

Israel

AN ERA in the history of independent Israel came to an abrupt end on Yom Kippur, October 6, 1973, with the massive crossing of the Suez Canal by Egyptian forces and the Syrian onslaught on the Israel-held Golan Heights.

The first three-quarters of the year seemed to be a natural continuation of the period since the six-day war. Despite President Anwar al-Sadat's repeated threats and the heavy concentrations of Egyptian men and matériel on the west bank of the Suez Canal, Egypt was not thought to be strong enough to start an attack, and it was taken for granted that Syria would not start shooting without Egypt.

There was little trouble in the Israel-administered areas of Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank"), and the Gaza Strip; the Jordanian government and army were in firm control, effectively preventing any crossing of the Jordan River by Palestinian *fedayeen*; in fact, the situation was regarded by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and his associates as almost tantamount to *de facto* peace with Jordan.

Government, parliament, and people were preoccupied mainly with domestic affairs: rapid inflation and labor unrest; the gap between rising standards of living and pockets of poverty, particularly in the Oriental communities. These were expected to be the principal issues in the Keneset elections on October 30.

The war and its aftermath totally transformed the scene. The people realized that the country had been in deadly danger during the early stage of the war, and the danger was far from over. Confidence in the invincibility of the Israel Defense Forces and reliance on the leadership's ability to safeguard Israel's security under all conditions were seriously undermined.

Even the military victory with which the war ended appeared to be nullified by political isolation on the international scene, in which the only ray of light was the support of the United States. The future was shrouded in uncertainty.

The elections, postponed to December 31, seriously weakened the

ruling Labor-Mapam Alignment, which was now confronted by an opposition bloc of unprecedented strength. The people looked forward to the peace negotiations at the Geneva Conference with qualified hope as well as grave forebodings.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Population

At the end of 1973, the population of Israel was estimated at 3,302,000: 2,806,000 Jews and 496,000 non-Jews, including some 372,000 Muslims, 83,000 Christians and 41,000 Druse and others. The number of Jews increased during the year by 85,300, or 3.1 per cent; non-Jews by 3.9 per cent. Surplus of immigration over emigration accounted for about 40,000 of the rise in the Jewish population, and natural increase for the rest.

Immigration

Immigration remained fairly stable, ranging between 2,200 and 3,300 a month between January and September. The total for 1973 was 54,676, compared with 55,888 in 1972; 80 per cent arrived as immigrants, 14 per cent were temporary residents, 4 per cent were tourists who changed their status to that of temporary residents, and 2 per cent were tourists settling as *olim*. Sixty per cent came from the Soviet Union and 7.3 per cent from other parts of Eastern Europe; 5.9 per cent came from Western Europe, 8.5 per cent from North Africa, and the remainder from Australia and New Zealand. The vocational and age characteristics of the settlers were not markedly different than in the previous year.

Before Yom Kippur War

ECONOMIC SITUATION

In the I£ 19.8 billion budget for 1973-74 presented to the Keneset on January 8, income-tax tables were revised, exempting monthly earnings of up to I£ 600 (about \$140) and reducing marginal rates on higher incomes. Defense, at over I£ 6 billion, remained the largest

single item of expenditure, but its share in the total budget fell to 30.5 per cent, from 42 per cent in 1971-72. Almost I£ 4.5 billion were allocated to social services, with education the largest single item at I£ 1.7 billion, 44 per cent higher than in the previous year. Fifty-five thousand dwellings were to be built in 1973-74, against 49,000 in 1972-73, with priority and special aid for new immigrants, young couples, and large families.

The rise in the standard of living of the bulk of the population was evident: more and more cars appeared on the roads, and there was much conspicuous consumption. At the same time, there was widespread concern over the condition of the lower-income groups.

Yitzhak Ben-Aharon, secretary-general of the Histadrut, was strongly critical of the government's economic policies, particularly those associated with Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, which he called "Socialism in reverse." He charged that public money was squandered on concessions and incentives to industrialists, and that, "while the *nouveau riche* wax fatter," there were "60-70,000 families living in poverty."

In June the prime minister's Committee on Disadvantaged Youth, consisting of 126 experts, reported that in 1968-69 there were 160,000 disadvantaged children from the point of view of family income, substandard housing, or parents' educational status; 25,000 of them were disadvantaged by all three criteria. The cabinet established a Youth Authority, staffed by representatives of the ministries dealing with social affairs and headed by Colonel Baruch Levy, who represented the prime minister.

Prime Minister Golda Meir told the Knesset on July 25 that there had been some progress: 80 per cent of Jewish three-year-olds, 90 per cent of four-year-olds, and 97 per cent of five-year-olds attended kindergarten; 48 per cent of boys and girls aged 14 to 17, whose parents came from Asia or Africa, attended secondary schools, compared with 36 per cent in 1967. Family allowances had been considerably increased and old-age pensions were to be linked to the average wage. In the past four years, the government had provided housing for 200,000 families.

The economic boom was accompanied by considerable price increases. The consumer price index rose by almost 16 points during the first half of 1973, and the Histadrut insisted that the cost-of-living allowance, which was usually revised annually, should be increased in July. In this inflationary atmosphere people were not inclined to wait for, or be satisfied with, an increased cost-of-living allowance. Skilled technicians and salaried professionals found that the allowance, which was paid only on the first I£ 700 of monthly wages, reduced the

financial advantage of their superior training and did not enable them to keep up their standard of living. As a result, there was a spate of strikes in the mid-year, by doctors in public employ, university lecturers, radio and TV staff, nurses, and customs officials, some of which were prolonged and caused great inconvenience to the public. In June the government introduced a qualified three-month price freeze, but there were further strikes of seamen, local authorities staff, and high-school teachers in August.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

For the first time since 1968, Independence Day, on Israel's 25th anniversary, was marked by a military parade in Jerusalem. Some misgivings had been expressed regarding the accent on military power in the celebrations and the costliness of the parade; one of the arguments that led the cabinet to decide in its favor was its appeal to tourists. Three American youngsters won the first three prizes in the annual Independence Day World Bible Contest for Jewish Youth, held in Jerusalem.

Ephraim Katzir, professor at the Weizmann Institute of Science, was nominated by the Labor party for the presidency of Israel to succeed Zalman Shazar, who was ineligible by law to serve a third term. In a secret ballot in the Labor party's central council, Katzir received 279 votes, against 221 for Deputy Keneset Speaker Yitzhak Navon. He was elected president by the Keneset on April 10, by a vote of 66 against 41 for Professor Elimelekh Urbach of the Hebrew University, proposed by the Gahal and the National Religious parties.

No further progress was made during the year with the Alignment-sponsored bill to replace the proportional representation system of Keneset elections by one under which the majority of members would be elected in multimember constituencies and the remainder on a countrywide list.

A law to finance the regular expenditure of political parties, in addition to their election expenses, was passed on January 24. Under it, parties would receive a subvention from state funds proportionate to the number of their members in the Keneset, provided that their books were audited by the state controller, that they spent only a limited additional sum out of their own resources, and that they received contributions to party funds only from individuals, and not from corporations. A percentage of the payments under the law was to be withheld pending the receipt of a favorable report from the state controller.

A bill to change the method of allocating Keneset seats was

presented by Avraham Ofer (Alignment) and Yohanan Bader. Under the existing system, each list received one seat for each multiple of a quota obtained by dividing the total of valid votes by 120, and seats still unallocated went to the lists with the largest remainders. The new bill proposed the reinstatement of the method used in the 1949 elections (known as the de Hondt method), which was designed to ensure, by a complex system of computation, that the seats unallocated according to complete multiples of the quota went to the lists with the largest average number of votes per seat. The unusual cooperation between the chief government party and the largest opposition bloc was matched by a combined assault of all the smaller ones, from the New Communist List to the Orthodox religious Agudat Israel, which denounced the proposal as a cynical plan tailored to suit the larger parties. Despite a prolonged parliamentary struggle, however, the Bader-Ofer bill was adopted, after a 17-hour session, on April 4.

A Labor-sponsored bill for the direct election of mayors and chairmen of local authorities was defeated on third reading on March 12.

ADMINISTERED AREAS

The question of policy in the administered areas came up again in March over the practical question of the purchase by Jews of Arab-owned land in the areas. Dayan advocated allowing Jews, as individuals, to buy such land from any Arab wishing to sell. In particular, he criticized the failure to go ahead with the plan to establish an urban community at Nebi Samwil, near Jerusalem, which had been opposed by Mayor Teddy Kollek as bad town planning, and by left-wing circles, including Mapam, as smacking of "creeping annexation." Golda Meir was against any change in the regulations, and her view was supported by a cabinet decision on April 8.

There was also controversy over Dayan's plan for a new port town to be called Yamit, west of Rafa on the Gaza Strip border, to strengthen the position of the Rafa area as a buffer zone in the event of a withdrawal from part of Sinai.

Meanwhile, the debate on policy in the administered territories (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 495) continued in the Labor party secretariat during the early part of the year and was summed up on April 12 by Mrs. Meir, Dayan, and Israel Galili, minister without portfolio. No resolution was adopted, but the three speakers agreed that, while the territories should not be formally annexed, there could be no withdrawal to the 1967 boundaries and that the government should promote Jewish settlement in the area of the historic Land of Israel.

Mrs. Meir emphasized that if the Arabs really wanted peace, then territories, irrespective of emotional attachments, would be no obstacle.

As the date of the general election approached, the parties began to prepare for the struggle. After a considerable period of uncertainty, Mrs. Meir informed the Labor party on June 17 that she would be willing to head its list of candidates again, thus averting a struggle for succession to the premiership. Dayan, however, continued to express disquiet at the absence of a clear-cut Labor party policy on the future of the administered areas and hinted that his participation in the Labor list for the elections should not be taken for granted.

It was decided that the party's cabinet ministers should try to hammer out an agreed policy, and their conclusions, drafted by Galili (known as the Galili Document), were unanimously approved by the party secretariat. The proposals provided for further Israeli settlement in the areas, including the establishment of an urban center (but not a new port town) in the Rafa area, a new suburb at Nebi Samwil, and measures for the rehabilitation and resettlement of Arab refugees; but they did not involve any change in the legal status of the territories or in the citizenship of their inhabitants. Arye Eliav, who had advocated Israeli recognition of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, vehemently denounced the proposals. Critics noted, too, that only about half the members of the secretariat had taken part in the vote.

A realignment at the other end of the political spectrum began with the resignation from regular army service of Major General Ariel ("Arik") Sharon, who joined the Liberal party. Sharon immediately started a campaign for the expansion of Gahal (the Herut-Liberal Bloc) into a broader union, as an alternative to the Labor-Mapam Alignment. He succeeded in getting negotiations started with the Free Center, led by Shmuel Tamir, who had broken away from Herut early in 1967, and with the National ("Mamlakhti") List, a breakaway from Rafi. There were bitter arguments over rival demands by these two groups for positions on the list of election candidates. Agreement on the establishment of a new bloc, called Likud ("Union"), which, in addition to the Free Center and the National List, included also a section of the Land of Israel Movement, was reached only on the eve of the Histadrut elections.

There were also attempts to form an alignment on the left. Most of the Israel Communist party (Maki), which had grown closer to the Zionist parties under the leadership of the late Moshe Sneh, joined with part of Siah (*Semol Yisre'eli Hadash*—Israel New Left), a breakaway group from Mapam, to form Moked (Focus), headed by Meir Pa'il. Other sections of Siah and Maki supported Uri Avneri's

Meri (*Mahaneh Radicali Yisre'eli*—formerly Ha-olam ha-Zeh), while Shalom Cohen, who had broken away from Avneri to form the Israel Democrats, combined with the Black Panthers movement of disadvantaged Oriental youth. A section of the latter presented a separate list called Blue-and-White Panthers.

The first trial of strength between the new groupings came in the elections to the 12th Histadrut convention, which were held on September 11. The Alignment campaign was led by Yitzhak Ben-Aharon; the choice of an Alignment candidate for the post of secretary-general was left to be decided after the convention.

Contrary to expectations, there was a rise in the percentage of voters from 65 to 68. The Alignment (together with its allied Ha-Oved ha-Dati—"Religious Workers") list, dropped 3 per cent, while the Likud gained exactly the same percentage as had its constituent parts in 1969. Moked won about the same percentage as Maki had in 1969, while Meri lost compared to the showing of Ha-Olam ha-Zeh. The main surprise of the election was the good showing of communal lists, which mainly represented the Oriental communities. Before the parliamentary election campaign could get into full swing after the Histadrut polls, it was interrupted by the outbreak of war.

Security Problems

In the area of security, the main problem was the activity of Arab terrorists against Jewish and Israeli targets abroad, in which Black September groups, associated with al-Fatah, played a prominent role. Toward the end of 1972 and at the beginning of 1973, Arab terrorists carrying arms and explosives were apprehended in the United Kingdom, Greece, Cyprus, and Austria. All of these, as well as the Arabs who attacked the Israel embassy in Bangkok in December 1972, had come from Lebanon, where, according to an Israeli statement, the terrorist organizations had their main headquarters and training camps.

A tragic event occurred on February 21, when a Libyan airliner passed unhindered through Egyptian air defenses into Sinai and circled over Israel military installations for almost 15 minutes, ignoring all signals to land for identification. Earlier, in January, intelligence warnings had been received of a terrorist plan to crash-land, with Libyan cooperation, an airliner packed with explosives in an Israeli city. When the aircraft ignored all warnings, shots were fired at its wings to force it down. The plane crashed on landing and all but three of its 110 passengers were killed. It was found that the plane had gone off course because of an extraordinary combination of errors by the

Cairo flight control and the French pilot, who had thought all the time that he was over Egyptian territory. Deep regret at the loss of life was voiced by the Israeli government, which offered full compensation to the relatives of the victims.

Attacks against Israeli targets took place in Madrid, Nicosia, Rome, Washington, and Athens. In July five persons were hurt by a bomb in the Mahane Yehudah Market in Jerusalem. On September 5 Italian security forces arrested five men, who had in their possession Soviet-made ground-to-air missiles capable of hitting a plane, near the Fiumicino International Airport (p. 459).

Israel struck at terrorist leaders and bases in Lebanon, and conducted other counter-terror activities which were not publicly disclosed.

On August 5 Aharon Yariv, former advisor to the prime minister on Arab terrorist activities, said that between May 1972 and June 1973 the terrorists had attempted 68 attacks abroad, 49 of which had been foiled. On August 10 an Iraq-bound Middle East Airlines passenger plane that had taken off from Beirut was intercepted by Israeli jets and instructed to land in Israel. It had been reported that George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, was on board; but he was not found, and the plane was permitted to leave.

Terrorist activity reached a peak on September 28, when three Soviet Jews on their way to Israel via Austria, together with an Austrian official, were kidnapped from a train near the Czech border. To obtain the release of the hostages, the Austrian government decided, in what the Israel government described as "an unjustified surrender to terrorist demands," to close the Jewish Agency transit camp for Soviet Jewish immigrants at Schoenau, near Vienna. On the following day Prime Minister Meir, who was in Strasbourg to address the Council of Europe, went to Vienna to persuade Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky to change the decision, but she did not succeed.

Public opinion was deeply shocked when it became known that four young Jews, who said their aim was revolution in Israel based on Marxist principles, were among 33 men who had been sentenced to imprisonment for belonging to a spy ring that worked with Syrian intelligence to collect information and train for sabotage operations.

There were few direct clashes with the regular armed forces of the neighboring Arab countries, and most of these were the result of terrorist activities or of the shelling of Israeli villages from Syrian territory. In a series of land and air clashes, which started at the end of 1972, six Syrian Mig 21 fighters and six tanks were destroyed. The Syrian border was comparatively quiet until September, when, after an

attack on an Israeli reconnaissance patrol some 20 miles off the coast, 13 Syrian fighter planes were shot down.

Chief of Staff Lieutenant General David Elazar stated on September 15 that Israel's action against terrorism had reduced the number of terrorist operations during the past eight months to one quarter of the figure for the corresponding period in 1972. He stated, however, that Israel still lived under the shadow of war. The Arab countries were amassing military equipment on an enormous scale, mainly from the Soviet Union, but also from the West.

Foreign Affairs

After the Vietnam cease-fire, the United States was expected to try to achieve some relaxation of tension in the Middle East. Early in the year, Prime Minister Meir went to Washington to discuss the situation, and, at a cordial meeting on March 1, President Richard M. Nixon reportedly promised continued United States economic and military support for Israel, prompting Mrs. Meir to comment: "I can say, as before, that we have a good friend at the White House." An agreement in June for the supply to Israel of American Phantom and Skyhawk aircraft was taken as an indication that the better understanding between the two countries was bearing fruit.

While relations with France, which persisted in wooing the Arabs at Israel's expense, remained chilly, and Britain's attitude, particularly at the United Nations, continued to arouse concern, there were favorable indications in other parts of Europe.

On January 15, Mrs. Meir was received in audience by Pope Paul VI at the Vatican—the first meeting between an Israeli prime minister and a Roman Catholic Pontiff (p. 461). Mrs. Meir was also received by President Giovanni Leone and the Italian foreign minister paid an official visit to Israel in March.

An event of historic significance was the visit in June by Willy Brandt, the first German head of state to be received in Israel.

Two more African states (Niger and Mali) severed relations with Israel in January, and Burundi followed suit in May; but there was no immediate indications of a further deterioration in Israel's relations with Black Africa.

President Sadat of Egypt frequently threatened to resume the war against Israel, as he had been doing from time to time ever since the end of 1970. In a May Day address, for example, he emphatically rejected the possibility of any negotiations, any interim settlement, or

any separate arrangement with Israel. Later in the month, threatening Egyptian troop concentrations were reported west of the Suez Canal. For a time, Israeli reserves were mobilized as a precautionary measure, but nothing happened and the reserves were sent home.

Israel responded immediately to a reported offer by Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba in June to discuss the possibility of an Israel-Arab settlement. Mrs. Meir disclosed on the 20th of the month that Israel had informed him through an intermediary of its readiness for such talks as soon as the place, time, and level of representation could be arranged. Bourguiba did not take up the offer.

The general atmosphere in Israel was one of confidence. In July, for example, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan revealed that the Defense Forces general headquarters were working on plans to reduce the terms of military service, saying: "Three years is a very long term to serve during a period of tranquility." On August 9 he maintained that, when the Arabs were ready to negotiate, "we must aspire to exchange military cease-fire lines for permanent borders, even at the cost of compromise and concession." However, less than two weeks later he declared that Israel was in a position to win any war with the Arabs until the end of the 1970s.

In September, amid talk of reviving the Arab eastern front with Israel which had been quiescent since September 1970, a summit conference was held in Cairo between the Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian leaders, followed by the resumption of diplomatic ties between Jordan and the other two.

In her Rosh Ha-shanah message, published on September 18, Golda Meir said there were signs that peace was becoming "less remote" and noted voices in some Arab capitals recognizing "the futility of a renewed war."

When Mrs. Meir returned to Israel on October 2 after her journey abroad (see above), she was informed of reports of large concentrations of Egyptian troops and equipment on the west bank of the Suez Canal and Syrian forces on the cease-fire lines in the northeast. However, there had been heavy troop concentrations on both fronts for the past three years, and the Israeli Intelligence believed the Egyptians were not strong enough to attack.

On October 5, the eve of Yom Kippur, the situation became more menacing. The army was placed on the alert, and next morning the reserves were mobilized. At 2 P.M. on the most solemn day of the Jewish calendar, the Egyptian and Syrian armies started massive assaults against the Israel positions on the Suez Canal and along the border of the Golan Heights. The Yom Kippur war had begun.

YOM KIPPUR WAR

The plans of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) for dealing with a full-scale war were based on the assumption that Military Intelligence would be able to give sufficient warning to allow for the orderly call-up of the reserves. There was no detailed plan for the eventuality that the regular forces alone would be confronted with an all-out attack on both fronts. Despite numerous signs of hostile intentions, the Intelligence still regarded the probability of all-out war as "lower than low" as late as the morning of October 5. Only early the next morning did the director of Military Intelligence realize that war would break out that day, and he estimated that the attack would come at 6 P.M. Not only did the reserves have to be mobilized in great haste; but when the Egyptians and Syrians attacked simultaneously at 2 P.M., the armor was not properly deployed in time, particularly on the Suez Front.

The Egyptians mounted massive artillery and air bombardments on IDF installations in Sinai and, with the use of the most up-to-date Russian bridging equipment, landed 70,000 men and 1,000 tanks on the east bank of the Suez Canal, setting up three major bridgeheads. In the first two days of the fighting, the scattered Israeli positions near the Canal—the so-called "Barlev Line" which sheltered some 500 soldiers manning the look-out posts—were overrun. On the north, some 40,000 Syrians with 800 tanks advanced into the Golan Heights despite desperate resistance.

Meanwhile, the reserves were being mobilized. Citizen soldiers were called out of the synagogues and, laying down their prayer-shawls and prayerbooks, rushed to their units. Valuable time was saved owing to the fact that almost all men were near home on the solemn day, and the roads were clear of traffic. By the next day, many of the reserve units with their equipment were already at the front and in contact with the enemy.

The Israeli command gave priority to regaining the initiative in the north, where there was an imminent threat to centers of population. Hundreds of Syrian tanks were destroyed in the Israeli counterattack. On October 9, after the Syrians had fired Frog ground-to-ground missiles at Israeli towns and villages, the Israel air force hit the defense ministry in Damascus and other military targets in Syria, including power stations and refineries. Iraq sent large forces to help the Syrians, but the IDF completed the expulsion of the Syrians from the Golan Heights.

Meanwhile, Israeli aircraft struck at the Egyptian bridges on the Canal and naval vessels in the Red Sea. The Egyptians were deployed

mainly in defensive positions along the east bank of the Canal and, despite heavy attacks by the Egyptian armor, the Israeli forces stabilized a new line facing them.

On October 10 the Soviet Union mounted a massive airlift of heavy equipment to Egypt and Syria. In view of this increased Soviet involvement, the Americans, four days later, began an airlift to replace Israeli losses in armor and aircraft, as well as ammunition used up during the fighting (p. 172).

While continuing to hold the Egyptians, the Israelis drove across the 1967 cease-fire lines with Syria and advanced along the Kuneitra-Damascus road. By October 13, their salient in Syria had been widened to some ten miles. Israel artillery shelled a military camp near Damascus and inflicted severe casualties on the Iraqis.

On October 14 the Egyptians opened an armored offensive all along the front, losing some 200 tanks without achieving any advance. The Israeli navy attacked an Egyptian naval base on the Gulf of Suez, sinking 25 boats, and, on the next day, shelled military installations in the port of Alexandria. Meanwhile, Algeria, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Jordan and Saudi Arabia had announced that they were sending contingents to join in the fighting.

On the evening of October 16, President Sadat declared that Egypt would continue fighting until it had recovered all the territories lost to the Israelis in 1967 and restored "the legitimate rights of the Palestinians." Next day, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Companies (OAPEC), meeting in Kuwait, announced that Arab oil production would be progressively reduced by five per cent a month until Israel withdrew from all occupied territories.

Sadat was apparently unaware that, as he spoke, the major turning point of the war was taking place. During the night of October 15-16, an Israeli force crossed the Canal north of the Great Bitter Lake and threatened the attacking Egyptian armies from the rear. On October 17, while fierce armor battles raged east of the Canal, the Israelis raided Egyptian missile bases and other installations on the other side.

During the next three days, while the Israeli salient in Syria was extended to a point some 25 miles from Damascus, the Israeli force across the Canal was reinforced, and pushed on to a depth of 12 to 15 miles. By October 21, the Egyptian Third Army, holding the southern half of the east bank of the Canal, was cut off from the Second Army in the north, while the Israelis on the other side continued to advance northward, southward, and westward, reaching a point 100 kilometers from Cairo on the Cairo-Suez road.

All this time, the UN Security Council had been paralyzed by the Soviet refusal to join the United States in calling for a cease-fire. But

now that the Arab forces, especially the Egyptians, were threatened with defeat, the Soviets changed their tune. On October 17 Soviet Premier Aleksei A. Kosygin flew to Cairo for talks with President Sadat. Two days later, after Kosygin had reported to Moscow, Communist Party Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev urgently asked President Nixon to send Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger to Russia for consultations. The results followed almost immediately.

On October 22 the Security Council passed a joint U.S.-Soviet resolution (No. 338) calling on the parties to stop all military activity within 12 hours (i.e. at 18.52 hours local time) "in the positions they now occupy," to start "the implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 242 in all its parts," and to open negotiations "under suitable auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East." An immediate exchange of prisoners of war was also called for on behalf of both powers. The resolution which, for the first time in the history of the Arab-Israel conflict, stipulated direct peace negotiations, was accepted by Israel and Egypt, and a few days later by Syria.

Both the Egyptians and the Syrians continued firing, however. The Egyptian Third Army made desperate efforts to break the Israeli stranglehold, and the Israeli forces east of the Canal, after waiting 12 hours for the shooting to subside, counterattacked. By October 24, they had reached the port of Adabiya on the Gulf of Suez, completing the encirclement of the Third Army and the town of Suez.

AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

Military and Diplomatic Struggle

When the cease-fire came into force, Israel found herself facing a new situation, fraught with danger and hardship but containing the seeds of a possible advance toward peace.

The IDF occupied some 1,600 square kilometers of Egyptian territory west of the Suez Canal and 400 square kilometers of Syria east of the 1967 cease-fire line. The situation was particularly intolerable for the Egyptians, whose Third Army was confronted with a humiliating surrender, and there was a dangerous escalation in the confrontation between the two super-powers. On October 25, following U.S. Intelligence reports that certain Soviet military units had been placed on the alert and that Soviet armed forces might intervene to extricate the Egyptians, a worldwide alert of U.S. military

forces was ordered. The Security Council, meeting on the same day, reiterated its demand for the observance of the cease-fire and decided to send a UN Emergency Force of several thousand men to the Middle East.

On the international scene, Israel was isolated as never before. The Arabs intensified the oil restrictions which they had imposed in the middle of the war, cutting off all supplies to the United States and to Holland, which they regarded as particularly friendly to Israel. While there was much public sympathy for Israel in the Western world, governments were acutely sensitive to Arab diplomatic and oil pressures. The Common Market countries and Japan, largely dependent on Middle East oil, issued statements favoring the Arab position, and almost all the black African states, bound by the dictates of African unity, broke off relations with Israel.

Meanwhile, the Egyptians, with strong Soviet backing, continued to demand an Israeli withdrawal to the "October 22 positions," which would enable them to keep their troops supplied. Under American pressure, Israel agreed, as a first step, to supply the beleaguered Egyptians with blood and plasma, and then to allow UN convoys to bring limited quantities of nonmilitary supplies to Suez and the Third Army—concessions that were severely criticized at home. For Israel, first priority was the exchange of prisoners; particular anxiety was felt over the fate of those held by the Syrians in view of the fact that the bodies of bound and mutilated Israeli soldiers were found on the northern battlefields.

The position remained dangerously unstable, particularly in the south where Israeli and Egyptian forces were in close contact and in each other's rear. There were repeated incidents, and the Third Army made several attempts to break out of its isolation.

Prime Minister Meir, who met President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger in Washington on November 1, suggested the straightening out of the cease-fire lines by withdrawing Israeli forces from the west side of the Canal and the Egyptians from the east bank. On November 7 Dr. Kissinger arrived in Cairo for talks on the situation, and a day later his assistant, Joseph Sisco, arrived in Israel with proposals for stabilizing the cease-fire.

On October 11 Egyptian and Israeli military delegations, under the chairmanship of Major General Ensio Siilasvuo, commander of the United Nations Emergency Force, met at Kilometer 101 on the Cairo-Suez highway—which thus became the scene of the first direct discussions since 1949 between Israeli and Egyptian representatives—and signed a six-point agreement. It provided that:

- 1) Both countries would scrupulously observe the cease-fire;

2) Discussions would start immediately to settle the question of the return to the October 22 positions in the framework of agreement on the disengagement and separation of forces;

3) The town of Suez would receive daily supplies of food, water and medicine, and wounded civilians would be evacuated;

4) There should be no impediment to the movement of nonmilitary supplies to the east bank of the Canal;

5) The Israeli checkpoints on the Cairo-Suez road should be replaced by United Nations checkpoints;

6) As soon as the UN checkpoints were established, there would be an exchange of all prisoners of war.

The exchange of prisoners was completed on November 22; 241 Israelis were exchanged for 8,301 Egyptians. Defense Minister Moshe Dayan stated, however, that some of the Israelis taken by the Egyptians had been murdered after their capture. Syria rejected all appeals to furnish the names of prisoners, to allow them to be visited by Red Cross representatives, and to discuss an exchange.

Agreement was reached at Kilometer 101 on all points in the November 11 agreement except the second, dealing with disengagement and separation of forces, the Egyptians insisting on a deep Israeli withdrawal into Sinai.

On November 28 an Arab summit conference meeting in Algiers demanded full Israeli withdrawal from all "occupied Arab territories," called for the restoration of "the full national rights" of the Palestinians, and recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as their only legitimate representative, though Egypt, Syria, and Jordan were not barred from taking part in peace negotiations. On the following day Egypt announced the breakdown of the talks at Kilometer 101.

Meanwhile, Kissinger was continuing his efforts to organize the peace negotiations prescribed by Security Council Resolution 338. Israel, Egypt, and Jordan agreed in principle to take part in the peace conference, but Israel opposed participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization and would not sit down with the Syrians until they published a list of Israeli prisoners and allowed Red Cross visits. Agreement was reached, except for the Syrians, after a Washington visit on December 7-9 by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and a Mid-East tour by Kissinger, which ended in Jerusalem on December 16-17.

The Peace Conference on the Middle East met in Geneva on December 21 and 22 at foreign-minister level, under the cochairmanship of the Soviet Union and the United States, with the United Nations providing technical services. After opening speeches by UN

Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, who was in the chair, and the representatives of the two super-powers, Egypt, Jordan, and Israel, the conference appointed a military working group to continue the discussions broken off at Kilometer 101. Questions of substance were postponed until after the Israeli general elections.

On the Home Front

During this time, the country was faced with new and difficult problems at home. The economy was hard hit by the mobilization of about a quarter of the manpower and a large part of the transport; but the civilians rallied immediately on the outbreak of war to make up, by hard work, voluntary effort, improvisation, and greater efficiency for the absence of the men at the front.

The public accepted without complaint the imposition of a compulsory loan of £1 billion to meet part of the crushing cost of the war. They also queued up at the banks or agreed to deductions from their pay for a voluntary loan in a similar amount. World Jewry, with the American Jews in the lead, mobilized its resources in support of Israel, and promised a further \$2 billion to cover the cost of social services and economic development. The elections were postponed, by agreement, from October to December 31.

When the full-scale fighting stopped, Israel had to face difficulties which had not arisen after the brief wars of 1956 and 1967: arrangements to pay the still mobilized reservists and care for their families; businesses abandoned at a moment's notice and threatened with ruin; factories hampered by the absence of technicians and managers.

At the same time, there was an upsurge of disquiet, soul-searching, and criticism. Public opinion was deeply disturbed at the abrupt, overnight transition from confidence in Israel's military might to uncertainty and peril, at Arab success in taking the army by surprise, at the indications of unpreparedness, and the agonizing loss of life (2,522 dead and 131 missing).

Despite the fact that, after the initial setback, Israel had won the most impressive military victory in her history, it was the shock of the first two days and the pain of bereavement that were uppermost in the minds of almost all.

The opposition accused the government of a fatal blunder in failing to mobilize the reserves and move up the armor in time to forestall the attack, and demanded its resignation. On November 18 the cabinet ordered the appointment of an inquiry commission, headed and

selected by the president of the Supreme Court, Justice Shimon Agranat, to investigate the matter. Other members of the commission were: Supreme Court Justice Moshe Landau, State Comptroller Isaac Nebenzahl, and two former IDF chiefs of staff, Yigael Yadin and Hayim Laskov.

As the election campaign gathered momentum, left-wing circles accused the Labor party leadership, particularly Moshe Dayan and his supporters, of helping to precipitate the war by "inflexibility" in foreign affairs and an "expansionist" policy of settlement in the Israel-held areas. There were calls for the resignation of Dayan and Galili, as well as of Prime Minister Golda Meir. Mrs. Meir demanded that the party adopt clear-cut policy decisions; on December 6 the party's central council unanimously adopted a 14-point peace program and, in a secret ballot, expressed confidence in Mrs. Meir by a vote of 291 to 33, with 15 abstentions.

The program, which defined the forthcoming Geneva Peace Conference as "a major event in the history of the Middle East," called for efforts to achieve a settlement ensuring "defensible borders based on territorial compromise" and "the preservation of the Jewish character of the State of Israel," but rejected a return to the lines of June 4, 1967. The "identity of the Palestinian and Jordanian Arabs" could find expression in "the neighboring Jordanian-Palestinian State" to be recognized under a peace agreement with Jordan. The program also envisaged the possibility of "interim agreements" for withdrawal from the cease-fire lines "as temporary arrangements on the way to peace."

Likud denounced the program as "endangering the nation's survival" and vigorously opposed "the renewed partition of the Land of Israel"—i.e., withdrawal from any part of the "West Bank" or the Gaza Strip. The Alignment, in its election campaign, retorted that a Likud victory would make another war inevitable.

Despite the difficulty of arranging for the still mobilized reserves to vote at special army polling stations set up from Mount Hermon in the north to Adabiya on the Gulf of Suez, a high percentage of the electors voted: 78.6 per cent, as compared with 82.2 per cent in 1969. The main results were:

The Labor-Mapam Alignment lost six seats, but with 51 out of a total 120 seats, was still the largest group in the house. The Likud gained eight seats, making a total of 39, which made it the largest opposition party in Israel's history.

The National Religious party lost two seats and the Torah Religious Front (Agudat Israel and Poale Agudat Israel) one. A new Civil Rights Movement, headed by Shulamit Aloni, won three seats despite its late

start and lack of organization. The New Communists gained one seat at the expense of the Alignment-affiliated Arab lists, and Moked kept the one seat of the Israel Communist party.

Eleven lists, including Uri Avneri's Meri, the "Black Panthers," and Rabbi Meir Kahane's Jewish Defense League, failed to get the one per cent of the total valid votes required to return a member.

In the local elections, voters paid more attention to the personality of the mayoral candidates than to their party tickets. Thus Teddy Kollek (Labor) in Jerusalem, Shlomo Lahat (Likud) in Tel Aviv, and Yosef Almogi (Labor) in Haifa won more votes than did the Keneset lists of their respective parties.

Personalia

Joseph Serlin, Liberal party leader, former minister of health, died in Tel Aviv, on January 13, at the age of 67. Mrs. Ethel Agron, widow of late Jerusalem Mayor Gershon Agron, for many years chairman of Hadassah council, died in Tel Aviv on January 27, at the age of 78. Yaakov Dori (Dostrovsky), first chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces and for 14 years president of the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, died in Haifa on January 31, at the age of 73. Aryeh Leib Gellman, honorary chairman Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi movement, author of eight books on Torah studies and other works, died in Tel Aviv on March 25, at the age of 86. Abraham Shlonsky, foremost contemporary Hebrew poet, stylist, and translator, died in Tel Aviv on May 18, at the age of 73. Professor Feivel Meltzer, Bible scholar and commentator, died in Jerusalem on May 20, at the age of 76. Moshe Flieman, mayor of Haifa, died in Haifa on May 27, at the age of 68. Professor Hayim Halperin, pioneer in the scientific development of Israeli agriculture and recipient of 1973 Israel prize, died in Tel Aviv on June 2, at the age of 77. Polly Van Leer, philanthropist, founder of the Van Leer Foundation, died in Jerusalem on June 22, at the age of 80. Joseph Alon, Israeli assistant military attaché in Washington, was killed by Arab terrorists in Chevy Chase, Md., on July 1, at the age of 41. Professor Ben-Zion Dinur (Dinaburg), distinguished historian and educator, former Israeli minister of education and culture, died in Jerusalem on July 7, at the age of 89. Louis Aryeh Pincus, chairman of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization, died in Jerusalem on July 25, at the age of 61. Abraham Hartzfeld, pioneer of Jewish settlement in Israel, died in Gedera on August 30, at the age of 88. Esther Agnon, widow of Nobel Laureate Samuel Joseph Agnon, died in Gedera on September 28, at the age of 84. Zipora Sharett (née

Meirov), widow of premier and foreign minister Moshe Sharett, died in Tel Aviv on September 30, at the age of 77. Ada Maimon (Fishman), veteran Israeli teacher and agriculturist, died at Ayanot, Nes Ziona, on October 8, at the age of 80. Professor Naphtali Hertz Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), president of the Hebrew Language Academy, died in Jerusalem on October 18, at the age of 87. Israel Abrahams, former chief rabbi of Cape Province, South Africa, died in Jerusalem on October 26, at the age of 70. David Ben-Gurion, first prime minister of Israel, died in Tel Aviv on December 1, at the age of 87.

MISHA LOUVISH

Iran

Economic Development

A LITTLE MORE than a decade ago, in 1962, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi launched the White Revolution, a 12-point reform program designed to expand social justice and to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth. More important, perhaps, for the development of Iran is the deep-felt confidence in future progress, which the spirit of reform has engendered among all classes of Iranian society. It is in the economic sector that the new-found optimism has been most successfully translated into measurable gains. The following figures comparing growth rates in the last decade graphically illustrate the "economic miracle" of contemporary Iran. From 1962 to 1972 the GNP increased three and one-half times, and the per capita income rose from \$200 to a little over \$500. The value of the industrial mining and services sector rose 300 per cent; construction, 250 per cent; oil, 400 per cent, and water and power, 1,000 per cent. This spectacular increase of economic growth has prompted the Shah to predict that, within the next 25 years, Iran will rank among the five most prosperous countries in the world.

Eager to attract both foreign and local investors, the government offered low interest rates on loans, imposed a high protective customs barrier, and ensured liberal tax benefits. To promote investments by former land barons who had received sizable indemnities under the land-reform act, the government fostered a *laissez-faire* economic policy. Only within the past year, with a rising inflation that threatened to erode the ten-year boom, has the government imposed price controls and sought to regulate profits. Consequently, there has emerged a highly affluent entrepreneurial class, as well as an entrenched bourgeoisie which serves as the nucleus of an emerging consumer society. This middle group, in turn, has spurred demands for locally manufactured goods such as automobiles, household appliances, and quality textiles and clothing. Signs of prosperity and

conspicuous consumption were commonplace. Lavishly appointed private homes and high-rise apartments spilled over the hills of northern Tehran and locally produced Peykans vied with foreign cars in the city's clogged boulevards.

To accelerate development, the state assumed responsibility of particular ventures that the private sector was either unable or unwilling to undertake. Thus, by 1973 government-financed projects had established a well-functioning infrastructure which guaranteed the rapid pace of future industrialization. In the ten-year period 1962-1972, 35,000 kilometers of roads and 1,000 kilometers of railroads were laid; 17 airports handling more than one million passengers per year were built; port installations on the Persian Gulf were enlarged and modernized, and 14 hydroelectric dams were constructed. In less than six years of operation, the Iranian television network was extended to 60 per cent of the country, and direct dialing became possible to all but the most remote areas.

The key to the metamorphosis of the Iranian economy is, of course, oil. After Saudi Arabia, Iran is the biggest oil producer in the Middle East and oil now accounts for 80 per cent of development costs and 50 per cent of the state's annual budget. Unlike Third World countries that do not produce oil, Iran has not had to accumulate capital painstakingly. In fact, readily available capital enabled Iran to invest \$8,000 million in the third and fourth development plans (1962-1972). In 1973 two momentous events occurred which swelled the coffers of an already expanding economy. An agreement signed on May 24 between the Iranian government and the Oil Consortium cancelled all previous contracts, and for the first time in 72 years Iran assumed full control of its oil industry, including sole jurisdiction over installations, refineries, and exploration rights. Iran, in turn, agreed to provide specific amounts of oil for the next 20 years to the member countries of the Consortium. For this oil Iran would receive in no case less revenue than that realized by other Persian Gulf countries.

In the wake of the October Middle East war, Iran once again benefited from an unprecedented rise in the price of crude oil. Before the war, Iran had anticipated around \$4,000 million in oil revenues; the postwar estimate hovers around \$14,000 million. Repeatedly, the Shah has refused to use oil as a political weapon. Oil prices, he claimed, should be related to the costs of alternative means of energy and should also reflect the rate of profit levied by the oil-importing countries on the sale of refined oil and petrochemical products.

Mindful that oil reserves will probably run out in 20 years, the government is encouraging a wide spectrum of industrial activity, especially the exploitation of lead, copper, coal, and iron ore mines. A

great source of national pride is the Aryameher steel complex in Isfahan. Built by the Soviets and opened in December 1971, the plant produced 700,000 metric tons of steel in 1973 and a predicted 6,000,000 metric tons a year before 1980. The present fifth development plan (1973–1978) foresees considerable investments in these key industries, as well as in agriculture which has not progressed as satisfactorily as the industrial sector.

Social Welfare

With an annual growth rate of 3 per cent, Iran's population reached 32 million in 1973. Thanks to widespread efforts to combat epidemic diseases and to reverse the formerly high rate of infant mortality, slightly more than half of the population is at present under 20 years of age. While noteworthy strides have been realized by the Health, Literacy and Development Corps, progress in social welfare, on the whole, has lagged somewhat behind economic development. The development plan (which was budgeted at \$32,200 million before the dramatic rise in the price of crude oil) has been allocating larger funds than ever before for education, medicine, housing, and vocational training.

Social insurance was to be extended; 1,000 jobs a day were to be created over the next five years, and one million housing units were to be built to relieve the congestion in major cities caused by an annual influx of 500,000 people from rural areas.

Two recently promulgated royal decrees are of paramount importance. On February 23, 1974, the Shah declared that all Iranians were entitled to eight years of free schooling. The government decided to take over all primary education, including private schools, at a total annual cost of about 20 billion rials. Plans were also under way to make extensive use of communication satellite systems for televised instruction throughout the country. On the last day of the Iranian year 1352 (March 20, 1974), a second royal decree called for free public health services. Details of the new scheme have not yet been published.

Foreign Affairs and Irano-Israeli Relations

The Persian Gulf is literally Iran's lifeline to the world. Any encroachment on its freedom of passage could cripple the country's oil-dependent economy. To this end, Iran has made it clear, especially

since the withdrawal of the British presence in 1971, that Iran, and Iran alone, was to enjoy unrivaled supremacy in this region. Mindful of the fact that guerrilla groups could at any moment foment political strife in the region, Iran has allowed the United States to set up a listening post on the small Persian Gulf island of Abu Musa to monitor the movements of the Soviet fleet in the Indian Ocean.

Iran, this past year, has also publicized the deployment of its troops to Oman to help put down a radical uprising in the province of Dhofar. While not envisaging a direct Soviet attack, the Shah has been uneasy about recent Soviet alliances with Iraq and India. Citing the dismemberment of Pakistan and recalling that even though Pakistan belonged to both CENTO and SEATO no member country came to its aid, he was determined to rely on his own military might to secure the borders and keep the sealanes open. In 1973 Iran spent more than \$3 billion on sophisticated weaponry, including the world's largest Hovercraft fleet and jet tankers which can refuel fighter planes in mid-air. An impressive series of fortifications have been built at Bandar Abbas located at the strategic Strait of Hormuz, and more than \$600 million have been spent to make Chahbahar the largest military and naval base on the Indian Ocean. Despite an ideological leaning to the West, Iran had close trade relations with the Soviet Union and other Eastern-bloc countries. Relations with China were strengthened when the empress made an official visit to that country in 1972.

Iran's relations with Arab countries are marked by a certain ambivalence. On the one hand, Iran considers itself part of the greater Moslem world and is eager to develop trade agreements with neighboring Arab states. On the other hand, Iran has no desire to become involved in the machinations of internal and external Arab politics. Furthermore, Iran has accused Iraq of training subversive elements which are a threat to the political stability of the Persian Gulf. Repeatedly, the Shah has urged Israel to return all territories taken in the 1967 war, and the Iranian press gave full support to the Arab cause in the October 1973 fighting. Though the press urged military support and Egyptian war bonds were sold in Iran, the Shah steadfastly refused to send troops to aid the Arabs. On the occasion of the Yom Kippur war, Iran renewed diplomatic relations with Iraq to allow that state to deploy troops from its common border with Iran. While diplomatic relations still exist, the détente between the two countries has been short-lived and border clashes were becoming more frequent.

Although official diplomatic relations have never existed, Israel has a large mission in Tehran which, in practical terms, conducts its affairs with the same ease as any recognized delegation. Although the address

of the impressive building housing the Israeli mission is not listed in official directories, Jews have free access to the mission and large receptions are held openly. The Israeli presence is noticeable, and, in Tehran, there are enough Israeli businessmen, government personnel, and technical experts to warrant an Israeli school with an enrollment of about 200 elementary school children. El-Al has a large office in downtown Tehran, and three international airlines offer scheduled flights to Israel.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

No reliable statistics were available on the number of Jews living in Iran. For some years the figure of 75,000 has been quoted; but this figure may be in error by 5,000 in either direction. If we accept this rough figure, it means that Jews constituted about one-fourth of one per cent of the total population. The Jewish population has been predominately urban, with approximately 55,000 residing in Tehran, 8,000 in Shiraz, and 3,500 in Isfahan. There were smaller communities in Kermanshah, Abadan, Hamadan, Kerman, Yazd, and Rezayeh. Within the Jewish community were two minority groups: the Iraqis, numbering some 1,200, and the Meshadis, numbering close to 2,500. Both groups tended to remain apart from the greater mass of Iranian Jews.

The economic boom has benefited Iranian Jewry, and a small segment has become very wealthy. While the average Jewish Iranian may be considered middle-class, a sizable minority continued to live in varying conditions of poverty. By and large, the older generation were businessmen and shopkeepers, while the younger Jews leaned toward the liberal professions. Over 200 physicians belonged to the Association of Jewish Doctors, and the legally recognized Jewish Students Association had more than 700 members.

Jews have enjoyed the same civil rights as all Iranian citizens, and as members of an officially recognized minority were entitled to have a member in parliament. A *Bet Din*, located in Tehran, regulated religious affairs in the community, and Jewish law at times was permitted to supersede Iranian law. While the community has been fearful of intermarriage, to date this has not presented a serious concern. Jews have been free to travel and emigrate to Israel, and approximately 62,000 have emigrated since 1948. In recent years, however, especially in view of Iran's prosperity, the numbers have been steadily declining.

Community Organization

While each community had its own central committee, the leading body of Iranian Jewry was the Anjoman Kalimian (Association of Jews) of Tehran. This body was legally empowered to act as representative of the Jewish population in its dealing with the government and to settle disputes in the community itself. For several years, Habib Elghanian has served as president of the Anjoman Kalimian. In January 1973, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the White Revolution, the Anjoman sponsored several celebrations in honor of the event.

The central organization in Jewish life, however, was the Sanduk Melli—the local community chest. Established in October 1970, it has absorbed the independent fund-raising efforts of various committees. While still undergoing growing pains, the Sanduk Melli in part subsidized the Kanoun Kheir Khah Hospital, the Jewish Ladies Committee of Tehran, the Shurah Welfare Committee, the Kouresh School, ORT, and other charitable groups. The Sanduk Melli, as well as most of the agencies it supported, worked hand-in-hand with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee which, for the past 25 years, has conducted health, welfare, and education programs in Iran. JDC aid went to 20,000 persons annually in Tehran, Shiraz, Isfahan, Kermanshah, Kerman, and Yazd. Together with the Jewish Hospital Committee, it has been operating two outpatient clinics and nine school clinics in Tehran. Independently, JDC provided hot school lunches for about 4,500 youngsters each year and was responsible for the medical care and social welfare of disadvantaged Jews living in Isfahan, Shiraz, and smaller provincial cities. In partnership with the Shura Committee, JDC ran two welfare offices in Tehran, which provided for the needs of the aged and indigent. The Jewish Ladies Committee of Tehran, with JDC's aid, operated a highly esteemed day-care center. Smaller day-care centers were conducted with the participation of the local communities in Isfahan and Shiraz.

Education and Culture

At the end of 1973, Jewish day schools throughout Iran had a total enrollment of 10,647 children, or about 45 per cent of all Jewish school-aged children. The Alliance Israélite Universelle, which pioneered education for Jews in Iran at the turn of the century, conducted four schools in Tehran and six in the provinces. The tradition-oriented Otzar Ha-torah, which came to Iran after World War

II, operates five schools in the capital and six in the provinces. ORT offered vocational and technical training to about 800 students a year. In addition, the Iraqi community, the Anjoman Kalimian, and two synagogue groups sponsored their own schools. Every Jewish school had to comply with the standard government curriculum besides providing classes in Hebrew, Jewish history, and religion. Beginning in 1973 serious efforts were undertaken to improve the quality of Hebrew education, principally by conducting in-service teacher training courses. In that year, Friday and summer classes for students attending non-Jewish schools were inaugurated.

While synagogue attendance was high, Iran lacked a deep-rooted tradition of Jewish culture. Throughout the centuries, persecution and isolation from other Jewish communities have taken their toll. To reverse this situation, a local committee, backed by a parent committee in Jerusalem, has embarked on a series of publications, in Persian, of books of Jewish interest. A small library of Judaica was located in the offices of the Anjoman Kalimian and a few individuals have fairly good collections of Jewish books. Various groups have been celebrating Jewish festivals, particularly Purim with which Iranian Jews have close identification. The only site of Jewish interest in Iran was the alleged tomb of Esther and Mordechai in the small city of Hamadan.

Through the offices of the JDC and the Jewish Agency youth activities have been conducted in a few Tehran schools. A youth center was located on the premises of the Hatef Committee, and in the summer of 1973 JDC reactivated its summer-camp program. An architect was commissioned to draw up plans for a Jewish Community Center which will hopefully provide programs of Jewish content.

MERRILL A. ROSENBERG