was a further development in relations with the African and Asian countries, based mainly on technical, scientific, and economic cooperation. A constant stream of visitors from these countries came to Israel to study its economic and social methods, and state visits were paid by the presidents of Upper Volta, the Malagasy Republic, and Dahomey. Treaties of friendship and technical cooperation were signed with these countries, calling for the ending of colonial rule and all forms of racial discrimination, and for the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, in conformity with the UN charter. A direct shipping line was opened between Elat and East Africa.

In 1960 and the first half of 1961 about a thousand students came to Israel from 52 developing countries (24 in Africa, 11 in Asia, 10 in Latin America, and 7 in the Mediterranean and other areas) to study in 23 specially organized courses and seminars, as well as in existing educational institutions. Over 200 Israeli experts went out to instruct, organize training courses, and carry out surveys in preparation for development projects.

In spite of the participation of Ghana, Guinea, and Mali in the Casablanca conference in January 1961, which passed an anti-Israel resolution under Arab pressure, friendly relations with these countries were not affected.

EICHMANN TRIAL

Two changes were made in the law affecting the Eichmann case. A bill authorizing non-Israelis to represent foreigners charged with capital offenses was adopted on November 23, 1960, and one providing that a court trying a
capital case should be presided over by a justice of the supreme court was approved on January 31, 1961. On December 15, 1960, the Law Council granted Robert Servatius, whom Adolf Eichmann had selected as counsel, permission to defend him. Mendel Scharf was subsequently appointed as Servatius' adviser on Israeli law and court procedure. On January 1, 1961, the government granted Servatius $20,000 to cover the costs of the defense.

On February 26, it was announced that the court would consist of Supreme Court Justice Moses Landau, Judge Benjamin Ha-levi, president of the Jerusalem district court, and Judge Isaac Raveh of the Tel-Aviv district court. All three were of German origin and had settled in Palestine in 1933.

The trial opened on April 11 at the civic center (Bet ha-'am) in Jerusalem, which was specially adapted to facilitate security precautions and the accommodation of 500 journalists (350 from abroad). The prosecution was headed by Attorney General Gideon Hausner, assisted by Jacob Robinson as legal adviser, and Gabriel Bach, Jacob Baror, and Tsevi Terlo, state attorneys. Robert Servatius, assisted by Dieter Wechtenbruch, appeared for the defense. The official court proceedings were in Hebrew, into which evidence and pleas in other languages were translated consecutively and publicly. There were also simultaneous translations into French, English, and German for the benefit of the accused, his counsel, and the press. The entire proceedings were filmed and recorded. (For indictment and trial see pp. 54, 120).

The trial was generally believed to have had a profound effect inside Israel, especially on the youth and the oriental communities, who had had no experience of Nazi rule.

**LAVON AFFAIR**

On January 26, 1954, when Moses Sharett reorganized the cabinet after the retirement of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion to Sede Boker in the Negev, Phinehas Lavon replaced Ben-Gurion as minister of defense. In the second half of the year, an Israeli security operation of a still undisclosed nature* produced disastrous results. Lavon said that the operation had been ordered by a senior officer without his knowledge, while the officer insisted that Lavon had given the order. At Lavon's request, Prime Minister Sharett appointed Supreme Court Justice Isaac Olshan and former Chief of Staff Jacob Dori to investigate, but they were unable to decide who was telling the truth. Lavon resigned and Ben-Gurion again became minister of defense on February 21, 1955.

On September 28, 1956, Lavon was elected secretary general of the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor, on the proposal of the Labor party (Mapai). In August 1960, one of the witnesses at the Olshan-Dori inquiry, on trial for a criminal offense, stated that he had been suborned by two officers to give false evidence against Lavon. Ben-Gurion appointed a

* The general assumption is that it was a sabotage-provocation attempt in Cairo—EDS.
new committee, headed by Supreme Court Justice Hayyim Cohn, to inquire into this allegation. On September 26, after Lavon returned from a trip abroad, he asked Ben-Gurion to clear him publicly of responsibility for the 1954 operation, in view of the new evidence which had emerged. Ben-Gurion refused, on the ground that it had not been he who had placed the stigma on Lavon's name, and asked him to await the result of the inquiry. Lavon insisted on putting his case before the foreign-affairs and security committee of the Keneset.

Though the proceedings of this committee had always previously been strictly confidential, the evidence given by Lavon and others was reported in the press almost verbatim on the morrow of its delivery. Lavon accused Simeon Peres, then director general of the ministry of defense, of having given evidence against him to the Olshan-Dori enquiry, and ministry staff members of instigating a press campaign against him. These allegations were denied. Lavon did not accuse Ben-Gurion, Peres, or Moses Dayyan (then chief of staff) of complicity in the order for the operation or the preparation of false evidence in 1954–55. Mapai took no sides in the controversy at this stage.

The Cohn committee reported on October 23 that a reserve officer, with the approval of a regular officer, had suborned perjury before the Olshan-Dori committee and that a document submitted to it had been falsified. Attorney General Gideon Hausner ruled, however, that the statute of limitations prevented new court proceedings. Sharett stated publicly that if he had at the time been aware of the evidence now disclosed, he would not have accepted Lavon's resignation. Lavon declared himself satisfied with this statement as clearing his name.

On October 30, 1960, a cabinet committee was appointed to examine the affair. It consisted of Phinehas Rosen (Progressive) as chairman, Levi Eshkol and Bekhor Shitreet (Mapai), Moses Hayyim Shapira (National Religious), Israel Barzillai (Mapam), Isaac Ben-Aaron (Ahdut ha-'Avodah), and Benjamin Mintz (Po'ale Agudat Israel). After examining the documents but not interrogating witnesses, the committee reported that Lavon had not given the order and recommended that the matter should be regarded as closed. The cabinet endorsed its report on December 25, but Ben-Gurion denounced its findings as "a miscarriage of justice" and demanded a judicial inquiry. At a meeting of the Mapai central council on January 12 he bitterly attacked Lavon for conducting "a poisonous war" of "backbiting and slander."

After a month of controversy, on January 30, the Keneset rejected a motion of no confidence in the government by 77 votes to 26, but before the vote the Mapam, Ahdut ha-'Avodah, and Progressive representatives criticized Ben-Gurion's attitude.

On January 31 Ben-Gurion submitted his resignation, which involved that of the entire cabinet. He asserted that the cabinet committee's findings were "incompatible with the fundamental principles of justice," since it had implicitly condemned the senior officer without giving him a hearing, and reiterated his demand for a judicial inquiry. He explained that he had de-
ferred his resignation because of "two temporary obstacles" (one of which was the meeting of the Zionist Congress in Jerusalem [see p. 283]).

It was generally assumed that Ben-Gurion would not remain in political life if Lavon continued to hold his Histadrut post on behalf of Mapai. On February 4 the party's central council voted by 159 to 96 to remove Lavon from his office, and this was carried by its representatives in the Histadrut over the opposition of all other parties.

After President Isaac Ben-Zvi's statutory consultations with representatives of the parties, he called on Ben-Gurion to form a new cabinet. Mapam, Ahдут ha-'Avodah, and the Progressives were ready to join a new coalition of the same parties that had constituted the previous one, but not under Ben-Gurion as prime minister. The National Religious party was not willing to be Mapai's only partner in the cabinet. Mapai refused to put forward a new candidate for premier. Various proposals for a temporary cabinet under Levi Eshkol, with Ben-Gurion as defense minister, fell through. The deadlock was complete, and on March 13 the Keneset decided that general elections should be held on August 15, 1961.

**GENERAL ELECTION**

The main change in the party line-up was the amalgamation of the General Zionists and the Progressives to form the Liberal party, which held its inaugural convention on April 25.

The Keneset amended the electoral law to forbid national and local government employees from taking any part in the election campaign; to have regional election boards headed by district judges or magistrates, and to make groups not previously represented in the Keneset deposit £5,000, to be forfeited if they failed to poll one per cent of the total national vote. Supreme Court Justice Tsevi Berinson was appointed chairman of the central election board.

On nomination day, June 26, 15 lists of candidates were submitted. Eleven, including separate Agudat Israel and Po'ale Agudat Israel lists and two Arab lists associated with Mapai, were submitted by groups represented in the Fourth Keneset. Four new lists were presented under the names of Yemenite, Justice and Fraternity (religious Sephardi), Supporters of Democracy (Arab—associated with the Liberals), and Progress and Labor (Arab independent). The Yemenite list was withdrawn before the elections.

In the campaign, all parties except Mapai stressed the Lavon affair, arguing that it revealed Israel's democracy to be in danger and appealing to the voters to reduce Mapai's strength. Both supporters and opponents of Lavon within Mapai (except for a small group belonging to the Mapai kibbutz movement, of which Lavon was a leading member) ignored the affair throughout the campaign. Instead, they stressed the country's achievements under Mapai's leadership and called for a reform of the electoral system to reduce the role of small parties and insure the continuance of stable govern-

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1 £1.80 = $1.00.
ment. WZO President Nahum Goldmann declined an invitation to settle in Israel and head the Liberal list, but campaigned for the Liberals. He called for efforts to integrate Israel in the Middle East and for the adoption of a more neutral attitude to the Eastern and Western blocs. His foreign-policy proposals were categorically rejected by Mapai leaders.

Of the eligible voters, 81.3 per cent went to the polls on August 15, 1961, almost the same proportion as in 1959. Mapai lost five seats and its affiliated Arab parties one; the Liberals gained three; the Communists two, and Ahdut ha-‘Avodah one. Agudat Israel gained one seat from Po‘ale Agudat Israel. (See Table 1 for election results since 1949.)

The composition of the new Keneset made it difficult to form the cabinet. Ben-Gurion refused to undertake the task, and Finance Minister Levi Eshkol conducted the negotiations.

The previous cabinet had been supported by Mapai and its affiliated parties —52; National Religious—12; Mapam—9; Ahdut ha-‘Avodah—7; Progressives—6; Po‘ale Agudat Israel—3. Mapai, with 52 of the 89 coalition supporters, had 10 of the 16 cabinet posts. The Progressives were now included in the 17 Liberals, so that in a new coalition of the same parties Mapai would have only 42 out of 94 coalition votes. The other parties at first combined to demand that Mapai should have no more than 8 of the 16 ministers. Mapai refused to form a cabinet in which it would not have a majority voice and preferred a combination with the Liberals or the left-wing parties, but not both.

Ultimately, Ahdut ha-‘Avodah agreed to join Mapai and two religious parties in a coalition which commanded a narrow majority. In the cabinet approved by the Keneset on November 2, Mapai had eleven ministers, National Religious three, Ahdut ha-‘Avodah two, and Po‘ale Agudat Israel a deputy minister. Its composition was as follows: David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister and Minister of Defense; Moses Dayyan (Mapai), Agriculture; Phinehas Sappir (Mapai), Commerce and Industry; Giora Josephthal (Mapai), Development and Housing; Abba Eban (Mapai), Education and Culture; Levi Eshkol (Mapai), Finance; Golda Meir (Mapai), Foreign Affairs; Moses Hayyim Shapira (National Religious), Interior and Health; Dov Joseph (Mapai), Justice; Igal Allon (Ahdut ha-‘Avodah), Labor; Bekhor Shitreet (Mapai), Police; Elijah Sasson (Mapai), Posts; Zerah Warhaftig (National Religious), Religious Affairs; Solomon Joseph Burg (National Religious), Social Welfare; Isaac Ben-Aaron (Ahdut ha-‘Avodah), Transport, and Joseph Almogi (Mapai), minister without portfolio. Deputy ministers were ‘Ammi Asaf (Mapai) and Kalman Kahana (Po‘ale Agudat Israel), Education; Simeon Peres (Mapai), Defense, and Isaac Raphael (National Religious), Health.

**Zionist Affairs**

The 25th Zionist Congress met in Jerusalem from December 27 to January 11. There were 525 delegates; 38 per cent from Israel, 29 per cent from the United States, and 33 per cent from other countries. Ihud ‘Olami (Labor
TABLE 1. COMPOSITION OF KENESET, 1949–61

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seats Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Seats Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Seats Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapai</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herut</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberals*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Religious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agudat Israel</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po'ale Agudat Israel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapam</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahдут ha-'Avodah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communists</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabs (associated with Mapai)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7*</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures given for the first four Knesets refer respectively to the General Zionists and the Progressives, who merged in 1961 to form the Liberal Party.

b In 1949 these three parties submitted a joint list, the United Religious Party.

c In 1951, 1955, and 1959, Agudat Israel and Po'ale Agudat Israel submitted a joint list, the Torah Religious Front.

d In 1949 and 1951 Mapam included Ahдут ha-'Avodah.

* These included 4 Sephardim, one Yemenite, one WIZO member, and one representative of the "Fighters' List."
(Zionists) had 164 delegates; Confederation of General Zionists, headed by Israel Goldstein and Rose Halprin, 81; Confederation of General Zionists, headed by Emmanuel Neuman, 74; Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, 63; Herut and Zionist Revisionists, 51; Mapam, 35; Ahдут ha-'Avodah, 29; Progressives, 12; WIZO, 10 (including 4 in an advisory capacity), and unaffiliated, 6.

Under the new constitution adopted in January 1960, the Jewish communities of Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay and Jewish youth federations from Italy and Scandinavia were represented as affiliated bodies. There were fraternal delegates from the Jewish community organizations of Algeria, Australia, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, South Africa, and Switzerland; American organizations, including AJ Congress, the New York Board of Rabbis, National Council of Young Israel, and the National Council for Jewish Education; the World Jewish Congress, and the World Sephardi Federation.

In his opening address WZO President Nahum Goldmann called the state of Israel "the great decisive instrument for our survival" and said that the organization's two main tasks were the furtherance of Jewish education, with Hebrew as "the second language for the Jews," and the achievement of increased immigration to Israel.

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion told the congress that immigration was "the central problem of the state of Israel and the entire Jewish people," which would "in the last analysis determine the destiny of both." He called on those unable to come to Israel themselves to send their children to study in the country for at least a year. He declared that "without Jewish education for the younger generation, to imbue it with a more profound confidence and deepen its roots in Jewish history and the unity of its people, Jewry in the Diaspora is on the road to assimilation and extinction." Ben-Gurion also said that, according to a talmudic precept, Orthodox Jews remaining in the Diaspora were violating a religious commandment. A dispute arose between him and Zionist and non-Zionist leaders in the United States (see p. 284).

As agreement could not be reached on the composition of an executive reflecting the strength of the parties at the congress, it was decided to reappoint the incumbent one, except for three changes, and allow the Zionist General Council to elect a new executive at its next meeting, in April. Nahum Goldmann was unanimously reelected president of WZO and of the Jewish Agency.

On April 30 the Zionist General Council elected the other members of a new executive: Moses Sharett, chairman, Levi Eshkol, agricultural settlement; Elijah Dobkin, youth and he-Halutz (pioneering); Aryeh Pincus, treasurer, and Zalman Shazar, education and culture in the Diaspora. All these were Ihud 'Olami Labor Zionists. Leo Dultzin, in charge of the economic department and companies bureau, and Hayyim Levanon, in charge of information, were from the General Zionist Confederation (Neumann wing). Solomon Zalman Sheraggai, member for immigration, and David Bet-Aryeh, for Torah education and culture, were Mizrahi (religious Zionists). Moses Kol of the Progressives was named to direct Youth
Aliyah; Tsevi Lurie of Mapam was given responsibility for organization and Aaron Zisling of Ahдут ha-'Avodah for absorption, and Israel Goldstein, representing the Goldstein-Halprin wing of the General Zionists, was placed in charge of the Keren ha-Yesod. Ra'ananan Weitz (Ihud 'Olami) and Woolf Perry (General Zionists, Goldstein-Halprin wing) were elected deputy members.

Those elected to the New York executive were Rose Halprin and Emmanuel Neumann; Louis Segal of Ihud 'Olami; Rabbi Mordecai Kirshblum of Mizrachi, and, as a deputy member, Aryeh Shenkar of Mapam.

**POPULATION AND MIGRATION**

The census of May 22, 1961, showed a permanent population of 2,170,082, 149.1 per cent more than the 1948 census. There were 54 towns and villages with populations over 5,000. The largest were (1948 census figures in parentheses): Tel Aviv—386,612 (248,261), Haifa—182,007 (97,544), Jerusalem—166,301 (83,984), Ramat Gan—90,234 (17,182), Petah Tikvah—52,771 (21,589), Holon—48,102 (9,568), Bene Berak—47,080 (8,834), and Beersheba—43,158 (no 1948 figure available).

On June 30, 1961, the estimated total population was 2,183,000, including 1,939,400 Jews (758,702 in 1948) and 243,800 others (120,000 in 1948).

Of the Jews, 37 per cent were born in Israel; 35 per cent in Europe, the Americas, and Oceania; 16 per cent in Asia, and 12 per cent in Africa.

There were 24,962 immigrants in 1960, as against 23,988 in 1959. In 1961 there was a steady rise in immigration from 1,794 in January to 5,361 in June. The total for the first six months of the year was 20,136, compared with 11,485 in the first half of 1960.

The number of persons leaving for the declared purpose of emigration was 7,095 in 1959, 7,206 in 1960, and 2,003 in the first half of 1961.

**TABLE 2. POPULATION, 1948 TO 1961**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year End</th>
<th>Total (thousands)</th>
<th>Jews (thousands)</th>
<th>Others (thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>879.0</td>
<td>758.7</td>
<td>120.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>1,173.9</td>
<td>1,013.9</td>
<td>160.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1,370.1</td>
<td>1,202.9</td>
<td>167.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,577.8</td>
<td>1,404.3</td>
<td>173.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>1,629.6</td>
<td>1,450.2</td>
<td>179.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>1,669.4</td>
<td>1,483.6</td>
<td>185.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1,717.8</td>
<td>1,526.0</td>
<td>191.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1,789.0</td>
<td>1,590.5</td>
<td>198.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1,872.3</td>
<td>1,667.4</td>
<td>204.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1,975.9</td>
<td>1,762.7</td>
<td>213.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>2,031.7</td>
<td>1,810.1</td>
<td>221.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>2,088.7</td>
<td>1,858.8</td>
<td>229.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2,150.4</td>
<td>1,911.2</td>
<td>239.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961 (June)</td>
<td>2,183.2</td>
<td>1,939.4</td>
<td>243.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Estimated.

*Immigration figures given in this survey include persons entering as tourists or as temporary residents who later obtained permission for permanent residence.
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

National Income

The gross national product rose in 1960 to £4,165 million at 1958 prices—£310 million, or eight per cent, over the previous year. The increase was most marked in industry, transportation, and services.

National income was estimated at £3,376 million, an increase of ten per cent over 1959; there had been a rise of 3 per cent in the price level. The net domestic product and national income in 1959 and 1960 are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3. NET DOMESTIC PRODUCT AND NATIONAL INCOME
(In £ millions at current prices)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1959</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>Per-cent Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public sector</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-profit institutions</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and services</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gross domestic product</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,195</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,547</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adjustment for depreciation</strong></td>
<td><strong>-89</strong></td>
<td><strong>-111</strong></td>
<td><strong>—</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NET DOMESTIC PRODUCT</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,106</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,436</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less payments to the rest of the world</td>
<td>-56</td>
<td>-60</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NATIONAL INCOME</strong></td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>3,376</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Manpower

The total civilian labor force rose 2.8 per cent in 1960 (from 720,000 to 740,000), i.e., to the same extent as the population aged 14 and over. The number employed rose 3.3 per cent, the largest increase being in industry (5.8 per cent). Employment in agriculture, construction and public works, and utilities remained stable.

Average daily unemployment fell 18 per cent, from 7,300 in 1959 to 6,000 in 1960. There was an even greater decline in the percentage of the unemployed who were able-bodied; the majority of those employed in relief works were elderly or partially incapacitated persons. In each of the first three months of 1961 the state employment service reported over a thousand unfilled jobs.

3 Figures for 1959 are revised estimates, and may vary somewhat from those given in AJYB, 1961 (Vol. 62), p. 317.
Investments

Gross investment increased by 8 per cent at current prices, from I£1,000 million in 1959 to I£1,076 million in 1960; in real terms the increase was 4 per cent. The government, the Jewish Agency, and other public bodies continued to finance about 53 per cent of all investment. There were increases of 28 per cent in the total invested in transportation (mainly due to the acquisition of ships), 12 per cent in commerce and services, and 8 per cent in industry. New investment in mining declined 14 per cent, in electricity 13 per cent, in agriculture 5 per cent, and in residential building 5 per cent.

Up to January 1, 1961, the Investment Center had approved for the special concessions provided by law investments in 2,295 undertakings, totaling $452.3 million and I£412.8 million, not including government and private loans.

Agriculture

Over a million acres of land were cultivated. About 65 per cent of this acreage consisted of unirrigated and 12 per cent of irrigated field crops (cereal and fodder); 14 per cent was used for citrus and other fruit plantations, and 7 per cent for vegetables, potatoes, and peanuts.

The rapid growth of agricultural output, which had almost quadrupled since 1948, was considerably slowed down in 1960, as self-sufficiency was approached in those crops that could be economically grown in Israel. The ministry of agriculture’s planning policy prevented surpluses while increasing the output of the settlements established since 1948, which produced half the milk, 60 per cent of the eggs, 42 per cent of the industrial crops, and 30 per cent of the non-citrus fruit.

Gross agricultural output from October 1959 through September 1960 was I£830 million, 6.3 per cent higher than the revised figure of I£781 million for the previous agricultural year. As half of the increase was due to higher prices, the increase in real terms was 3.1 per cent. The net agricultural product was almost the same as in 1958–59.

The financial position of the farmers improved as a result of higher subsidies and better credit facilities.

Agricultural exports in 1960, at $61.7 million, were $3.6 million higher than in the previous year. Income from citrus exports was almost stationary because of lower prices, but eggs brought in $8.6 million, 32 per cent more than in 1959.

Industry

The aggregate value of industrial output in 1960 was estimated by the Bank of Israel at I£2,618 million, an increase of 11.6 per cent over the 1959 estimate of I£2,346 million (both at 1958 prices). Exports accounted for a higher percentage of the additional output than in previous years: in 1960, 53 per cent of the increase was exported, 7 per cent invested, and 40

4 Because of a new accounting method, the figures are not comparable with those published for previous years.
per cent consumed locally, as compared with 47, 13, and 40 per cent respectively for 1958 and 1959.

New investment in industry rose 7 per cent from £212 million in 1959 to £226 million in 1960 at 1960 prices, increasing the total active capital 12 per cent, from £1,467 million at the beginning of 1960 to £1,643 million at the beginning of 1961.

Industrial exports rose 25 per cent, from $123 million to $154 million. Some of the principal categories of goods exported were cut diamonds, $57 million; chemicals and petroleum products, $12.6 million; textiles, $11.8 million; food, beverages, and tobacco, $11 million; rubber goods and plastics, $9.7 million; minerals, $8.5 million, and wearing apparel, $8.2 million.

**Housing and Construction**

Investment in construction (including irrigation works, oil drilling, and pipeline laying) in 1960 totaled £640 million, 2 per cent less than in 1959. Almost half was invested in residential building, but investment in this category was 4.7 per cent less than in 1959; investment in hotel building rose 163 per cent, and in building for industry 11.4 per cent.

In 1960 there was a fall of 23 per cent in public expenditure on housing, due to the improvement in housing conditions and the drop in immigration since 1958, and a rise of 13 per cent in private residential building. Public housing expanded considerably in 1961, however, because of the renewed rise in immigration.

The number of persons per room continued to fall, from 1.98 in 1959 to 1.9 in 1960. Fifty-three per cent of the families owned the houses they lived in, 87.9 per cent had electricity in their homes, 75.1 per cent had separate kitchens, 73.2 per cent had baths or showers, and 77.8 per cent had running water.

Investment in mining, quarrying, and oil drilling fell 28 per cent, and in works connected with transportation, communications, and oil pipelines 31 per cent, reflecting the completion of the Haifa-Elat pipeline.

**Transportation**

The output of the transportation industry rose 11 per cent in 1960. There was an increase in all branches, especially aviation (24 per cent) and shipping (20 per cent).

The activity of the ports was 8 per cent higher than in 1959. Efficiency in Haifa port improved, and the average time spent by ships in port was shortened 4 per cent. Cargo handled at Haifa rose 10 per cent to 2.7 million tons, and at Elat 11 per cent to 146,000 tons. Planning was started for a new, larger, harbor at Elat, and the foundation stone of the projected new deep-water harbor at Ashdod (20 miles south of Tel-Aviv) was laid. There was a decline of 6 per cent in activity at the Tel-Aviv and Jaffa ports.

The Israeli merchant fleet added five large merchant vessels and two tankers in 1960, bringing the total to 52 ships with a deadweight tonnage of 462,000—44 per cent more than in 1959.
El Al (the Israeli national airline) showed a profit of £1,567,000 for the 1960–61 financial year. It acquired two Boeing 707 jet liners, and Boeing 707B medium jets were ordered to replace its remaining Bristol Britannias. The number of passengers carried was 109,846, compared with 84,568 in the previous year, and freight and mail increased 31 per cent to 6.1 million ton miles.

**Prices**

The consumers' price index (1950 = 100) stood at 321 in 1958, 326 in 1959, and 333 in 1960. The rise in prices over the preceding year was thus 3.4 per cent in 1958, 1.5 per cent in 1959, and 2.3 per cent in 1960.

Average investment prices rose 4 per cent in 1960, compared with one per cent in 1959.

**Labor**

Average hourly wage rates rose 4.5 per cent in 1960, the greatest increase being in public services—8 per cent. Basic wage rates were almost stationary. About one-third of the increase was due to higher cost-of-living allowances, and almost all the rest to upgrading, efficiency premiums, etc. Average income per employee increased 5.5 per cent.

The Histadrut decided to demand a rise of 6 per cent in wages in the productive sectors of the economy when negotiating the labor contracts for 1961. The manufacturers' association refused to agree, but the increase was granted by state and public institutions and many private employers. In addition, salary increases were agreed to for teachers in secondary schools (after a four-week strike), doctors in the public services, and journalists. A committee was appointed to review civil-service salaries, and advances on prospective increases were paid. These wage and salary concessions were attributed in large part to the approach of the general election in August.

**Foreign Trade**

While exports increased $65 million in 1960, 23 per cent over 1959, imports grew $90 million, or 15 per cent. The total deficit on current account in the balance of payments thus rose $25 million to $341 million. Some of the additional imports was required for the production of more export goods; the largest increase was in the import of ships, for which $21 million more was spent than in 1959.

Exports of goods in 1960 amounted to $210 million, compared with $170.5 million at 1960 prices in 1959. The largest increases were in industrial products (21 per cent) and polished diamonds (12 per cent). The major purchasers of Israeli exports were the United Kingdom ($35.4 million), the United States ($28.8 million), and West Germany ($25.7 million), followed by Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Turkey.

Invisible exports in 1960 totaled $142.2 million, 31 per cent more than in 1959. The largest items were transportation—$66.9 million; tourism—$27.3 million (a 68 per cent increase), and insurance—$20.3 million. The
number of tourists rose 28 per cent to 118,000, and the average spent by each tourist from $176 to $231.

Of the $496 million spent in 1960 on imports, 55 per cent went for raw materials; 28 per cent for investment goods; 10 per cent for consumption goods, and 7 per cent for fuel. Invisible imports came to $198 million, the largest items being services on government accounts—$57.9 million; capital services—$46.6 million; transportation—$43.6 million, and insurance—$23.4 million.

In the first half of 1961 exports of goods totaled $134.0 million, compared with $118.5 million in the corresponding period of 1960, a rise of 13.1 per cent. However, imports increased 19.9 per cent, from $234.1 million to $280.6 million, and the payments deficit rose 26.8 per cent, from $115.6 million to $146.6 million.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND CULTURE

Education

The total attendance at schools of all types in 1960–61 was about 600,000, including 80,541 in state kindergartens, 395,446 in elementary schools, 45,358 in secondary schools, 11,560 in vocational schools, 5,585 in agricultural schools, 6,159 in teachers' training schools and colleges, 18,165 in other state schools, 11,000 in institutions of higher learning, 10,000 in yeshivot, and 14,000 in other institutions, mainly private.

Eighty per cent of secondary pupils benefited from reductions under the graded-fee system.

The number of two-year secondary schools in immigrant areas was increased from 47 in 1960–61 to 70 in 1961–62.

Under the cultural agreement between France and Israel, French could now be taken as the first foreign language, instead of English. Two thousand children studied that language in 19 primary, 60 secondary, and 19 secondary evening schools. Arabic was studied in 64 secondary schools, and six schools had special courses in oriental studies. The students in these courses spent a vacation in Arab areas, studying Arabic and meeting the youth.

In June 1961 a council representing the youth movements was set up, under the auspices of the ministry of education and culture, to advise on the administration of state aid for training youth leaders, organizing camps and hikes, providing central libraries, etc.

Sixty thousand primary-school children attended summer camps run by the local authorities.

Higher Education

In the 1960–61 academic year there were 5,274 students in the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, as compared with 4,959 in 1959–60, and the teaching staff numbered 915. There were 1,954 students in the faculty of humanities, 1,091 in science, 740 in the social sciences, 639 in medicine (including pharmacy, dentistry, and bacteriology), 341 in law, 331 in agriculture, 154 in the school of social work, and 24 in the graduate library school. In
addition, there were 500 research students working for doctorates, and
1,315 in the Tel-Aviv branch, 910 of them in social sciences and 405 in
law. The total included 200 students from abroad and 88 Israeli Arabs and
Druses.

The 12 faculties and departments of the Haifa Technion, the Israeli
ing engineering school, had 2,000 undergraduate and 540 graduate students,
with an academic staff of 500, and there were also 900 students in its techni-
cal high school. Courses and seminars organized by the Technion’s extension
division were attended by 5,000 persons.

Bar-Ilan University had an enrolment of 610 and Tel-Aviv University, 835.
The 20 training colleges for primary-school teachers had an enrolment
of 2,438. There were also 14 training schools for teachers of special subjects
(music, art, crafts, etc.) with 630 students. Secondary-school teachers were
trained in the Hebrew University.

**Scientific Research**

In 1961 the Weizmann Institute of Science had 275 scientists in ten de-
partments and five sections, in addition to those working temporarily on
special grants. There were 100 students in its graduate school of natural
science, training for the Hebrew University’s Ph.D. degree.

The Hebrew University continued to conduct research into diseases prev-
alent in the region, mineral resources, atomic energy, nuclear physics,
solid-state physics, and other subjects.

Some 300 research projects were approved by the Technion during the
year, in addition to those sponsored by outside bodies, including govern-
ments and agencies abroad, which were coordinated by its research and de-
velopment foundation.

The “swimming-pool” type of atomic reactor at Nahal Sorek was used for
the training of scientists and technicians and the production of isotopes for
medical and industrial purposes. A larger reactor, based on natural uranium
and heavy water, was under construction. It was considered as a pilot plant
for atomic-power development.

Scientific developments included a new method of diagnosing heart infarcts
by the use of radioactive iodine; the development of new and more useful
varieties of corn; a new, rapid method of discovering the quantity of uranium
in ore samples, and a practical solar-powered generator suitable for rural
areas in underdeveloped countries.

Shavit II, Israel’s first three-stage meteorological rocket for the scientific
study of the stratosphere and the ionosphere, was launched on July 5, 1961.
It was planned, constructed, and fired by Israeli scientists and technicians. It
was announced in August that a second rocket, with four stages, was ready
for firing.

The 1960 Rothschild prizes for scientific research were awarded to the
biophysicist Professor Ephraim Katchalski and, posthumously, to Professor
Abraham Komarov-Kimron, for research in veterinary medicine.
Cultural Activities

Prizes for distinction in the arts and sciences were awarded on Independence Day 1961 to Professor Ezekiel Kutscher, for his book *The Language and the Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*; Rabbi Solomon Goren, senior chaplain to the Israeli defense forces, for his commentary on the tractate *Berakhot* of the Jerusalem Talmud; Judah Burla, the author, for his life's work in literature, on his 75th birthday; Professor Aaron Katzir and Dr. Eve Kedem, for biological research; Professor Jacob Van de Hoeden, for research into diseases transmissible from animals to man, and Menahem Avidom, for his opera *Alexandra the Hasmonean*.

Further discoveries in the Judean desert included a large number of papyri, household utensils, etc., casting new light on the administration of Simeon Bar-Kokheva, leader of the second-century revolt against the Romans, and a hoard of over 400 objects ascribed to the Chalcolithic period. Other archaeological finds included an Israelite royal citadel at Ramat Rachel, near Jerusalem, and a stone bearing the name of Pontius Pilate, at Caesarea.

The third World Congress of Jewish Studies was held in Jerusalem, July 25 to August 1, 1961.

The Project for Scientific Translations, established in 1958 by contract with the United States government, had translated 80 scientific books and 100 booklets from Russian at the time of writing. Copies were furnished the United States government and some 5,000 institutions and individuals throughout the world.

In August 1961 the sculptor Jacques Lipchitz gave 300 original castings of his works to the Bezalel National Museum in Jerusalem. Two hundred original molds of sculptures by the late Sir Jacob Epstein were donated to the museum by his widow. Both gifts were obtained through the offices of the American showman Billy Rose and the America-Israel Cultural Foundation.

Religious Affairs

The controversy over the election of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi chief rabbis and the council of the chief rabbinate continued during the period under review. The elections should have been held in February 1960, but were repeatedly postponed because of conflict between the chief rabbinate, headed by Sephardi Chief Rabbi Jacob Nissim, supported by the National Religious party, and Rabbi Jacob Moses Toledano, the minister of religious affairs, supported by Mapai. Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Isaac Ha-levi Herzog had died on July 25, 1959, and his post had remained vacant. The last date to which the term of office of the chief rabbinate had been extended was October 21, 1960.

The controversy continued after Rabbi Toledano died on October 15 and his portfolio was taken over by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion as acting minister. The arrangements for the elections were entrusted by law to an
eight-man committee, four named by the government and four by the chief rabbinate. Three of the latter had withdrawn, and on October 23 one of the government nominees resigned, leaving the committee without a quorum. On November 27 the government appointed a substitute, over National Religious party objections.

On November 30 several Sephardi leaders declared their opposition to the reelection of Chief Rabbi Nissim. Rabbi Obadiah Joseph was proposed for the post.

Opposition to the holding of the elections in the existing conditions was voiced at a rally of rabbis called on December 3 by Chief Rabbi Nissim, who warned that "we may be compelled to establish a chief rabbinate independent of the state."

Ultimately, Mapai reached agreement with the National Religious party, and the Kneset passed a bill proposed by Elimelech Rimalt (General Zionist), postponing the elections for a further period of six to twelve months. During this period it was expected that new and more effective regulations for the elections would be enacted. Another law, dated April 4, 1961, extended the judicial functions of Chief Rabbi Nissim as president of the Supreme Rabbinical Court until the election of a new rabbinate.

In March 1961 there were 195 local religious councils and 367 rabbis receiving their salaries from public funds, besides 64 dayyanim of the rabbinical courts. In 1960–61, 328 additional synagogues were built with the aid of the ministry of religious affairs, bringing the total to about 3,500. The ministry granted subventions to 178 yeshivot, with 10,000 students; over a thousand new students were accepted during the year.

The contract for the building of the new church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, expected to be one of the most modern Catholic churches in the Middle East, was awarded by the Franciscan Order of the Custody of the Holy Land in October 1960 to Solel Boneh, Histadrut's contracting concern. The architect was Professor Giovanni Muzio of Milan University. The Carmelite church in Haifa and the St. Joseph Greek Orthodox church in Nazareth were completed during the year. The government granted official recognition to the new Armenian Orthodox patriarch, Bishop Yegisha Dardinian, on March 5, 1961.

ISRAELI ARABS

There were seven Arab members in the Fifth Kneset, elected on August 15, 1961; four belonged to two lists affiliated with Mapai, one to Mapam, and two to the Communist party.

Under a comprehensive plan to furnish all Arab villages with basic utilities within five years, 30 additional villages were to be provided with approach roads, 64 were to be connected to the electricity network, and 40 were to receive running water. The plan also called for the extension of autonomous local government, the development of tourism in Nazareth, vocational train-
ing, village housing, and the construction of clinics and other public build-
ings. A fund was established to develop Arab industry and handicrafts.

Up to March 31, 1961, 8,000 compensation claims had been submitted
by Arabs moved from their holdings for security reasons, and two-thirds
had been settled. Compensation granted totaled £9,750,000 and 7,500
acres of land valued at £15 million.

Over £500,000 of \textit{waqf} (Moslem religious foundation) funds had been
used for health, educational, and welfare purposes up to the end of the year
under review, and an additional £250,000 was allocated for the 1961–62
financial year.

The Qadis Law, regulating the appointment and authority of the religious
judges of the Moslem Shar'iya courts, was enacted on May 22, 1961.

There were 40,000 pupils and 1,340 teachers in the 133 kindergartens,
152 primary schools, and 10 secondary schools maintained by the state for
the Arab population. The number of schools and pupils had quadrupled,
and the number of teachers increased almost sixfold, since 1949. About
400 Arabs and Druses were employed by the state, not counting teachers and
400 police, and courses were being offered to train more for entry into the
civil service.

\textbf{PERSONALIA}

Jacob Cahan, Hebrew poet and writer, died in Petah-Tikvah on November
21, 1960, at the age of 79. Abraham Jacob Friedman, the Sadigora rebbe,
died on December 23, 1960, at the age of 76. Collin Gilon-Gluckman, Israeli
state attorney, died in Jerusalem on April 10, 1961, at the age of 52. Jacob
Hodess, journalist and Zionist, died in Jerusalem on February 22, 1961, at
the age of 75. Tsevi Pesah Frank, Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Jerusalem, died
in Jerusalem on December 10, 1960, at the age of 76. Jacob Kahan, Hebrew
poet and writer, died in Tel-Aviv on November 20, 1960, at the age of 79.
Aaron Klaus, journalist and news editor of \textit{Ma'ariv}, died in Tel-Aviv on
June 19, 1961, at the age of 47. Leo Judah Kohn, political adviser to the
foreign ministry, professor of international relations at the Hebrew Uni-
versity, and author of Israel's proposed draft constitution, died in Jerusalem
on June 3, 1961, at the age of 67. Benjamin Mintz, minister of posts, died
in Tel-Aviv on May 30, 1961, at the age of 58. Perez Naphtali, labor and
economic expert and former cabinet member, died in Tel-Aviv on April
30, 1961, at the age of 73. Emanuel Olsvanger, Zionist and folklorist, died
in Jerusalem on February 7, 1961, at the age of 72. Baruch Ostrovsky,
mayor of Raanana, died in Tel-Aviv in July 1961, at the age of 70. A. L.
Riklis, journalist and author, died in Tel-Aviv on July 27, 1961, at the
age of 74. Manya Schochat, a founder of the Histadrut, died in Tel-Aviv
on February 17, 1961, at the age of 81. Rabbi Jacob M. Toledano, Israeli
minister of religion, died in Jerusalem on October 16, 1960, at the age of 80.

\textbf{Misha Louvish}
For the Arab Middle East, the period under review (July 1960 to June 1961) was not unusually turbulent. Much remained unchanged: East-West competition, the arms race with Israel, the conflict between oil-producing states and Western companies, the hostility at the UN and at the Arab League against Israel and its “imperialist” supporters. Various personal rivalries persisted, along with the divisions between reactionary and radical regimes. And somewhat beneath it all an infinitude of social-economic problems yet remained. Perhaps the most basic was still the deep-seated and widespread human inertia, despite all the verbal agitation on the surface.

But some important changes did occur. Arab radical-popular nationalism, led by President Gamal Abdul Nasser of the UAR, became more clearly neutralist in the cold war. More and more, Cairo was a center for a possible world “third force,” as the UAR expanded its influence in the Afro-Asian bloc.

Although the region’s main economic ties were with the West, the Communist bloc continued to exert a strong ideological attraction. Soviet cultural missions and economic credits flowed in, particularly to Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Internationally, Communists and radical Arab nationalists often cooperated, but at home Nasser suppressed Egyptian and Syrian Communists, while Premier Abdul Karim Kassim took like measures against Iraqi Communists. Both Iraq and the UAR openly quarreled with Moscow over the alleged subversive activity of native Communists. Nevertheless, Soviet economic and technical aid to both countries continued.

Collective Arab Activities

Most collective Arab activity had to do with strengthening anti-Israel measures and with occasional harsh words against France for its Algerian policy, its nuclear tests, and its partnerships with Israel, against Britain for its alleged imperialism in the Persian Gulf and Aden, and against the United States for its part in establishing Israel.

The various Arab offices for the boycott of Israel elaborated their black-

* For meaning of abbreviations, see p. 497.
list. The Suez Canal remained closed to Israeli shipping. Fewer voices in the UN were heard in protest, and there was little opposition to the UAR's election in September 1960 to the Security Council seat vacated by Tunisia.

Relatively, it was a quiet year at the UN regarding the thirteen-year-old Arab-Israeli impasse. Though frontier incidents were not infrequent, in 1960 not a single dispute was brought before the Security Council.

In November 1960 UN representative Ahmad Shukairy of Saudi Arabia proposed that the Palestine Conciliation Commission be expanded to include more delegates from the Soviet Union and from neutralist countries. He also advanced a plan for refugee aid which would have had the UN administer confiscated Arab properties in Israel. This plan, slightly revised, was introduced as a resolution by five Moslem states on April 10, 1961. Though it secured a majority in the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly, over United States opposition, it failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in the General Assembly on April 21.

In May President John F. Kennedy sent letters to Arab leaders expressing the American government's willingness to help solve the Arab refugee problem (see p. 274). Initial responses were generally noncommittal.

Arab efforts against Israel outside the UN were of limited significance. Cairo several times succeeded in having neutralist nations agree on anti-Israel resolutions (for example, at the African "summit conference" in Casablanca in January 1961). While these were disquieting to Israel in view of the aid she was giving to such signatories as Ghana, Guinea, and Mali, they were limited in their practical effect. The Arab League's own activities were on the whole ineffectual. Some refugee detachments trained in the Gaza strip as part of the proposed Palestine liberation army. But the Higher Arab Committee for Palestine asserted that the September 1960 conference of Arab League foreign ministers had not adopted any meaningful resolution for setting up a Palestinian army; Jordan, on the other hand, opposed all measures to re-establish Arab Palestine as a separate entity.

In April 1961 the League's economic council postponed decision on proposals for the organization of an Arab common market or free-trade area. The Arab League took no action on UAR proposals for sanctions against Iran for the Shah's reported de facto recognition of Israel in July 1960. (Actually Iran had recognized Israel de facto after she became a state in 1948. In 1951 when Premier Mohammed Mossadegh nationalized the country's oil resources and started on a policy of wooing the Arab states, he withdrew his diplomatic representative in Israel, but officially the recognition was not cancelled. In July 1960 the Shah of Iran, answering a question at a press conference, simply stated that Iran continued to recognize Israel. Nasser turned this into a major diplomatic controversy and applied pressure to the other Arab states for the sanctions.)

**LEBANON**

The Lebanese elections of July 1960 resulted in a victory for the parties represented in the government of national union formed after the 1958
revolution, and a clear defeat for the followers of former President Camille Chamoun. During the ensuing nine months Saeb Salem, a prosperous Sunni Moslem, acted as premier and interior minister. His cabinet of 18 was the largest in Lebanese history.

Attacks on the UAR by the Communist press, Ba'athists, and Phalangists, and the activities of Syrian exiles, brought protests from Nasser. Anxious for concord, Premier Salem warned against any abuse of Lebanon's free press which might injure the government's external relations. Tighter restrictions were imposed on the activities of political refugees. In late February, Salem reported that relations with the UAR were again satisfactory.

In May there was a minor cabinet crisis amid threats of assassination against Salem. Despite a vote of confidence in the parliament, the premier resigned.

Lebanon continued to be the Arab Middle East's chief entrepreneur, functioning as a transit country, with free markets and a large service sector. This role, however, tended to discourage the development of domestic industry. In December textile manufacturers closed down their mills in protest against the competition of imported textiles.

Emigrant remittances continued to bolster the national income substantially. In September the first conference of Lebanese emigrants opened in Beirut under government sponsorship. Negotiations over transit royalties from the British-owned pipe-line crossing Lebanon from Iraqi oil fields (Tapline) continued intermittently during the period under review.

**Jewish Community**

Less vocal in its hostility toward Israel than the other belligerents of 1948, Lebanon nevertheless participated actively in Arab League and boycott programs.

In April 1961 by order of the Lebanese ministry of education, all books on Israel were withdrawn from the British Council in Beirut and the American University of Beirut.

As a result of immigration, mainly from Syria, the Jewish population of Lebanon stood at about 9,000 (in 1947 it had been 6,000). Though there was neither spiritual leadership nor active community life, it was reported that about 750 children attended the Alliance Israelite Universelle school in Beirut, one of the few in the Middle East not closed down nor Arabized.

**JORDAN**

Jordan's political existence, narrowly based on the person of the monarch and the allegiance he received from the country's Bedouin minority, was constantly threatened. The summer of 1960 saw continued UAR-Jordan acrimony, accompanied by plots, defections, and accusations. Israel and Iraq both threatened to counteract any move into Jordan by the UAR.

In August 1960 Jordan declared its opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian government and the formation of a Palestinian army, agreed to
in theory by both Iraq and the UAR. Jordan feared that the proposal posed a threat to the 1949 union of Transjordan and Arab Palestine. The establishment of a Palestinian Arab state would have deprived Jordan of sovereignty over two-thirds of its citizenry. In July 1960 the Jordanian Council of Ministers had clearly asserted its claim to Palestinian sovereignty by approving a proposal to give Jordanian passports to all Palestinians living abroad.

On August 29 after a temporary halt in the Cairo-Amman radio war and after a promised reconciliation with regard to the Arab League's Palestine proposals, Premier Hazza' Majali was killed in his Amman office by a time-bomb explosion. However, a crisis was averted when King Hussein proved to have the situation under control without requiring British aid (available even though the Anglo-Jordan treaty had been abrogated in 1957). A new cabinet was appointed under the premiership of Bahjat Talhuni.

Hussein soon began a series of moves to end Jordan's isolation from the other Arab states. In October 1960 Jordan recognized the Iraqi regime of Premier Kassim, who had overthrown Hussein's cousin Faisal in 1958. In March 1961 it was learned that in February Hussein had sent a personal letter to President Nasser, suggesting that the UAR-Jordan estrangement be ended for the sake of Arab unity. Cairo responded in a similar vein, and popular demonstrations in Amman coupled the names of Hussein and Nasser in their cheers.

In May 1961 Hussein took what was considered a bold and perhaps unwise step by marrying the daughter of an English engineer attached to the Jordanian army. To mollify the numerous objectors, it was announced that she would not have the status of queen.

Economically, Jordan, an overcrowded desert kingdom, continued to depend on large injections of foreign aid. The United States was the major source. American aid for 1961 was set at $56.5 million; of this, $40 million was to cover deficits and budgetary expenses and $16.5 million was for economic and technical aid.

To meet losses in the harvest, due to drought, the United States also gave Jordan 25,000 tons of wheat. Counterpart funds from its sale in Jordan were used together with aid from UNRWA and the United Kingdom to expand public relief-work projects. Jordan improved its general infrastructure, especially roads and port facilities. Its first oil refinery, Italian-built, was opened in February. Phosphate exports from the Dead Sea increased.

IRAQ

Iraq's concerns were mainly internal. In contrast to the jubilant first-anniversary celebrations of the July 17, 1958, revolution, the second-anniversary celebrations in July 1960 were marked by somber military regulations and popular disenchantment. Politically, the charged atmosphere was due to Premier Kassim's repression of party activity, notably that of the Communists. (One consequence of Kassim's break with the Communists was the disappearance of the Communist-influenced people's court, which had played a prominent role in the first year of the revolution.)
Though Kassim harassed the Communists and their propaganda organs and thus lost the support he had formerly received from Communist-led street mobs, he also continued to repress anti-Communist nationalist groups. The religious Islamic party was almost completely disbanded, especially in Mosul province, the area of bloody insurrections in 1959. Through the autumn of 1960 there was additional evidence of Kassim's middle-of-the-road policy: several pro-Communist and nationalist cabinet ministers were forced to resign; three leading nationalists in the army were arrested and 14 others were retired; nationalist and Communist newspapers alike were suppressed. Still, Kassim appeared to have firm control over the army.

Iraqi foreign policy continued to coincide in large part with that of the Communist bloc. Soviet technicians, trade missions, and loans (680 million rubles—about $170 million at what was then the official rate—since 1959) continued. But the USSR quarreled intermittently with Iraq over Kassim's policy toward Iraqi Communists.

Because of its internal difficulties, Iraq offered little competition to Egypt's leadership of the Arab cause. While backing Jordan in the latter's contest with the UAR, it gave but small support to the establishment of a Palestinian army and the Arab protest against Iranian-Israeli relations. In February Iraq announced plans to send diplomatic missions to Brazil, Argentina, Yugoslavia, Nigeria, and Scandinavia.

In October 1960 Iraq and Jordan renewed diplomatic relations. In April, after hostility with the UAR had abated, the border with Syria was reopened. In June and July 1961 Kassim declared his intention to incorporate the oil sheikhdom of Kuwait into Iraq. Iraq's position received no support from other Arab countries, but was backed by the USSR.

Despite its own oil resources and no problem of overpopulation, the Iraqi economy stagnated. In December an ambitious new five-year plan, prepared by Polish and Czech advisors, was inaugurated. Public-sector investment was to be dominant, mostly in extending irrigation works and infrastructure.

The oil issue was topical throughout the period under review. World supply, increasing faster than demand, tended to force prices down. At the same time, the oil-producing countries, both in the Middle East and elsewhere, sought to replace the existing theoretical 50-50 division of oil revenues with one more advantageous to them. Generally they sought to achieve this by more state control and more state capital investment in the companies and by changes in cost and profit computation in favor of the producing states.

While asking for a revision of the Iraq Petroleum Company's (IPC) concession, Iraq also sought to decrease its dependence on that company, which was controlled by British, American, and French interests. Despite repeated deadlocks in negotiation, IPC yielded to the Iraqis on a number of points. It resumed production at Rumailah in July 1960, and in September, under pressure from the OPEC organization (Oil Producing Export Countries: Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Iran, Venezuela), increased the posted price for crude oil.
The government did not respond to a press campaign in December by both Communists and nationalists for the nationalization of the French interest in IPC.

In July 1960 it was reported that the Iraqi directorate general of oil affairs had sold an unspecified amount of crude oil to Communist China and East Germany at four per cent above the world price. In January 1961 a subsidiary of the Italian state-owned ENI (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi, headed by Enrico Mattei) won the contract to lay a natural-gas pipeline from the Rumailah oil field to Basra port.

SYRIA

Four years after joining the UAR, Syria was a restive junior partner. Soviet aid and missions was continuous. In November 1960 Tass announced that the Soviet Union would help in the construction of a Quamishli-Aleppo-Latakia railway and of nitrate and lubricant plants. Aside from Ford Foundation grants and deliveries of surplus wheat, flour, and fodder, there was little new United States aid.

In March 1961 all privately-owned banks were placed under close government control. On November 26, 1960, Nasser established a UAR development committee for Syria. In February, Egypt was reported to have transferred capital into Syria to meet urgent requirements. Land reform was accelerated, with the distribution of some 30 million dunam scheduled for 1962 rather than the originally-planned 1964.

Most of Cairo's economic directives, however, involved the imposition of controls, especially on the export of Syrian funds. The tightening of import quotas raised the prices of imported goods, sharpened the conservative Syrian merchant's old anti-Egyptian bias, and stimulated smuggling.

Politically, anti-Cairo feeling was strongest among the disbanded Ba'athists and Communists, in Syria itself or in exile. (In July 1960 Nasser appointed Nuraddin Kuhalla as vice president for the Syrian region to replace the Ba'athist Akram Hourani who had resigned in December 1959.) Conservative quarters, once in favor of union with Hashemite Iraq, had no organized channels through which to express their opposition, and they could not look to Kassim's Iraq for inspiration.

The most important source of overt opposition was the Egyptianization of the Syrian army. Syrian resentment had reportedly even led to some fraternization with Jordanian officers. To alleviate the discontent in Syrian military circles, Egyptian officers were removed from command over Syrian troops.

EGYPT

During the period under review, President Nasser placed increasing stress on Egypt's mission to Africa—military, political, economic, religious. The arms race with Israel persisted, with overtones of competing missiles and atomic weapons for the future. While Egyptian armaments were still mainly Soviet-built, domestic production (including jet fighters) was rising.
In July 1960 the first general congress of the UAR National Union met. (Nasser was named chairman, and his cabinet ministers in Egypt and Syria formed the union's supreme executive committee.) Later in that month, the first parliament of the UAR convened to enact the National Union's resolutions into law. The 1960 resolutions, in the main, merely called on the government to continue its policies.

In the same month "heroic" plans of investment were announced along with promises to accelerate economic nationalization. Extensive Belgian assets were seized. The government claimed that this was in reprisal for Belgian-inspired measures taken against the UAR in the Congo. In accordance with the law of January 1957 giving foreign banks five years to Egyptianize themselves, foreign employees of Italian and Greek banks were preparing to leave.

Economically, Egypt had a relatively good year. Industrial capacity increased, the adverse balance of trade was narrowed, and cotton sales to the United Kingdom were at a new high. Suez Canal traffic set new records, and netted the government, for the year ending in October 1960, over $47 million—16½ times the royalties received in 1955, before nationalization.

Credits from East and West accrued. In June 1960 Russian and Czech aid for financing the second stage of the construction of the Aswan Dam was arranged. In August the USSR provided additional credit of 900 million rubles ($225 million at the official rate, $90 million at the tourist rate).

United States aid to both regions of the UAR was estimated to be about $100 million a year. In 1960 the Soviet Union was Egypt's biggest customer and the United States was fifth.

In October 1960 Egypt's population exceeded 26 million, and Syria's approximated 4.5 million.

**Foreign Affairs**

In July 1960 state visitors to Cairo included Raul Castro of Cuba and General Ibrahim Abboud of the Sudan. On November 27 Nasser went to Khartoum to return Abboud's visit. They stressed their agreement on plans for the Nile valley and their neutralism in the cold war. On November 11 President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan paid a state visit to Egypt.

In September 1960 President Nasser addressed the UN General Assembly in New York. Before and during his visit to New York, Nasser conferred with numerous foreign statesmen, including United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev.

Full diplomatic relations between the UAR and Great Britain, partially restored after the Suez crisis of 1956, were restored in full in January 1961.

The UAR was active in extending its influence in many of the new African states. It pushed through anti-Israel, anti-colonialist resolutions at the African "summit conference" in January. It organized missions to sell Egyptian-manufactured goods in African markets. In January plans were revealed to launch UAR-sponsored Islamic missionary work in Africa; paralleling the Voice of the Arabs in the political propaganda field was to be a Voice of
Islam. UAR embassies and legations in Africa and parts of Asia were to have religious attachés.

Inter-Africa rivalries necessarily made any UAR position a non-neutral one. Thus the UAR's support of newly independent Somalia provoked hostility in Ethiopia in the summer of 1960. Its support of Patrice Lumumba and Antoine Gizenga in the Congo had wider ramifications.

On August 20, 1960, 500 UAR paratroopers joined the UN force in the Congo. On September 12 the UAR declared its intention to withdraw them in protest against "deviations" and "flagrant violations of Congolese sovereignty" on the part of the UN forces.

On December 1 Belgian companies in Egypt were nationalized, in retaliation for the expulsion of the UAR ambassador from the Congo by Congolese President Joseph Kasavubu on a charge of conspiring with the deposed prime minister, Patrice Lumumba. The UAR claimed that Belgium had instigated Kasavubu's action. Diplomatic relations between UAR and Belgium were severed on February 25 and the next day Nasser placed all Belgian property in the UAR under immediate sequestration.

On February 16, President Kennedy, directing his remarks at the USSR and the UAR, warned against unilateral intervention in the Congo and the supplying of arms to Gizenga. On February 17 the deputy foreign minister of the UAR denied the charge. However, on February 21 Nasser publicly declared that the UAR was aiding the Stanleyville regime and would continue to do so.

On February 23 the UAR warned the president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, that an exchange of ambassadors between Israel and Cyprus (independent since August 16, 1960) would have "grave consequences."

On April 20 Nasser and Tito issued a communiqué directed against the United States' anti-Castro position. On May 4 they announced plans for a world neutralist conference. President Nasser revealed plans to visit South America in the autumn of 1961.

In the spring of 1961 Moscow-Cairo relations were strained by Soviet charges that the UAR was persecuting Arab Communists. As of June 1961, charges and counter-charges were still being exchanged in speeches and articles.

**Jewish Community**

The population of the once thriving Egyptian Jewish community was estimated at four to seven thousand. On November 13 Chief Rabbi Haim Nahum died (see below).

The reduced community lacked leadership and will. Jewish schools, like Christian schools and schools under English and French sponsorship, were Arabized. The nationalized press frequently contained denunciations of world and American Jewry, in addition to Israel and Zionism. The Nazi film *Jud Süss* was shown on UAR television as part of the fourth-anniversary celebration of the Anglo-French-Israeli Suez "defeat."

On December 5 the state council of the Egyptian region decreed that any
national, "sympathizing" publicly or privately with Zionism, should be deprived of his nationality and civic rights.

The government's continuing confiscatory policies affected Jews, as well as other minorities and even native Moslem Egyptians. A substantial portion of Belgian and French property nationalized was Jewish-owned (the Jewish-founded Cairo Bank, for example, formerly known as Banc Suarès).

**Personalia**

On November 13 Haim Nahum, chief rabbi of Egypt, died after a long illness at the age of 88. He had been a member of the Arabic Language Society and recipient of honors from Austria (1916), Turkey (1909, 1919), and France (1935). He was considered an expert on Jewish, Islamic, Egyptian, and Christian history, theology, and law, and on French and Semitic languages. Ordained in 1897 at the Ecole Rabbinique in Paris, Rabbi Nahum taught in his native Turkey at the rabbinical school in Istanbul. In 1908 he became grand rabbi of the Ottoman empire, and in 1924 he accepted the chief rabbinate of Egypt. Rabbi Nahum was at the forefront of Jewish intellectual and entrepreneurial contributions to the modernization of Egypt. He was on cordial terms with the nationalist Wafdist leader Sa'id Zaghloul and with King Fuad, father of Farouk. Though not a Zionist, he knew many of the movement's leaders, including Herzl and Weizmann.

Rabbi Nahum had been blind since 1938. His passing ended an era in both Sephardi Jewish life and Egyptian national life.

**ADEN**

In August 1960 the British colony of Aden again witnessed conflicts between the pro-Nasser socialist trade-union council and the colonial government. Aden's Arabic press was actively anti-Israel, and the Arab merchants participated in the Arab boycott of Israel. Conflict continued between Britain and the Arab states in general and Saudi Arabia and Yemen in particular over Arab support for the Imam of Oman against the British-protected Sultan of Muscat and Oman, and over the rival claims of Saudi Arabia and the British-protected Sheikh of Abu Dhabi to the Buraimi oasis.

**OMAN**

In late September the Deputy Imam of Oman was invited to Moscow by the Soviet Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity. On September 30 the members of the Arab League unsuccessfully requested the UN General Assembly to put the question of Oman on the agenda for the new session.

**KUWAIT**

Tiny Kuwait, with a population of about 200,000—most of them citizens of other states—was fourth in total oil production after the United States, the
USSR, and Venezuela, producing almost a third of all Middle East oil. From 1899 to July 1961 Kuwait had been a British protectorate. Then Britain announced the abrogation of the protectorate treaty, leaving Emir Abdullah as-Salim as-Sabah as the territory’s absolute ruler, although still well supplied with British advisers. Iraq, which had on paper long asserted a claim to Kuwait, now announced the annexation of the sheikhdom, designating the sheikh as temporary administrator on behalf of the Iraqi government. The sheikh replied by appealing for help both to Britain and to the Arab League. Although Premier Kassim declared that Iraq would use only peaceful means to effect the annexation, Britain rushed troops to the sheikh’s defense. Both sides raised the question in the UN Security Council, which debated it but did not intervene. And the Arab League, despite Iraqi objections, admitted Kuwait to membership. It was later agreed that troops from other Arab states would replace the British forces in Kuwait.

Behind the dispute lay the fact that Kuwait’s oil revenues, after providing luxury for those around the sheikh and a high standard of living and social services for the rest of the population, still left huge sums each year available for other purposes. For Kuwait, unable to develop a normal economy because it lacked domestic sources of water, the investment of these funds promised continued prosperity when the oil ran out. For Britain, the investment of Kuwait’s surplus revenue had in recent years furnished an important source of new capital in the London market. For Iraq, the riches of Kuwait offered an escape from the financial difficulties in which the Kassim regime found itself. For the Arab countries without major oil resources—above all the UAR—a shift of Kuwaiti investment from London to the Arab world might enable them to finance all or part of their development plans without recourse to the great powers. It seemed likely that in return for the Arab League’s support, Kuwait had promised some such shift in investment policy. (A small beginning had already been made with loans to Jordan and Lebanon.)

YEMEN

In March the USSR completed construction of the port of Hodeida on the Red Sea for Yemen, enabling the Yemenis to avoid use of the port of Aden. (The Imam of Yemen claimed the Aden Protectorate.) Yemen also received aid from the UAR, Communist China, and the United States. Trade agreements were made and missions exchanged with North Korea, East Germany, and Yugoslavia.

SAUDI ARABIA

On December 19 Crown Prince Faisal resigned as premier of Saudi Arabia and King Saud became acting premier. Faisal had aroused the opposition of many members of the royal family by refusing to allocate funds for their personal use with the liberality which they thought proper, but which had
previously created huge debts despite the country's huge oil revenues. At the same time these policies, as well as his sympathy for the UAR, had won Faisal substantial support from the growing urban population.

On March 16 it was announced that Saudi Arabia would not renew the 1957 treaty establishing a United States air base at Dhahran (see p. 279). The United States promised to turn over the base plus a $5-million airline terminal, as yet uncompleted, in April 1962. On April 11 King Saud said that United States aid to Israel was a major cause for his ending the lease at Dhahran. It seemed probable that the cancellation was a gesture of independence from foreign influence aimed at getting general Arab nationalist support and at the same time reducing Faisal's favored position among nationalists.

The refusal of Saudi Arabia to permit American Jews to serve at the Dhahran base had long been a subject of internal dispute in the United States (AJYB, 1957 [Vol. 58], pp. 218–19; 58 [Vol. 59], pp. 216–17): it was raised during the period under review in connection with the barring of an official visit by Congressman Seymour Halpern (Rep. N. Y.) in June 1961 because he was a Jew. The United States government held that Saudi Arabia was entitled to ban any persons it pleased under the terms of the base agreement.

On April 12 it was announced that Saudi Arabia's first long-range economic program was being set up, with the advice of the World Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Prince Talal, nominally King Saud's finance minister but in effect prime minister, also announced plans for a school for modern administration.

**SUDAN**

In November 1960 the Sudan celebrated the second anniversary of General Ibrahim Abboud's military takeover. With increased internal order plus an exceptional cotton crop, the Sudanese economy had a relatively good year in 1960. Supporting Nasser's neutralism in the cold war, the Sudan received aid from both East and West. On January 9 an agreement was signed for the doubling of Sudanese-Soviet trade in 1961, but the economy remained largely dependent on British capital and markets.

In December Abboud responded to demands for restoration of civilian rule by declaring that the military would step down only when "all the revolution's aims were fulfilled."

In September 1960 *ath-Thawra*, the official government newspaper, accused several Jews, allegedly in league with Israel, of poisoning a number of students at Khartoum University.

**Phillip J. Baram**