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GALA PERFORMANCE  
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TEL-AVIV . MANN AUDITORIUM . 27.10.62 . 8.30 P.M.

בל למגבית היהודית המאוחדת בארה"ב

## Program :

### **MOSHE SHARETT**

Chairman Jewish Agency Executive and Chairman of the Israel  
National Committee

### **MORDECHAI NAMIR**

Mayor of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa

### **JOSEPH MEYERHOFF**

General Chairman of the U. J. A.

### **HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN**

Executive Vice Chairman of the U. J. A.

### **AARON MESKIN** – "Habimah" Theatre

### **HANA MARON** – The "Cameri" Theatre



ZADIKOV CHILDREN CHORUS

CONDUCTED BY I. GRAZIANI

"THE PAAMONIM" - DANCING GROUP

THE "TARNEGOLIM"

- INTERMISSION -

"THE PAAMONIM" - DANCING GROUP

THE "DUDAIM"

THE "BATZORET" ORCHESTRA

"CARMON" DANCING GROUP

ISRAEL NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE

#### **THE TZADIKOV CHOIR**

Established in Israel in 1954, the choir was named in honour of Moshe Tzadikov who founded a melody group in Bulgaria 52 years ago. The choir is under the auspices of the Jaffa-Tel Aviv Workers' Council. Its conductor, Mr. Itzhak Graziani, who came to this country in 1948 from Bulgaria, is a Music Academy graduate. He has conducted various orchestras including the Kol Israel pop orchestra and the Israel Army Orchestra.

#### **THE PAAMONIM**

An Israeli folklore, dance and song troupe under the management of Moshe Itzhak Halevi assisted by Yona Levi-Eleazarov. Troupe members come from Yemen, Bukhara, others are sabras. Founded in 1961 by members of the Inbal and Bokharan troupes.

#### **THE TARNEGOLIM**

This all-sabra troupe was established in 1961 by former members of Army entertainment groups. It is directed by Noemi Polani, formerly of the Tshizbatron Troupe.

#### **THE DUDAIM**

The team of Ben Amdursky and Israel Gurion, better known as the Dudaim, have been singing since 1958. The two sabra boys performed in various night clubs in Israel and abroad.

#### **THE "BATZORETH" ORCHESTRA**

Its eight amateur musicians are settlers from the Northern Negev Kibbutz Gevim. Established in 1951, the orchestra specializes in jazz imitations. It plays at Kibbutz weddings, its Sabra members being full-time farmers.

#### **THE CARMON DANCERS**

Established in 1951, this all-sabra dance groups has toured four times all over the U. S., Central and South America, Western Europe and South Africa. Director Jonathan Carmon graduated from an agriculture school here, studied dancing with Gertrude Krauss and Mia Arbatova, perfected his art in Paris and London.



## THIS LAND

BY A. ASHMAN

Read by Aharon Meskin of the Habima National Theatre:

Y O E L

One can bury the dead, we buried sons, wives, brothers, sisters. But how can you callously bury a living body, a body living and hale, fresh and thriving? Because "Yarkia" is now a living body. (Pointing towards the village). The fields are green, the vineyards in bloom, the houses neat — for God's sake, why didn't you agree? What did we ask of you? A little rest and a piece of bread from this land of yours — why didn't you agree? (Leans against one of the tombstones).

Y O E L

"Abraham Our Father", you say? Abraham made a burnt offering of a ram while I burned my son, my only son. His Isaac had consented and went to the altar of his own free will. Had he resisted, had he fought, ...who knows whether Abraham Our Father could have overcome the paternal pity in his heart? But I did just that. I overcame my pity, I turned my heart into stone, into a flint rock. My child, my son, how you feared death and I pushed you to the altar against your will, and now shall I get up and walk away from here — shall I?!...

Y O E L

Here is one of Daniel's shoes. The jackals have torn it with their teeth.

Y O E L

O holy shoe, relic of an innocent and pure sacrifice, throw yourself down before the Eternal's Throne, knock against all the gates, fall down before the Heavenly Host, show them the tooth-marks on your skin! Jews, jackals are tearing at the holy relics of our martyrs! Tomorrow they'll come to the abandoned houses, tomorrow the broken tombstones will be scattered all over the plain — — and you psalmodize about "Abraham Our Father"? Did Abraham Our Father indeed go to Egypt? Why did he go. I ask myself. He shouldn't have gone. He spoiled my work here, Abraham Our Father did, he spoiled it...

Y O E L

No, no, we should not have given in, shown him this way; hunger — we leave; hunger subsists — we return; we leave — we return... We should have been obstinate, stood our ground even against His will. The Lord would have tempered His judgment even against His will. (Deciding) No, Judith, we can't... we may not leave here, come back Jews, come back! (Turns back).

Y O E L

(gazing heavenwards) We won't obey You in this matter! We always obeyed You. You could always impose Your will on us. But this time — no. We won't leave, even for a while! If you need us — we are here! If you don't need us — we still won't budge! You want to give us life? — Do it here. You want to end our days? This is the place to do it. Kill us, enslave us, destroy us, but — here. We won't move from here!

(Night is falling. The steps of those returning can be heard in the darkness, as can a babble of voices: "Let's go back, let's go back!" The voices rise and fill the space and blend with the melody "When the Lord returned us to Zion we walked like in a dream". The melody culminates in an apotheosis expressing immigration and creative work. It ends on a solemn, throbbing chord).

## מקהלת צדיקוב

המקהלה נוסדה בשנת 1954, נרשמה ע"ש משה צדיקוב, מנצח יליד בולגריה, שיסד המקהלה בבולגריה לפני 52 שנים. המקהלה נמצאת בחסותה של מ. פ. ת"א"יפן. המנצח, מר יצחק גרציאני, הגיע ארצה בשנת 1948 מבולגריה, בוגר אקדמיה למוסיקה ומאז ועד היום נצח על תזמורת שונות, מהן תזמורת הבידור של "קול" ישראל" ותזמורת צה"ל.

## הפעמונים

להקה ישראלית לפולקלור, מחול וזמר בהדרכת משה יצחק הלוי, בהשתתפות יונה לוי אלעזרוב. חברי הלהקה מיוצאי תימן, בוכרה וילידי הארץ. נוסדה בשנת 1961. חבריה חניכי להקת ענבל והלהקה הבוכרית.

## התרנגולים

יוצאי להקות צה"ל, ילידי הארץ, חלהקה נוסדה בשנת 1961 בהדרכת נעמי פולני מלהקת הציזבטרון.

## הירדאים

צמד הזמרים, בנימין אמדורסקי וישראל גוריון, הידועים לצבור בתור "הדודאים", מהופעותיהם במועדוני לילה שונים מאז 1958, בארץ ובחוץ לארץ.

## תזמורת בצורת

מורכבת מ-8 מנגנים מתישבי קבוץ גבים, השוכן בנגב הצפוני. נוסדה ב-1961. התזמורת מנגנת חקויים לתזמורת ג'ז. מופיעה במסיבות הקבוץ. חברי התזמורת הם חובבים, ילידי הארץ, עובדי פלחה וענפי החקלאות השונים.

## להקת כרמון

להקת מחול ישראלית. נוסדה בשנת 1961. ילידי הארץ. ערכה ארבעה סיבובים ברחבי ארצות הברית, אמריקה התיכונה, אמריקה הדרומית, אירופה המערבית ודרום אפריקה. מנהל ומדריך הלהקה יונתן כרמון, בוגר בית ספר חקלאי בארץ, למד ריקוד אצל גרטרוד קראוס ומיה ארבטובה, השתלם בפריס ובלונדון.

הועד הצבורי לציון חגיגות מחצית היובל

## תכנית הערב

### משה שרת

יו"ר הנהלת הסוכנות היהודית ויו"ר הועד הצבורי

### מרדכי נמיר

ראש עיריית תל-אביב-יפו

### יוסף מאירהוף

יו"ר המגבית היהודית המאוחדת בארה"ב

### הרבט א. פרידמן

סגן יו"ר המגבית היהודית המאוחדת בארה"ב

### אהרן מסקין

— תיאטרון "הבימה"

### חנה מרון

— "התיאטרון הקאמרי"

מקהלת הילדים ע"ש צדיקוב  
בנצוח י. גרציאני

להקת "הפעמונים"

"התונגולים"

— הפסקה —

להקת "הפעמונים"

"הדודאים"

תזמורת "בצורת"

להקת "כרמון"



ערב חגיגי

AMERICAN JEWISH  
לצינו

מחצית היובל למגבית היהודית המאוחדת בארה"ב

ISRAEL SALUTES THE U. J. A.



זכר אלה יעקב וישראל





22/6

# THE ARAB REFUGEES

BACKGROUND • NATURE OF PROBLEM  
PROJECTED SOLUTION

ARCHIVES

Summary of the Problem

Addresses at the Sixteenth Session  
of the U.N. General Assembly

by

Her Excellency MRS. GOLDA MEIR,  
*Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel,*

and

His Excellency AMBASSADOR MICHAEL COMAY,  
*Chairman of the Israel Delegation and  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations*

PUBLISHED BY ISRAEL OFFICE OF INFORMATION, NEW YORK



SUMMARY

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## S U M M A R Y

*In the pages that follow, we have summarized, in abbreviated form, the two addresses forming the body of this pamphlet — to provide the reader with a concise review of the various aspects of the Arab refugee problem: its background, the nature of the problem, and the projected solution. The material in this Summary does not follow the same order as that employed in the speeches, but is arranged under subject headings, the reference numbers (in brackets) indicating the U.N. document where the same material is treated in greater detail. In each case there is an additional reference to indicate on what page of this booklet the relevant passage may be found.*

## **The Historical Perspective**

The origin of the Jewish people, or People of Israel, is linked with the Land of Israel, the Land of the Bible, and dates back some 4,000 years. This link has been maintained in various ways from the days of the ancient Hebrew Prophets and Kings down to the present — although the bulk of the Jewish people was driven out of the land by the Roman conquerors in the year 70 C.E. [A/SPC/SR. 318, para. 9]

*See Page 9 of this booklet*

In modern times, spurred by the twin forces of nationalism and racial persecution, the Jewish people returned in growing numbers to the Land of Israel (then known as Palestine) to begin the job of rebuilding their ancient homeland which, over the centuries, had become largely a barren wasteland.

The historic connection between the Jewish people and their land was given formal international recognition — first by Great Britain, in the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917 (endorsed by the U.S.A. and the other Allied Powers) and later by the League of Nations, in its Mandate for Palestine (1922). [A/SPC/SR. 309, para. 3; A/SPC/SR. 318, para. 10]

*See Pages 9, 19 of this booklet*

Arab-Jewish relations had an auspicious beginning in the Feisal-Weizmann Agreement of 1919, and for a while a spirit of goodwill, respect and mutually profitable cooperation prevailed. A few years later, however, the followers of the extremist Mufti of Jerusalem gained the upper hand among the Palestinian Arabs, and a campaign of ambush and terror was launched, in an effort to prevent by violence the establishment of the Jewish National Home. [A/SPC/SR. 309, para. 4]

*See Page 20 of this booklet*

## **U.N. Resolution of 1947**

In February 1947 the Mandatory Power (Great Britain) laid the problem before the United Nations, which set up a Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) to try to reconcile the claims of Arab and Jew and recommend a just compromise. Following a thorough study of the situation, UNSCOP submitted a comprehensive 500-page report to the General Assembly, recommending that both parties be granted independence on the basis of Arab and Jewish states; the Arabs' claim that Palestine was an Arab country and should therefore be made into an



other Arab State was decisively rejected both by UNSCOP and, later, by the General Assembly.

After a 2-month debate, the UN General Assembly, by well over two-thirds of the votes, adopted Resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, calling for the establishment in Palestine of independent Jewish and Arab States, linked in economic union. [A/SPC/SR. 309, paras. 5, 6; A/SPC/SR. 318, para. 11] *See Pages 10-11, 20-21 of this booklet*

### **Origin of Refugee Problem**

The Arab refugee problem is a direct outcome of the open warfare launched by the Arabs against the Jewish community of Palestine immediately following the U.N. Resolution of November 1947 and of the subsequent invasion of Israel by the armies of the Arab States. The responsibility for the war of 1948, and for the human misery it caused, is crystal-clear both from the official records of the United Nations and from the public statements of the Arab leaders themselves.

By April 1948 the Arab onslaught on Jewish settlements had been repulsed, and the tide of the fighting began to turn in favor of the Jews. It was at this point that the Arab population in many areas began to flee — a movement that was deliberately fomented and encouraged by the Arab leadership, for military as well as political reasons.

On 14 May 1948 the State of Israel was proclaimed, as the British Mandate ended. Israel at once appealed to her Arab inhabitants to remain and play their part in the development of the State as full-fledged citizens, but this appeal — like many before and after it — was heeded by only a small minority of Israel's Arabs.

Meanwhile the armies of five Arab States invaded Israel, announcing this fact to the U.N. Security Council. Arab victory was not achieved, but by the time the fighting ended and the State of Israel had held its own, the majority of the Arab population found themselves outside of Israel. [A/SPC/SR. 309, paras. 7-10; A/SPC/SR. 318, paras. 11-13] *See Pages 10-11, 21-24 of this booklet*

### **Why The Problem Persists**

Following the signing of the armistice agreements, the U.N. made a number of efforts to bring about a peace settlement between Israel and the Arab States, but the Arab Governments refused to recognize Israel

or negotiate with her, claiming there continued to be a "state of war" between them — a doctrine which, though contrary to the letter and spirit of the U.N. Charter, has been used repeatedly since then to justify such clearly illegal acts as the blockade of the Suez Canal, economic and political boycott and blackmail, and even military and para-military incursions into Israel. [A/SPC/SR. 309, paras. 11-14]

*See Pages 24-26 of this booklet*

The Arab States have made it clear that they are determined to perpetuate the Arab refugee problem as a weapon against Israel, whatever the cost in human suffering. They have made no attempt to conceal their purpose, as revealed in repeated official statements throughout the years since the establishment of Israel. By their intransigence, the Arab States have seriously hampered all international attempts to make self-supporting citizens out of the refugees. [A/SPC/SR. 309, paras. 27, 28; A/SPC/SR. 318, paras. 16, 27, 28]

*See Pages 12, 15-17, 30-31 of this booklet*

The Arab Governments have repeatedly made it clear that when they demand the "return" of the Arab refugees to Israel, what they mean to achieve, really, is the destruction of Israel. This was the Arabs' official attitude in 1949, and it continues to be to this day. [A/SPC/SR. 309, paras. 1-2, 14; A/SPC/SR. 318, paras. 8, 24]

*See Pages 9, 14-15, 19, 26 of this booklet  
See also Appendix "B" of this booklet*

## **Scope of Problem**

In spite of official Arab opposition to refugee rehabilitation projects, hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees have in fact become integrated in the Arab countries. The refugees' own desire for self-support and their tendency to find employment, where the opportunity exists and circumstances permit, has been noted by UNRWA. [A/SPC/SR. 318, para. 17]

*See Page 12 of this booklet*

The real number of bona fide refugees is — for this and several other reasons (some of them mentioned in U.N. reports) — much lower than the number of "recipients of relief" indicated in the official statistics. [A/SPC/SR. 318, paras. 18, 19]

*See Pages 12-13 of this booklet*



## **Abandoned Property**

It is frequently demanded, by Arab delegates who claim to be spokesmen of the refugees, that properties left behind by these refugees in 1948 should now be restored to them. Israel's repeated offers to pay compensation for these properties — despite the Arabs' clear-cut responsibility for having created the problem, and despite continued Arab belligerence — has been ignored by these "spokesmen." Whatever solution is ultimately applied to this problem, it will of course have to be in terms of full recognition of Israel's status as a sovereign State and a member of the U.N. [A/SPC/SR. 309, paras. 21-26; A/SPC/SR. 318, para. 29; A/PV. 1086, p. 12] *See Pages 17, 28-30 of this booklet*

## **Israel's Contribution to a Solution**

Although the problem of the Arab refugees is not of Israel's making, Israel has taken a number of steps to alleviate the situation: Since the end of the fighting in 1948, about 40,000 Arab refugees have returned and been integrated in Israel, under the Family Reunion Plan and other schemes.

When UNRWA was established, there were on its rolls in Israel 48,500 refugees, mostly Arabs. By 1952 the number had been reduced, through integration, to 19,000, whereupon the Israel Government relieved the U.N. Agency of all further financial and administrative responsibility. Israel is the only country which has enabled UNRWA to terminate operations within her borders.

Ever since 1949, from the rostrum of the United Nations and on many other occasions, Israel has expressed her willingness to compensate Arab refugees for lands and property abandoned in Israel. The offer has so far been rejected by the Arab States, which persist in their doctrine of a "state of war" against Israel.

Since 1952 Israel has released accounts and safe-deposits held by Arab refugees in Israel banks in the amount of 3,540,000 Pounds Sterling (about 10 million dollars). Yet this act, which was undertaken by Israel without any conditions and which, in the light of the prevailing circumstances, was a unique gesture, did in no instance evoke any pacific or constructive reaction on the part of the Arab Governments. [A/SPC/SR. 318, paras. 25-27, 29] *See Pages 15-17 of this booklet*

## **The Solution**

The Arab refugee problem — like the problem of 50 million other refugees since the end of World War II — is susceptible of solution, provided there is a genuine will to solve it, on the part of all the parties concerned — and provided this will finds expression in peaceful, constructive channels. The Government of Israel is prepared to compose Israel's differences with the Arab world by negotiation and to open up a better future in which Israelis and Arabs will live and work together in peace, as neighbors should, and devote their energies and resources to the welfare of their peoples, instead of to destructive ends. There are, in the Arab world itself, many constructive elements which would wish to leave behind the sterile quarrels of the past and concentrate on creating a better life for their people. Through the positive influence of other nations and of the U.N. itself, this common yearning for peace can be transformed into reality — once the stumbling-block of political opposition to peace, at the Governmental level, has been removed and the Arab Governments given to understand that in the world of today there is no room for the doctrines of hatred, violence and strife that form the basis of official Arab conduct, at home as well as in the United Nations. [A/SPC/SR. 309, para. 29]

*See Page 31 of this booklet*

*See also Appendix "A" of this booklet*

The cornerstone of U.N. legislation on the Arab-Israel dispute is the General Assembly's resolution of 11 December 1948 — whose paragraph 11 is so often mentioned by Arab delegates. What is never mentioned by these delegates is the fact that this very resolution (see especially paragraphs 5 and 6) envisaged *the solution of the Arab refugee problem within the framework of a negotiated Arab-Israel peace*. [A/SPC/SR. 318, paras. 20-24]

*See Pages 13-15 of this booklet*

## **Summary of Israel Government's Position**

[A/SPC/SR. 318, para. 30]

*See Pages 17-18 of this booklet*



**ADDRESS BY HER EXCELLENCY MRS. GOLDA MEIR,  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL,  
ON 15 DECEMBER 1961**

*From the Official (Summary) Records, Special  
Political Committee, 318th Meeting, 16th Session  
of the United Nations General Assembly:*

8. Mrs. MEIR (Israel) said that she would not comment on the charges which had been made against Israel in connection with Nazism; for either members of the Committee represented countries which knew exactly what Nazism was and had been its victims, or they were insensitive on the matter—in which case no comment would be of any use. In their statements, the representatives of the Arab States had made no secret of the fact that their purpose was to destroy Israel, and not to seek a constructive and humanitarian solution to the refugee problem. The Israel delegation accordingly deemed it important to state what it regarded as having been the origin of the problem, and to define the Israel Government's attitude.

9. The Jewish people was 4,000 years old, and its historical and spiritual origins were linked with the land of the Bible. Time after time, the Jewish State had been destroyed by powerful neighbours and the Jews had gone into exile, finally into total dispersion. In many countries their lot had been suffering and persecution, only because they were Jews. Yet during their world-wide dispersion Jews had for long generations clung to the idea of returning one day to the land which was the one place on earth that was associated with their history and their spiritual heritage. Throughout the generations, Jews had continued to live in Palestine; and over and over again Jews from various parts of the world had come back, some driven by anti-Semitism and many others impelled by their need for a national life and for genuine self-expression. The faith of the Jewish people in their ultimate return to the land of their fathers had always been kept alive.

10. After the First World War, the historic connection between the Jewish people and their land had been recognized by the League of Nations, and the purpose of the Palestine Mandate had been the reconstitution of the "Jewish National Home" in Palestine. The very term "Jewish National Home" implied recognition of the national rights of

the Jews in Palestine. Of course, there was an Arab population living in the country, and it had been accepted that in re-establishing the Jewish National Home nothing should be done that might be injurious to the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish population. At the same time, the League of Nations had decided that the major part of the area called the Middle or Near East would be advanced towards independence for the Arab peoples. At that time not a single Arab State existed in that area. Thus, the establishment of the Jewish National Home and of the State of Israel had not deprived any Arab nation of national independence. In fact, what the League of Nations had decided at that time, and what the United Nations had confirmed, in 1947, by General Assembly resolution 181 (II) was the idea that side by side with the Arab people achieving independence in the wide expanses of the Middle East the Jewish people should be allowed to build their own future in the tiny land set aside for them. It had been considered but just, in accordance with international law, that, side by side with the Arab States that were to arise and in fact were established, there would arise also a Jewish State. At the end of the First World War, the Arab leaders had accepted that plan and if they had remained faithful to the principle of good neighbourliness, the Arabs of Palestine would have lived in the State of Israel without any difficulties. But unfortunately they had not done so, and political strife began.

11. When the problem had been put to the United Nations, that Organization had decided, by way of a compromise solution, to partition Palestine into a Jewish State and a new Arab State. That was the essence of General Assembly resolution 181 (II). In the face of the decision of the Arab States, however, not to accept that resolution, Israel had had to organize its defenses. The Arab States had urged the Palestine Arabs to rise against the Jews and had sent irregular forces to their aid, promising that as soon as the British had left, they would send their regular armies to crush the Jewish State. During the period between the adoption of the United Nations resolution in November 1947 and the end of the British Mandate in May 1948, the Palestine Arabs, encouraged and militarily reinforced by the Arab States, had begun all-out attacks against Jewish towns and villages. There was not a shred of evidence in the United Nations documents to substantiate the false charge made by the representative of Iraq at the 317th meeting that it was the Jews who on the morrow of the United Nations decision had



proceeded to attack the Arab community. Precisely the contrary was true. Moreover, as soon as the decision had been taken, the Arab States had announced in the United Nations that they would never accept it, and they had rejected Israel's appeal for peace. Since the Arab States had decided on war, naturally Israel had defended itself. In its report of 16 February 1948,<sup>1</sup> the United Nations Palestine Commission had said that powerful Arab interests both inside and outside Palestine were defying the resolution of the General Assembly and were engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein. As soon as the British had left, Arab armies had invaded the country. A large number of Palestine Arabs had already become refugees in consequence of the Arab onslaught on the Jewish community and the subsequent fighting, but when the regular Arab armies had joined in and full scale war had ensued, the number of refugees had swollen. Responsibility for the existence of the refugees consequently lay with those who, instead of accepting the verdict of the United Nations, had chosen to go to war.

12. Arab representatives had recalled the tragedy of Deir Yassin, where Arab civilians had been murdered by a Jewish dissident group; but it should also be recalled that that action had at once been condemned by the Jewish leaders. Furthermore, it was incorrect to state that the exodus of the Arab refugees had been due to that tragic incident, and it should not be forgotten that at the same time grave outrages had been perpetrated by the other side, in particular an assault on a medical convoy on its way to the Hadassah Hospital, when seventy-seven doctors and nurses had been killed. The list of such instances was a long one, but no Arab leader had ever made so much as a single statement denouncing one of them.

13. If the Arab States had accepted the United Nations resolution and had urged the Palestine Arabs to do likewise, there would have been no bloodshed and no refugees and the Jewish and Arab States in Palestine would have grown side by side in peace and co-operation.

14. In fact, there were a quarter of a million Arabs living in Israel: these included 100,000 Arabs who had remained in Israel during the war, their offspring and a certain number of refugees who had returned

<sup>1</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Special Supplement No. 2*, document S/676.



after the armistice. Contrary to what had been alleged by the Arab States, the Arabs of Israel fully shared the rights of every citizen of the country. They took part in elections, were represented in Parliament and were active in many professions. They enjoyed a standard of living unequalled in any Arab State, and were contributing much to the development of the country. Only recently, the Arab Mayor of Nazareth had recalled all those facts and had appealed to the Arab leaders to open a clean page for the restoration of peace in the Middle East.

15. United Nations Relief and Works Agency was to be commended very highly on its effective and untiring performance of a vast humanitarian task.

16. Unfortunately, the Arab Governments were continuing to obstruct the efforts of reintegration and social and economic rehabilitation which UNRWA had been instructed to promote by numerous United Nations resolutions. Had they co-operated with UNRWA and supported those programmes the bulk of the problem might no longer have existed, for the development of the land and other resources of the area would have been amply sufficient to permit the absorption of the refugees in the Arab countries.

17. It was, however, encouraging to note that, in the words of the Director of UNRWA, virtually every adult refugee who in 1948 had had a skill needed in the Arab world had found employment, that all young refugees who had received specialized training had become self-supporting, and that there had been a steady and increasing demand from refugees for assistance which should enable them to achieve more immediate individual self-support without prejudice to their rights to repatriation or compensation. That tendency should be supported by the Agency, and funds should be allocated to meet the demands of refugees to earn their living.

18. From the report of the Director of UNRWA, it was also apparent that the real number of refugees was much lower than that given in official statistics, partly on account of the large number of unreported deaths—at least 100,000—and of the back-log of false registrations which had not been eliminated, as well as of the spontaneous absorption of refugees in the host countries and in the oil-producing Arab countries. Taking into account the total number of Arabs in unpartitioned Palestine, according to figures supplied by the then Government

of the Mandated Territory of Palestine, and the Arabs who had remained in Israel or had returned there, the Israel delegation set at 540,000 to 550,000 the total number of Arabs who had left the area which had become Israel. That figure was equal to the number of Jewish refugees who had come to Israel from Arab countries. But the Arab countries had always refused to permit the holding of a census among the refugee population in order to rectify the rolls.

19. The problem was much smaller than the UNRWA figures indicated. Nor was there any question, as Arab spokesmen had contended, that an entire nation had been deprived of its national homeland. The great majority of Arab inhabitants of what had formerly been Palestine had remained within the former area of the Mandated Territory. The homes of some of them had been within the present frontiers of Israel, those of others had been, and still were, in districts occupied by Jordan, where they had become citizens, or in districts occupied by the United Arab Republic.

20. The Director of UNRWA had trespassed on highly controversial ground by expressing the view that paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) had conferred on the refugees the right of choice between repatriation and compensation, and by inferring that the failure to give effect to that alleged right had been an obstacle to the solution of the refugee problem.

21. On their side, the representatives of the Arab countries claimed that paragraph 11 granted every refugee the right to enter Israel territory, and demanded that the United Nations enforce the repatriation of a million refugees. That interpretation was totally fallacious, and it would be inconceivable for the United Nations to endorse such a proposition.

22. Paragraph 11 could not be taken out of its context. It was part of a resolution designed to restore peaceful relations between Israel and the Arab States through negotiations. At the 314th meeting, the representative of the Ivory Coast had rightly drawn attention to paragraphs 5 and 6 of that text, which provided for the final settlement by negotiation of all outstanding questions. The representatives of the Arab countries deliberately disregarded these paragraphs, the application of which had been consistently obstructed by the refusal of their Governments to negotiate. Progress in the matters dealt with in paragraph 11 could be



accomplished solely by putting those paragraphs into effect. The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine had on a number of occasions emphasized the interdependence of the various elements of the question, including the refugee situation; one such reference was contained in paragraph 19 of the Tenth Report of the Commission.<sup>2</sup> The first paragraph of draft resolution A/SPC/L.80 also recognized that the aspects of the conflict were interrelated. Like the other outstanding issues, the refugee question was a matter for negotiation with the Government of Israel but not for settlement by a so-called enforcement against the will of Israel.

23. Furthermore, paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) established no right of return and did not even use that expression. The phrase used was merely "should be permitted" and that permission, obviously, could only come from the State concerned—Israel. In addition, paragraph 11 made the refugees' right of return contingent upon two conditions: firstly, refugees could be allowed to return only if they were willing to live at peace with their neighbours. But none of the Arab delegations was prepared to accept the principle that a refugee must be willing to become a loyal citizen of the State of Israel. The paragraph contained a second qualification in the words "at the earliest practicable date", which had been the subject of lengthy debate and had been included in response to the observations by the Israel representative to the effect that the return of the refugees would not be possible until peace had been restored. Lastly, the second sub-paragraph of paragraph 11, which the representative of the Arab countries had taken care not to insist on, instructed the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation. The Commission could discharge that function only by offering its good offices in negotiations between Israel and the Arab States; furthermore, among the matters which the Commission was to facilitate, resettlement was held up as an alternative to repatriation.

24. The statements by the representatives of the Arab States and of the refugees had made it clear that the Arab delegations did not intend that the refugees should enter Israel in order to become loyal citizens.

<sup>2</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 18.*

President Nasser had indicated in an interview that the return of the refugees was to pave the way for the destruction of Israel. The refugees themselves, in their statements, had based their arguments on the principle that the State of Israel had no right to exist and must be eliminated.

25. Israel, far from being insensitive to the miserable lot of the refugees, had made efforts to remedy that situation. Since the armistice, about 40,000 Arabs had returned to the country and had been absorbed into the community, some under the scheme which provided for the reunion of families that had been broken up.

26. The Israel Government had always declared its willingness to pay compensation, even before the definitive restoration of peace and the settlement of the other outstanding issues, provided that the funds were used as part of a general plan for the solution of the refugee problem. The Arab countries had spurned those offers and demanded immediate repatriation. Any negotiations regarding compensation would, of course, have to take account of claims in respect of the property which half a million Israel citizens had abandoned in various Arab countries and which had been confiscated by the latter, as well as Jewish property situated in parts of the country which had been annexed, such as the part seized by Jordan.

27. With regard to the blocked bank accounts, Israel had, at the request of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, and despite the economic warfare which the Arab countries were still waging against it, unilaterally released the equivalent of more than £3,500,000. That effort had encountered the opposition of the Arab Governments, which had already rejected an earlier agreement providing for the release of blocked funds on a basis of reciprocity. Those Governments had either forbidden the refugees living in areas under their control to request the release of their accounts or had even imprisoned, for being in contact with the enemy, refugees who entered into a direct agreement with the Israel Government for that purpose. The Arab countries had also obstructed all the plans which would have permitted an improvement in the situation of the refugees and their integration in the host countries. For example, they had rejected the report of the Clapp Mission,<sup>8</sup> which called for the gradual assimilation of the refugees

<sup>8</sup>See *ibid.*, Fourth Session, Special Political Committee, Annex, vol. I, document A/1106.



in the economy of the area. They had also rejected the report of the late Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld,<sup>4</sup> recommending a large-scale development plan for the Middle East, which would have brought about a far-reaching transformation of that under-developed area and would have permitted the absorption of large numbers of refugees. Likewise, Arab politicians had vetoed a regional irrigation project worked out by Mr. Eric Johnston, President Eisenhower's representative, despite the fact that it had been agreed upon by Israel, Jordanian, Lebanese and Syrian experts. That plan, which had been accepted by the Israel Government, would have enabled about a quarter of a million refugees to lead a normal and productive existence. Similarly, Syria had prevented UNRWA from organizing resettlement projects in its country, and Egypt had opposed the settlement of 70,000 refugees in the Sinai peninsula on land which was to be brought under irrigation.

28. It was clear from the foregoing that the Governments of the Arab countries based their thinking primarily on what could harm Israel rather than on what would promote the well-being of the refugees. Their primary concern was to keep the refugees in camps as a permanent threat against Israel. As Mr. Hottinger had recently pointed out in a series of articles in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the "Palestine Specialists" who existed in all Arab countries had upheld the idea that the refugees should serve as a sort of pawn for Arab rights in Palestine. That was why they intended to leave them in their miserable condition and to prevent them from adapting themselves to the economic life of the host countries. That opinion of a neutral observer was corroborated by the statements of the representatives of the Arab countries. Forty million Arabs could have done for their refugees what the 650,000 Jews of Israel had done in 1948 for a million Jewish refugees, including the 500,000 refugees who had come from Arab countries. Of course, Israel, like all newly independent States, had received aid from friendly Governments. Aid had come chiefly, however, from Jews throughout the world, who had acted out of feelings of brotherhood. The solution of the Arab refugee problem was rendered easier by the fact that the refugees were not in an alien land but spoke the same language and had the same religion as the inhabitants of the host countries, and it would have been natural for the Arab countries to assist the refugees by creating a new life for them, as had been done by other countries which had

<sup>4</sup>See *ibid.*, *Fourteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 27, document A/4121.



assimilated millions of persons who had become refugees as a result of political upheavals.

29. The legislative measures that the Israel Government had adopted with respect to refugee property included the Absentees' Property Law which had vested abandoned property in a state custodian and the transfer of that property to the Israel Development Authority. The vast revenues which the Israel Government was alleged by the delegations of Arab countries to be collecting from those properties were enormously exaggerated. The Israel Government had offered to pay compensation to the former owners and it remained willing to negotiate a complete general settlement of the question. The Arab proposals that a United Nations custodian or body should take measures with regard to property abandoned by the refugees raised a question of principle. The right of any sovereign State to regulate by its own laws any property within its own territory was unquestioned, and the United Nations had no competence with regard to internal property legislation in Israel, since Israel was a sovereign State which had the same rights and obligations as the other Members of the Organization. If any such proposal were to be endorsed the Israel Government would have to reconsider its compensation offer. By putting forward such proposals, which were unprecedented in international relations, the representatives of the Arab States were attempting to gain acceptance for their doctrine that Israel's sovereignty was somehow incomplete and limited. They tried to base that theory on the declaration contained in the partition plan annexed to resolution 181 (II) of 1947, which, at the same time, they rejected as invalid. That declaration was to have been made by the provisional governments of each of the States, Jewish and Arab, contemplated in the resolution. But matters had taken a different turn and Israel had at no time been requested to make that declaration, the terms of which would not in any case have been applicable to property abandoned in a war against Israel.

30. The Israel Government had always believed that the solution of the problem of the Arab refugees lay in their resettlement in the Arab countries, but it had never said that not a single refugee would ever in any circumstances be allowed to return to Israel. While it had willingly co-operated with Mr. Johnson, her Government nevertheless had some reservations regarding the report of the Conciliation Commission (A/4921 and Add. 1 and Add. 1/Corr. 1). Israel continued to believe in

negotiations between the Arab States and Israel, with or without the help of the Conciliation Commission. The changes proposed in the composition of that Commission could serve no useful purpose so long as the desire for conciliation was absent on the part of the Arab States. The Iraqi representative held that the parties to the dispute were Israel and the Arab refugees, basing his argument on General Assembly resolutions which, however, recognized the Arab States and Israel as the parties and called upon them to enter into negotiations. In conclusion, she summed up her Government's position as follows: If the Arab States had accepted the 1947 compromise resolution, as Israel had done, there would now be a Jewish State and an Arab State living together in peace and co-operation. The Arab States, which had decided instead to launch into war against Israel, were responsible for the refugee situation, which had arisen as a consequence of that war. About 550,000 Arabs had left the territory that was now Israel, and a similar number of Jewish refugees from the Arab countries had been integrated in Israel; there had thus been a *de facto* exchange of population. No United Nations resolution demanded the immediate, total and unconditional repatriation of refugees into Israel. On the other hand several resolutions by the General Assembly called for negotiations on the peaceful settlement of all outstanding questions between Israel and the Arab States. Israel believed that the future of the Arab refugees lay in their resettlement in the Arab countries and was ready to pay compensation for property abandoned by the refugees, even before a general peace settlement was concluded, provided that the funds made available were used for the general settlement of the dispute. Israel would demand compensation for property of its citizens that had been confiscated by the Arab Governments.

31. The Israel delegation supported draft resolution A/SPC/L.80, which was conceived in the best tradition of the United Nations. The negotiations it called for were the only way towards progress in all outstanding issues, including that of the Arab refugees. It was to be hoped that the day would come when Arab leadership would realize the futility of its present attitude. The Israel Government for its part remained ready at all times to put aside the rancours of the past and to work out with the Arab leaders a better future for the whole of the Middle East.



**ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY MICHAEL S. COMAY,  
AMBASSADOR OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS,  
ON 6 DECEMBER 1961**

*From the Official (Summary) Records, Special  
Political Committee, 309th Meeting, 16th Session  
of the United Nations General Assembly:*

1. Mr. COMAY (Israel) said in the exercise of his right of reply that the whole of the long statement of the representative of Saudi Arabia at the 307th and 308th meetings could be summed up in the words "Israel must be eliminated." Since the themes that he had introduced, however, would no doubt be repeated by other Arab delegations, the Israel delegation, instead of merely registering its polite dissent, would like to give a true account of the facts. It would present the views of the Government of Israel on the substance of the refugee problem at a later stage.

2. The statement of the Saudi Arabian representative was the expression of a destructive state of mind borne of compulsive hatred. That mentality expressed itself in various ways, but always with the same aim: to eliminate Israel by violence and by war. The Saudi Arabian representative's statement should be examined with those aims in mind.

3. With regard to the facts, the Saudi Arabian representative had alleged that Zionism had been an evil and sinister force. Yet Zionism was one of the most moving and most constructive national liberation movements in human history. Spurred on by the twin forces of nationalism and persecution, the Jewish people had dreamt of rebuilding their ancient homeland in Palestine and had organized the Zionist movement to promote that ideal by constructive pioneering work in what had become a neglected and backward corner of the Ottoman Empire. The Zionist Organization, founded in 1897, had sought to mobilize the help of the Jewish people everywhere and to gain the understanding and support of all nations. In 1917, support for the Zionist ideal had been pledged in the Balfour Declaration,<sup>1</sup> which had been endorsed by Great Britain's allies and by the United States, and had been written in due course into the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine.<sup>2</sup> After the

<sup>1</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Supplement No. 11, Vol. II, annex 19.*

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, annex 20.



dispersal of the Jews, Palestine had been for twenty centuries an obscure province, colony or dependency under foreign rule. When, in 1947, the Arab spokesmen had demanded that Palestine should become an independent Arab State, they were demanding something that had never existed previously, and their demand had been decisively rejected by the United Nations.

4. The Jews in Palestine had sought to live in peace with their neighbours, sharing the benefits of their work and demonstrating that Jews and Arabs could live together in equality and friendship. At one time, that vision had been shared. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, a meeting had taken place between the Zionist leader, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, and the main spokesman of the Arab world at the time, the Emir Feisal, and on 3 January 1919 an agreement of friendship had been signed. And on 3 March 1919 the Emir had written to Mr. Felix Frankfurter and described the Arabs and Jews as cousins in race who could work together for a reformed and revived Near East. A revival of that spirit was the only thing that could open up a future of peace and neighbourly co-operation, instead of the future prefigured in the Saudi Arabian statement. In Palestine itself, a network of economic, social and personal relationships had grown up between the Arab and Jewish inhabitants. Unfortunately, the more extremist Arab nationalist leaders of the country had set out ruthlessly to destroy the Jewish National Home and had organized pogroms and riots in 1921, 1929 and 1936, in which hundreds of Jewish civilians had been murdered. Despite the political tension, however, the Arab population had grown rapidly and its standard of life had steadily improved as a result of Jewish activities in Palestine. The allegation that the Arab inhabitants had been displaced and driven out by Jewish immigrants was untrue. In fact, Arabs had streamed into Palestine from the surrounding countries. According to the figures given in the report by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) in 1947, in twenty-five years the Arab population had more than doubled<sup>3</sup>. That phenomenal growth was organically related to the Zionist development of Palestine.

5. In February 1947, the Mandatory Power had laid the problem of Palestine before the United Nations.<sup>4</sup> There had followed a genuine and

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. I, chap. II, paras. 11 and 12.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, annex I.

remarkably painstaking effort to reconcile the claims of Jews and Arabs and find a just compromise between the two. A United Nations Special Committee on Palestine had been appointed, consisting of eleven small Powers from all the different regions, none of them directly involved in the conflict. At the beginning of September 1947, after serious and intensive research, that Committee had produced a comprehensive report<sup>5</sup> for the General Assembly. The item had been debated by the second regular session of the General Assembly for two whole months. Thus, resolution 181 (II) had been adopted after the most intensive, detailed and conscientious study ever given by the United Nations to any political issue before or since.

6. The Arab position at the time was that Palestine was a part of the Arab homeland and should become another Arab State. Since that claim was still being maintained, it was important to note that it had been unanimously rejected by UNSCOP,<sup>6</sup> which had unanimously accepted that both peoples, Arab and Jewish, should be granted independence on the basis of Arab and Jewish States. The Arab claim to Palestine had been put forward in the form of a draft resolution which was supported by only six non-Arab delegations and decisively defeated. Accordingly, the Arab contention that Palestine was an Arab country had been crushingly rejected by the United Nations even before the establishment of the State of Israel. The statistics and arguments against the partition plan given by the representative of Saudi Arabia had been repeated many times before UNSCOP and before the General Assembly in 1947. Eventually, resolution 181 (II) had been carried by a majority of more than two-thirds. It had been adopted in the solemn hope that the two peoples concerned would be able to build a future together in amity. That hope had been strengthened by the endorsement of the partition proposal by the two leading world Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Above all, the resolution had been adopted in the hope that a compromise solution was better than no solution at all.

7. The Jews had agreed to accept the compromise in order to gain independence in at least part of Palestine and be able to take in those Jews who had survived Nazi persecution but were still rotting in D.P. camps. They had held out the hand of friendship to their Arab neigh-

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. I

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, chap. V, para. 3.



bours in all sincerity, and had guaranteed complete equality and freedom to the Arabs who would remain within the Jewish State. That offer had been spurned, resolution 181 (II) had been rejected and the Arab leadership made the fateful decision to defy the United Nations, occupy the country by force, impose their own solution and face the world with a "fait accompli."

8. There had been many attempts to present the Arab resort to force as a reaction to Jewish "terrorism." The attack on Deir Yassin so often referred to had been an isolated incident, publicly condemned at the time by the Jewish leadership. The United Nations Mediator had said in his telegram to the Secretary-General of 12 September 1948 (S/999) that the Arab allegations were enormously exaggerated. The same could not be said of the organized bands of Arab irregulars, who killed and mutilated civilians in the most barbaric way. The responsibility for the war of 1948, and its miseries, was clear from the official records of the United Nations.

9. Even before the adoption of resolution 181 (II) on 29 November 1947, Arab spokesmen had stated their determination to obstruct it by all possible means, and the very day after the Arab League published its programme for the occupation of Palestine by the armies of the League and the forcible prevention of the establishment of a Jewish State. The Palestine Arab Higher Committee announced a holy war against the Jews. In a special report to the Security Council,<sup>7</sup> on 16 February 1948, the United Nations Palestine Commission stated that powerful Arab interests both inside and outside Palestine in defiance of the General Assembly's resolution were engaged in attempting to alter the settlement by force. The 100,000 Jews in Jerusalem had been cut off from the coast, and various Jewish villages had been overrun or subjected to heavy attack. In a report to the Second Special Session of the General Assembly,<sup>8</sup> on 10 April 1948, the Palestine Commission reported that armed Arab bands from neighbouring Arab States had infiltrated into the territory of Palestine and together with local Arab forces were defeating the purposes of the partition resolution by acts of

<sup>7</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Special Supplement No. 2, document S/676.*

<sup>8</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Special Session, Supplement No. 1.*



violence. It was after that onslaught had been repulsed and the tide of the fighting had begun to turn, that panic had set in amongst the Arab population and they had started to flee. That movement had been deliberately ordered and fomented by the Arab leaders. It was politically intolerable to them that the local Arab population should settle peacefully in areas under Jewish control, and they had therefore ordered an immediate mass evacuation, promising the Arabs that within a few weeks they would be able to return in triumph. Far from expelling the Arabs, the Jewish authorities had appealed to them to stay where they were under guarantees of their security. That had been reported by the Haifa Arab Emergency Committee. The fact that the Arabs had been ordered to flee by their own leaders had been confirmed by a number of Arab spokesmen, including Jamal Bey Husseini, speaking for the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, in a statement to the Security Council<sup>9</sup> on 23 April 1948, and also by Mgr. George Hakim, by Edward Atiyah and Emile Ghory.

10. The Jewish authorities had done everything possible to persuade the Arab leaders to stop fighting and reach an understanding for the future. The proclamation of independence of the State of Israel after the end of the Mandate on 15 May 1948 had contained an appeal to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the State. On the first morning of Israel's independence, Egyptian planes had dropped bombs on the civilian population of Tel Aviv. On the same day, the armies of the surrounding Arab States had invaded Palestine and the invasion had been announced in telegrams to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the President of the Security Council. A week later, the Council had adopted a resolution calling for a cease-fire.<sup>10</sup> That appeal had been rejected. It was not until the Security Council took a decision threatening sanctions<sup>11</sup> against the Arabs, at the end of May, that a month's truce had been arranged. When it expired, the United Nations Mediator had told the Security Council that the Arabs were not prepared to accept a prolongation of the truce. The Security Council then adopted a resolution<sup>12</sup> determining, for the first time in its history, that

<sup>9</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, No. 62, 287th meeting.*

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid., Supplement for May, 1948, document S/773.*

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid., document S/801.*

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid., Supplement for July, 1948, document S/902.*

the situation constituted a threat to peace within the meaning of Article 39 of the Charter and ordering the Governments concerned to cease fire or face further action under Chapter VII of the Charter. The preamble of that resolution noted that the provisional government of Israel had indicated its acceptance in principle of a prolongation of the truce, and that the States members of the Arab League had rejected the successive appeals of the United Nations Mediator and of the Security Council for a prolongation. It was clear who the aggressors in Palestine had been, who had sent their armies across their own borders into another country and had refused to stop the fighting until they had actually been defeated on the field of battle. The story put forward by the Saudi Arabian representative that the Jews were the aggressors and that the Arab armies had only come in to save their brethren was quite out of keeping with the facts. It was produced because people like the Saudi Arabian representative dared not admit how the Arabs of Palestine had been plunged into disaster by their own leaders. The Jews had also suffered from the Israel-Arab war. Nevertheless, despite the past, they were prepared to make a fresh start with their Arab neighbours. They were not prepared, however, to have the record of the past distorted.

11. In the negotiations which had followed under the auspices of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, the main difficulty had been the refusal of the Arab delegations to meet with the delegation of Israel, and the refusal of their Governments to recognize the country with which they were supposed to be negotiating. The Saudi Arabian representative had attacked the United Nations Conciliation Commission fiercely. The Commission's last serious attempt to break the deadlock had been at the conference it had convened in Paris in the summer of 1951. It had then put forward as a basis for discussion a series of proposals and suggested in a preamble<sup>13</sup> that all the Governments concerned should subscribe to a declaration of intention to settle all differences solely by peaceful means. Israel had been willing to do so but the Arab Governments had refused. At about the same time, Egypt had been arguing before the Security Council that it was justified in blocking the Suez Canal to Israel traffic because it was in a state of war with Israel. The Committee could judge for itself where the responsibility lay for the breakdown in the efforts to make peace.

<sup>13</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 18, para. 23.*



12. The Saudi Arabian representative had repeated (308th meeting) an old charge that Israel had adopted certain positions at the Lausanne Conference in May 1949, in order to gain admission to the United Nations by deceit, and had abandoned them once it had been admitted. That assertion was completely false. Israel had been admitted to the United Nations in May 1949 by a unique procedure. The question of its admission had been referred to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and during the debate, the representative of Israel had made a long statement and had then submitted to an interrogation<sup>14</sup> by members of the Committee. He had made a full disclosure of the Israel Government's position on each point. On the refugee problem he had stressed that paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) contained the qualifications of peace and practicability, that the refugee problem could not be taken out of the context of a general peace settlement, and that the main solution should lie in the resettlement of the refugees in the Arab countries and not in their repatriation.

13. It had also been suggested that on 12 May 1948, during the Lausanne Conference, a protocol had been signed by which Israel and the Arab States agreed to the 1947 partition boundaries, and that Israel had afterwards broken that agreement. That was also untrue. There were, in fact, two separate protocols,<sup>15</sup> one signed by the United Nations Conciliation Commission and the representative of Israel and the other signed by the Commission and the Arab representatives. In both it had been stated that the working document attached to the protocol would be taken as a basis for discussions, and that the exchanges of views which would be carried on by the Commission with the two parties would bear upon territorial adjustments to the protocol. That working document was a map showing the territory attributed to the Arab and Jewish States respectively by the 1947 partition decision. It had not been an agreement or a binding commitment but merely a temporary procedural device designed to initiate discussions. By 1950, the Conciliation Commission had come to the conclusion that the protocols could not serve as a basis for negotiation, and had dropped them.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, *Third Session, Part II, Ad Hoc Political Committee*, 45th, 46th and 47th meetings.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, *Fourth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, Annex*, vol. II, document A/927, annexes A and B.



14. The mentality which had rejected every constructive solution in the past was still reflected in the statements being made in the Committee. That mentality, clinging to the vain hope that Israel could be eradicated, explained the Arab policy of belligerency against Israel. The Arab leaders told their peoples that Israel would be attacked again and diverted their resources to the training and equipping of armies. The Suez Canal was closed to Israel ships and cargoes, in defiance of Security Council decisions; the Arab League maintained an elaborate apparatus of blackmail against third-party States and firms carrying on normal trade relations with Israel. Israel nevertheless continued to grow and its ties of friendship with the outside world continued to expand. For that reason, the newly independent States were being bombarded with anti-Israel propaganda. The allegation of colonialism was too obviously spurious to need refutation. Nor was there the slightest truth in the charge of Israel expansionism. None of the border incidents which had occurred had been initiated by the Israel Security Forces, which had only acted to put a stop to the raids of armed bands. According to the Cairo newspaper *Akher Sa'a* of 19 July 1961 Mr. Mounir El-Rais, the Mayor of Gaza, whose name appeared as one of the group whose spokesmen would be given a hearing before the Committee, had stated that the battle for Palestine's "liberation" must be continued by means of incursions carried out by the Egyptian-trained Fedayeen guerilla groups (whose activities had led to the Sinai campaign of 1956).

15. A peace treaty could be signed between Israel and its Arab neighbours to allay Arab fears, and define the political frontiers between them; a non-aggression pact could be signed; disarmament arrangements, with mutual inspection and control, could be entered into; the borders could be guaranteed by the United Nations or the great Powers. The Arab States had rejected all those proposals, plainly because it was not Israel which wanted to occupy Arab territory, but the Arab States which wanted to occupy Israel.

16. If there was any threat to the independence of Arab countries it came from other Arab countries. In 1958 the Sudan had complained to

the Security Council<sup>16</sup> of Egyptian military occupation of a part of its territory; in 1958, Lebanon<sup>17</sup> and Jordan<sup>18</sup> had brought complaints to the Council arising out of Egyptian aggressive activities; and in the same year those activities had led to a major Middle East crisis which had necessitated the Third Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly. Syria had only recently regained its independence from the United Arab Republic; there had been another recent crisis over Kuwait; and Mauritania, on which Morocco had designs, had been admitted to the United Nations only against the vigorous opposition of all the Arab States.

17. Another false allegation was that the Arab minority in Israel was persecuted. One-tenth of the citizens of Israel were Arabs; they enjoyed full political rights and many were members of Parliament, mayors, city councillors, judges, police officers, civil servants and teachers. They had full religious and cultural autonomy, and the official use of Arabic for all purposes was authorized. Their economic and social advance since 1948 had been remarkable. The average annual income of an Arab family in Israel was about \$1,600, as compared with \$40 *per caput* in Saudi Arabia. Some security restrictions were enforced in certain border areas; they applied to all the inhabitants of those areas, but were necessitated by hostile acts and infiltration from the Arab States.

18. The Saudi Arabian representative had made great play of recent demonstrations in Nazareth. While the Israel authorities knew why, and by whom, those demonstrations had been organized, they surely went to show the remarkable degree of freedom enjoyed by Israel Arabs. A quotation had been cited from *The New York Times* to the effect that Israel's Arab citizens were not given access to the civil courts. That was completely incorrect: the Israel civil courts were open to all, and the different religious communities had their own religious courts for matters of family and personal status. *The New York Times* had published a letter two days previously setting the facts straight.

19. Israel was a democratic society, with a free Press, and with hundreds of thousands of visitors from abroad, so that anyone could find

<sup>16</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirteenth Year, Supplement for January, February and March, 1958*, document S/3963.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June, 1958, document S/4007.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1958, document S/4053.



out for themselves the facts about life in Israel. It was particularly inadvisable of the representative of Saudi Arabia to make allegations in that regard, for the facts about the feudal régime, the economic inequalities and the low living standards of the masses in Saudi Arabia were not unknown to the outside world, not to mention the half million slaves, most of them Africans, who were bought and sold like cattle in that country. If the Saudi Arabian representative wanted a United Nations commission of inquiry, he should invite it to the country which he represented. Israel did not need such a commission. One service that the Saudi Arabian representative could perform for the Arabs of Israel would be to persuade his Government to allow Israel's Moslem citizens to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca.

20. It was particularly contemptible for the Saudi Arabian representative to try to equate Israel and Zionism with Nazism. The Israel Foreign Minister had made a very full reply, to an identical allegation by the same representative (1038th plenary meeting), in the General Assembly at the 1039th plenary meeting on 18 October.

21. Having failed to prevent the creation or the growth of Israel, the Saudi Arabian representative was trying to turn the United Nations into an instrument of Arab hostility, and to persuade it to take measures which were inconsistent with Israel's sovereignty and its status as a United Nations Member. For example, when that representative spoke of implementing paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III), he meant that the United Nations should install the refugees on Israel territory without the permission of the Israel Government. The Saudi Arabian representative also wanted the United Nations to make itself the guardian of one section of the population of Israel; and he wanted the Organization to take charge of properties in Israel and to repeal the property laws adopted by the Israel Parliament. However, Israel was not a Non-Self-Governing Territory under United Nations administration, and the United Nations could intervene in Israel's affairs only to the extent that it could also intervene in the affairs of Saudi Arabia.

22. With regard to the alleged property rights of the refugees, his delegation had pointed out at the resumed fifteenth session<sup>19</sup> of the Gen-

<sup>19</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Part II, Special Political Committee, 250th meeting.*



eral Assembly that such proposals were quite outside the scope of the item on the agenda and had no foundation in law, in fact or in established international practice. His delegation had pointed out then that property rights within the territory of a sovereign State were exclusively subject to the domestic law of that State, that the United Nations had no competence to concern itself with the regulation of such property rights, and that the situation would not be altered by the fact that the claimants happened to be refugees, and the recipients of United Nations assistance. If it were otherwise, the United Nations would be involved in private claims on behalf of tens of millions of people in scores of different countries. The number of human beings involved in the displacements which had taken place as the result of post-war political upheavals was up to forty million.

23. The figures quoted by Arab spokesmen regarding the extent of Arab land holding in what was now Israel territory were totally misleading, as his delegation would show later if necessary. Most of the area in Israel had been Crown land under the Mandatory régime, and this *ipso facto* became vested in the Israel Government after independence.

24. Because the Saudi Arabian representative knew that the United Nations could not interfere with the internal property legislation of a sovereign State, he was obliged to invent a curious doctrine of half-sovereignty, based on General Assembly resolution 181 (II), which the Arabs had declared invalid and had attempted to frustrate by armed force. It was also argued that certain statutes of the State of Israel were illegal because they were said to be inconsistent with that resolution, though the Arab representatives had declared at the time that they regarded the resolution itself as illegal.

25. The Saudi Arabian representative had argued that the Palestine question was still a United Nations problem and that the responsibilities with which the United Nations had vested itself in 1947 remained intact in 1961. That was not so. Palestine had ceased to exist as from 1948. The relationship between Israel and the United Nations and its position as a sovereign State were unaffected by the fact that the Arab States chose not to recognize the State of Israel.

26. The Saudi Arabian representative had given a long list of property laws in other countries, none of which had any bearing on the question of abandoned property in Israel; they had been cited in order to hide the

fact that there had never been a case of an international property custodian.\*

27. It was the refugees themselves who were the chief victims of the mentality reflected in the Saudi Arabian representative's speech. Every effort to help them to be absorbed into productive life had been thwarted, from the projects of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East (Clapp Mission) in 1949 and the Johnston Plan, to the late Secretary-General's report of 1959.<sup>20</sup>

28. The refugee problem must not be solved, because the refugees were needed as a political and military weapon against Israel. It was said that the refugees must not be resettled but must be permitted to return to Israel, but it was quite clear that the intention was not that they should become loyal citizens of Israel. In his statement, the Saudi Arabian representative had said that he was not concerned with the allotment of areas, because Israel had no right to a single span of Palestine, which had always been Arab homeland and would so become again for all time to come. The aim was clearly conquest by repatriation. On 26 June 1961, the Government radio of the United Arab Republic had declared that the refugees would not return under the protection of "the Israel gang" but to a liberated Arab State. On 1 September 1961, according to the *Die Weltwoche* of Zurich, Switzerland, President Nasser had declared that if the Arabs returned to Israel, Israel would cease to exist. In May 1961, President Bourguiba had spoken of

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\*Speaking on this subject at the Plenary Meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on 20 December 1961, Ambassador Gomay said:

"For those delegations who are genuinely concerned for the refugees, it is as well to glance at what has happened so far in this property field. The Commission and the Israeli Government have in fact achieved a wide area of co-operation. Since 1949 Israel has offered — and it still offers — to negotiate a compensation agreement for abandoned immovable property. For the last ten years we have given every facility to the Conciliation Commission experts in the gigantic task of identifying and evaluating the individual property holdings as they existed before the end of the mandate. In addition, we have, in co-operation with the Commission, released all the refugee bank accounts in Israel, amounting to nearly \$10 million, and handed over all the safe-deposit lockers and valuables left behind.

"This is the record. We would ask in all earnestness whether this continuous process should be jeopardized in exchange for a purely political proposal whereby the United Nations is asked to take unilateral measures, which it is not competent to take and which no self-respecting Government would be able to accept. My Government, at any rate, can only deal with these property matters on the basis of its sovereignty and its legislation, and on the basis of freely negotiated agreements." (A/PV. 1086, page 12)

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, Fourteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 27, document A/4121.



the possibility of negotiating an agreement between the Arabs and Israel at some future date. The official organ of the Nasser régime *Al Goum-houriah* had said that Habib Bourguiba was a criminal to suggest that negotiations with Israel might eventually become possible, for the Arabs would never agree to negotiations. Even in the refugees' schools, according to a statement of the Director-General of UNESCO on 16 November 1957, Arab children were being taught that some day they would push the Israelis into the sea. In 1948, the Arab leaders had called upon the Arabs in Israel to evacuate their homes with the promise that they would soon return with victorious Arab armies. In the same way, they were still being told that they must reject any constructive solution to their problem, and must wait for a repatriation by force of arms.

29. In 1947 and 1948, the Arab leaders had been confronted with a choice between war and peace. As the United Nations Mediator had said in his report<sup>21</sup> to the General Assembly, in September 1948 the Arab States were faced with the dilemma that they must either resign themselves to the presence of the Jewish State or pursue the course of defying the United Nations. That dilemma still confronted them today. Israel would continue to seek to compose its differences with the Arab world through negotiations so that together they could work for the welfare of their peoples. Arab statements in the United Nations might not provide much prospect for successful negotiations, but it should be remembered that there were many constructive elements in the Arab world, and that a new generation was growing up, anxious to forget the sterile quarrels of the past. Countries having ties with both the Arab States and Israel, as well as the United Nations itself, should use their influence to bring about a peaceful solution.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, Third Session, Supplement No. 11, Part One, chap. II, para. 9.



## APPENDIX "A"

### 1. The Peace Resolution

On 19 December 1961, at the closing meeting of the Special Political Committee of the Sixteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly, a vote was taken on Draft Resolution A/SPC/L.80/Rev. 1/Corr. 1, calling on the Arab States and Israel to settle their differences by direct negotiations. The resolution was submitted by the Central African Republic, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, El Salvador, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Madagascar, Netherlands, Niger, Sierra Leone, Upper Volta and Uruguay.

Following is the text of the draft resolution:

"The General Assembly,

"Taking note of the Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (A/4861),

"Recognizing that the establishment of peaceful relations between the Arab States and Israel would do much to facilitate a solution of the problem of the Arab refugees,

"Recalling that, under the Charter, it is the fundamental duty of all States Members of the United Nations to endeavour to settle all international disputes by peaceful means,

"Confirming the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in particular General Assembly resolution 194 (III), calling upon Israel and the Arab States to settle the questions in dispute between them as soon as possible and by common agreement, so that peaceful relations may be established between them,

"Considering that such peaceful relations would promote the well-being of all the peoples concerned and would make an important contribution to peace and security in the Middle East and in the whole world,

"Renews its appeal to the Governments concerned to undertake direct negotiations — with the assistance of the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, if they so desire — with a view to finding a solution, acceptable to all the parties concerned, for all the questions in dispute between them, particularly the question of the Arab refugees."

The draft resolution was rejected by 44 votes to 34, with 20 abstentions.

The following is a list of the countries that voted in favour of the resolution:

Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Sierra Leone, Upper Volta, Uruguay.

## **2. Analysis of the Vote: 'Trend of Opinion In Favor of Negotiation'**

On 20 December 1961, the Representative of Upper Volta, Mr. Guirma, speaking at the Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly, made the following observation concerning the significance of the Committee's vote:

"This draft resolution was rejected by the Special Political Committee. But in analyzing the division of the votes, it becomes clear that if one leaves aside the parties directly interested in the problem, the remaining votes appear divided in such manner as to reveal a certain world opinion which must be taken into account.

"Thus, 34 delegations voted for the draft resolution I have just referred to, while 44 delegations opposed it and 20 delegations abstained. But if we disregard the vote of the directly interested parties, we find 33 votes in favour of the draft resolution and only 31 against it. This indicates that in the world of today there exists a strong trend of opinion which tends to call upon the various Members of the United Nations to settle their problems through negotiation, in accordance with the Charter." (A/PV. 1086, p.6)

## **3. Statements Before the Special Political Committee in Favor of Israel-Arab Peace Talks**

In the course of the debate in the Committee, a number of delegates spoke in support of the draft resolution or of the principle of direct negotiations as a means of solving the Arab-Israel impasse, in general, and the refugee problem in particular. The following are excerpts (from the U.N. Summary Records) from some of these statements.

### **U.N. Resolutions Call for Negotiations**

#### **NEW ZEALAND:**

"General Assembly resolution 194 (III) was the key declaration of principle in relation to the refugees. Paragraph 11 had frequently been quoted in the course of the Committee's delibera-



tions. The resolution should, however, be considered as a whole, since it included also the important paragraphs 5 and 6, requesting the Governments and authorities concerned to seek agreement by negotiation and instructing the Conciliation Commission to assist them in achieving a final settlement."

*(Mr. Roberts, New Zealand, A/SPC/SR.319, p. 312)*

**AUSTRALIA:**

"In that resolution (194 [III]) the Assembly had entrusted to the (Conciliation) Commission two tasks which were essentially connected with the question under discussion and were defined in paragraphs 6 and 11 of the resolution . . . the provisions of paragraph 6 were still valid and it was to be hoped that, in spite of the unfavourable signs, the Commission would be able to contribute to a final settlement of the whole question."

*(Mr. Hood, Australia, A/SPC/SR.320, p. 320)*

**IVORY COAST:**

"It should be noted that Resolution 194 (III), which provided for repatriation or compensation of the refugees in paragraph 11, also recommended peaceful negotiations in paragraph 5."

*(Mr. Usher, Ivory Coast, A/SPC/SR.316, p. 299)*

**PANAMA:**

"The right course was to apply the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which called upon Israel and the Arab States to reach a final settlement of all the outstanding points that separated them, jeopardizing not only the future of the refugees but also the maintenance of peace in the Middle East. The chances of success would be increased if the parties concerned put bitter memories and unrealistic aspirations behind them and entered into direct negotiations."

*(Mr. Duncan, Panama, A/SPC/SR.315, pp. 290-1)*

**URUGUAY:**

"Draft resolution A/SPC/L.80 . . . had been criticized for not referring to past United Nations resolutions . . . In actual fact, however, far from disregarding earlier resolutions, the draft resolution was designed to bring about their implementation through negotiations, or indeed by any other peaceful means which would be made possible as a result of negotiations."

*(Mr. Ferreira Aldunate, Uruguay, A/SPC/SR.324, p. 345)*



## **U.N. Reports Stress Peaceful Relations**

### **IVORY COAST:**

“... in all the reports concerning the question of the Palestine Arab refugees the view had been expressed that the establishment of peaceful relations between the parties would facilitate a solution of the refugee problem.”

*(Mr. Usher, Ivory Coast, A/SPC/SR.324, p. 344)*

## **Refugee Question Part of General Problem**

### **DENMARK:**

“The events of the past thirteen years had shown that the question of the refugees was closely bound up with the general question of Palestine. The Danish delegation strongly hoped that, with or without the assistance of the Conciliation Commission, the Governments concerned would begin direct negotiations so that peace and harmony might once more prevail among the States of the Near East.”

*(Mr. Abrahamson, Denmark, A/SPC/SR.322, p. 334)*

### **IVORY COAST:**

“Under the Charter, Member States had pledged themselves to seek to settle their disputes by peaceful means, and if it was desired to solve the Palestine question and to save human beings from the humiliation of living on international charity, the parties must be persuaded to negotiate.”

*(Mr. Usher, Ivory Coast, A/SPC/SR.314, p. 282)*

### **NIGER:**

“The sponsors of Draft Resolution A/SPC/L.80 . . . had deliberately chosen to make their wording general in a desire to facilitate negotiations. He shared the view of the representative of the Ivory Coast that the problem of the Arab refugees could only be settled by an exchange of views between the two parties directly concerned . . .”

*(Mr. Djermakoye, Niger, A/SPC/SR.317, p. 304)*

### **CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC:**

“... we also had placed before us a draft resolution initiated by the delegation of the United States . . . Although in our opinion this constituted but a very incomplete attempt which did not at all go to the root of the question — which is, above all, the question of relations between Israel and the Arab States — we were of the opinion that this draft could be regarded as

better than nothing at all, since something certainly had to be done for the refugees . . . If it is a case of relations between Israel and the Arab States, this should be frankly stated and the interested parties should be invited to negotiate . . .”

*(Mr. Gallin-Douathe, Central African Republic, A/PV.1086, p. 7)*

#### **Trend of World Opinion**

##### **UPPER VOLTA:**

“ . . . in the world of today there exists a strong trend of opinion which tends to call upon the various Members of the United Nations to settle their problems through negotiation, in accordance with the Charter.”

*(Mr. Guirma, Upper Volta, A/PV.1086, p. 6)*

#### **U.N.'s Impotence Points to Direct Talks**

##### **NETHERLANDS:**

“The point was that so long as there existed between Israel and its neighbours a spirit of animosity as virulent as that shown in the discussion before the Committee, the United Nations would prove powerless to make any progress at all. That was the reason why the Netherlands delegation had joined with other delegations which, like itself, had no direct interests at stake in the issue, in appealing to the Governments concerned to undertake negotiations with a view to finding a solution acceptable to all the parties concerned for all the questions in dispute between them, including the question of the Arab refugees.”

*(Mr. Schurmann, Netherlands, A/SPC/SR.318, p. 306)*

#### **Welfare of Refugees Primary Concern**

##### **GUATEMALA:**

“Admittedly, it was difficult to find a solution when important political issues were at stake, but the welfare of the human beings concerned should be the overriding consideration . . . In the interest of promoting such a solution her delegation had co-sponsored draft resolution A/SPC/L.80 . . .”

*(Mrs. Quan, Guatemala, A/SPC/SR.316, p. 293)*

##### **LIBERIA:**

“ . . . the lot of the Palestinian refugees aroused the deepest compassion and should induce the Arab States and Israel to make renewed efforts to reach a settlement.”

*(Mr. Cooper, Liberia, A/SPC/SR.319, p. 316)*



### **Governments' Responsibility**

#### **TURKEY:**

"... the General Assembly had in 1952 adopted resolution 512 (VI) expressing the view that the Governments concerned had the primary responsibility for reaching a settlement of their outstanding differences. The General Assembly had also considered that the Conciliation Commission should continue its efforts to secure the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine and accordingly should be available to the parties to assist them in reaching agreement."

*(Mr. Eldem, Turkey, A/SPC/SR.322, p. 331)*

#### **FRANCE:**

"As far back as 1952 the General Assembly in its resolution 512 (VI) had noted that the Commission had been unable to fulfill its mandate; it had considered that the Governments concerned had the primary responsibility for reaching a settlement of their outstanding differences and had stated that the Commission should be available to the parties to assist them in reaching agreement. The Commission was still available to them for that purpose, but he could not help thinking that those who had attacked it were hardly inspired by a desire for conciliation."

*(Mr. Millet, France, A/SPC/SR.316, p. 294)*

#### **DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:**

"The Committee should also solemnly call upon the Governments concerned to undertake, with the assistance of the Conciliation Commission, direct negotiations on all outstanding questions . . ."

*(Mr. Calderon, Dominican Republic, A/SPC/SR.322, p. 332)*

### **Arabs Must Recognize Need for Cooperation**

#### **UPPER VOLTA:**

"... the Israel Minister for Foreign Affairs had proposed that the Middle East should be made a testing-ground for disarmament. That was a concrete and positive proposal. In the same spirit, Draft Resolution A/SPC/L.80, of which his delegation was a co-sponsor, in calling upon the Arab Governments to negotiate with Israel, was in effect inviting them to make their contribution to world peace and to recognize the need for cooperation through the United Nations."

*(Mr. Guirma, Upper Volta, A/SPC/SR.316, p. 295)*



## **Israel's Sovereignty**

### **IVORY COAST:**

"... it should be realized that, just as integration necessitated discussions with the States that would be asked to accept and naturalize the refugees, so repatriation required negotiations with Israel, which was just as much an independent State as the Arab States."

*(Mr. Usher, A/SPC/SR.317, p. 301)*

### **'The Best of All Solutions'**

### **MEXICO:**

"In the view of the Mexican delegation, the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.80 had adopted a completely impartial attitude and were proposing the best of all solutions — direct negotiations."

*(Mr. Gomez Robledo, Mexico, A/SPC/SR.322, p. 334)*

### **SIERRA LEONE:**

"... in joining the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.80, Sierra Leone, which enjoyed friendly relations with both parties to the dispute, was anxious to help create a favourable climate for negotiations."

*(Mr. Collier, Sierra Leone, A/SPC/SR.322, p. 333)*

### **CONGO — LEOPOLDVILLE:**

"The best thing to do would be to call upon the Conciliation Commission to arrange for the two parties to be brought together for an exchange of views on the refugee question."

*(Mr. Kapongo, Congo-Leopoldville, A/SPC/SR.324, p. 347)*

APPENDIX "B"

## Recent Arab Threats Against Israel

While demanding repatriation of the Arab refugees, Arab leaders and government-controlled radio stations continue to proclaim their plans for the destruction of Israel. Here are some recent examples of such pronouncements:

### **President Nasser: Determined to Liquidate Israel**

"Our peoples' determination to liquidate the Israeli aggression against a part of the Palestinian homeland represents a determination to liquidate one of the most dangerous . . . enclaves opposing the struggle of peoples."

*(From the National Charter presented by  
President Nasser of Egypt on 21 May 1962)*

### **President Nasser: Peaceful Solution? Over Our Dead Bodies!**

"Now that the Algerian problem has been solved, we are left with the Palestine problem . . . We will not accept the Zionist entity under any circumstances. We will give the Palestinian people every assistance in the restoration of its rights. These statements are not for internal consumption only . . . Israel's statesmen and Ben-Gurion used to say that their aim is to impose a peaceful solution — but they will not succeed in implementing this strategy unless they first overcome the UAR and its people."

*(President Nasser of Egypt, in an address  
in Cairo on 22 July 1962)*

### **Prime Minister Kassem: 'Liberation of Palestine'**

"It is necessary to emphasize, on this occasion, that the Palestine Liberation Army must now begin its practical and serious task: the liberation of Palestine. We will support the Palestinian people in this task."

*(From a telegram sent by Iraqi Premier Abdul Karim Kassem to the Academy for Reservists, as broadcast by Radio Baghdad, 20 March 1962)*

**King Saud: 'We Will Support You'**

"Stolen Palestine will not be returned except by its own sons. The Palestinian potential must prepare itself for the day of revenge . . . The Saudi Government and its nation will support you materially, spiritually and morally."

*(King Saud of Saudi Arabia, quoted by "Al-Jihad," Jordan daily, 22 April 1962)*

**King Hussein: 'Arab People Will Break Out'**

"This part of our dear Palestine that includes the sector west of the Jordan . . . has always served as a great base of Arab Palestine. From its territory a great concentration of the Arab people will break out to restore the holy rights of Palestine."

*(In a speech to the Jordanian people, Radio Amman, 1 May 1962)*

"Jordan will be the starting point for the liberation of Palestine . . ."

*(Radio Amman, 25 April 1962)*

**Mayor of Gaza: Towards 'War for Return'**

"The Palestinian nation . . . is still determined to engage in 'The War for the Return,' as it believes that it will remain the striking force in the campaign for the liberation of Palestine."

*(Mayor Munir al-Rayis of Egyptian-held Gaza, quoted by "Voice of the Arabs," Cairo, 7 March 1962)*

**Cairo: 'Recover Palestine by Force'**

"The hour for revenge has now come, and decisive, serious steps must be taken to recover Palestine by force of arms."

*(“Voice of the Arab Nation,” Cairo, 15 May 1962)*

**Cairo: 'UAR Trains Palestinians'**

"The leaders of the Palestinian nation in Gaza reported that the publication of the (Egyptian) constitution represents an additional step towards the liberation of their homeland, particularly after the UAR had strengthened the Palestinians' armed forces and had thoroughly trained them."

*(Radio Cairo, 11 February 1962)*



**Syrian C-in-C: 'To Strangle Israel and Liquidate It . . .'**

"The Arabs and their enemy, Israel, have a common naval front on the Mediterranean. This naval front is the only lung through which the Zionist monster, closed in on its three other sides by strong Arab walls, can breathe. In order to strangle Israel and to liquidate it, the Arabs must sever this life-line by a strong Arab naval striking force."

*(Commander-in-Chief of Syrian Armed Forces, Major-General Abdul Karim Zahr ad-Din, at passing-out-parade of Naval Officers' Course, Radio Damascus, 13 January 1962)*

". . . We will liberate Palestine . . . We will shoulder this responsibility, even if we are left alone in the battlefield. We cannot see Palestine as an imperialist bridge. We will crush this bridge! We will cross the border and tear the criminal Israelis apart."

*(Maj.-Gen. Zahr ad-Din in address at Aleppo, Radio Damascus, 3 August 1962)*





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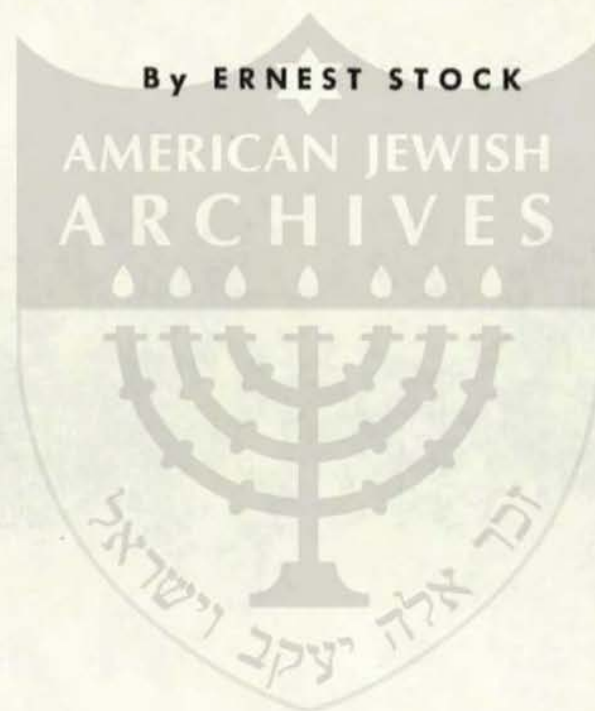
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ב'ס ויגא ארט

## Newcomers in Dimona



From Summer 1962 issue of "Midstream", New York



Dimona is one of the new towns arising in Israel's southern desert. Its population consists largely of new immigrants and additional ones are arriving daily. How these newcomers from faraway lands are provided for and absorbed into their new desert home directly from ship or airplane, is described in the following article. ERNEST STOCK, a student of Middle Eastern affairs, is now living in Israel.

## Newcomers in Dimona

By ERNEST STOCK

**T**HE DIMONA OFFICE of the Jewish Agency is an inconspicuous one-story building of rough natural stone, tucked away among half a dozen similar structures. Only the sign on the door, and the small cluster of people spilling from the interior hallway into the yard, indicate that it is not another immigrant dwelling like its neighbors. The sign says in faded blue Hebrew lettering on white ground:

The Jewish Agency—Absorption  
Department

When I stop the car in the street outside, Arieh tells me not to park so close to the building. I look puzzled and he explains: "We don't want our customers to think we have become prosperous." I park the Peugeot down the unpaved block near the office of Amidar, the company which administers Dimona's public housing and which is less sensitive about its reputation. Another vehicle is already parked there.

Arieh is the field-worker in charge of the Jewish Agency's Dimona office, and I had driven down with him right after his early morning conference at regional headquarters. Before coming down from Be'er Sheba each day, he meets with the Agency's senior staff to discuss special problems and

to pick up case files pertaining to immigrants sent to his town.

Arieh had been told that Dimona's quota of immigrants that day was three families from Haifa port and another from a charter plane expected at Lydda. He had been asked to check with Amidar whether there might be another flat or two ready for occupancy in case of need, but he was pessimistic. During the last few days he had been having trouble accommodating the quota assigned to him because construction was behind schedule. And he definitely did not want to put any more people in asbestos huts if he could help it.

The road from Be'er Sheba to Sodom winds over hills so arid and brown that after a few minutes one is sure the talk about settling the Negev must be sheer fantasy. Twenty miles of it, and no human settlement except a few Beduin tents. Then suddenly the outline of a town appears on the horizon: Dimona.

Along with other towns in sparsely populated areas of Israel, Dimona was founded especially for the purpose of absorbing immigrants when it became clear that the role of agriculture as an instrument for resettlement was about over. Between 1950 and 1957 two dozen such urban centers were set up,



either as completely new towns or as extensions of existing ones. They were located mainly in the far North and South, as Israel's population policy called for the settlement of these regions. A few of them have since seen rapid growth; others threaten to remain permanently depressed areas; and the rest are at the "take-off point" where progress will depend on the injection of large amounts of capital to provide firmer economic foundations. On the whole, the cities of the South have fared better than those in the North, because the South was favored by government and other public bodies in the channelling of people and funds.

Dimona is among the more successful ventures in town building in that area: In less than seven years its population has jumped from zero to 13,000 and is still growing; it has managed to attract industry in the shape of two very large textile plants; and there has rarely been unemployment. But the most telling proof of its success is that frequently immigrants, kept informed of conditions in Israel by the grapevine which seeps back to their countries of origin, explicitly ask to be sent to Dimona when interviewed on board ship. The noisy, sometimes hysterical scenes which occur in other outlying towns where immigrants sometimes refuse to get off the bus or besiege the Jewish Agency office clamoring to be sent somewhere else, are almost unknown here.

But even in a successful development town immigrant absorption is no bed of roses. It is much more a grinding of official mills than of tailor-made attention to the individual, and in the grinding something sometimes gets crushed.

**T**HERE ARE SIX OR SEVEN people waiting in Arieh's tiny office as we walk in, and about as many more are

pushing against the door in the equally narrow waiting-room just outside. They are held in check by an orderly who is blind in one eye and who greets Arieh ceremoniously as he works his way to his desk. Some of the people in the room are talking earnestly with Mordecai, Arieh's assistant, a tall young man with a fine mustache who also serves as interpreter in French and Arabic. Arieh speaks Yiddish. He is a small, slightly built man with deepset eyes in a face that is wrinkled from too much sun and sight of suffering. He is the opposite of the bureaucrat—accessible to everyone, soft-spoken, and eager to cut through red tape. He now digs into his briefcase and hands his assistant a bundle of immigrant identification booklets, each with a check clipped on to it. He asks Mordecai to take the checks to the store which has been selling groceries on credit to a roster of immigrants on the Jewish Agency's guarantee. The checks are for I£ 60 (\$20); if the bill comes to less, the grocer will make the change to the customer.

Mordecai enters the amount in each blue booklet, which the Agency issues to the immigrant even before he steps on Israel's soil. All the assistance he receives is recorded in it, and he is told that it is not charity but a loan which he is one day expected to repay. Should he want to leave the country for good, he must first settle the account.

I pick up one of the booklets. Its owner is a 35 year-old woman with a child, who has been here for a month. She has signed for two beds, two mattresses, and the standard set of equipment (table, stools and simple household ware). For her travel to Israel the Agency spent I£ 375; on arrival in Haifa port she received I£ 15 in cash, and another £I 75 "initial



resettlement aid" in Dimona. The latest entry is the I£ 60 for groceries.

While Mordecai is gone with the checks, Arieh listens to a Yiddish-speaking immigrant, a thin, intellectual looking man wearing a peaked cap, whose silver teeth gleam as he talks. He is a butcher by trade, and there is no work for him in Dimona. Friends in Pardess Hannah found a job for him in that town, and he brings officially stamped letters to prove it. He would like to turn back his Dimona flat and receive one in Pardess Hannah instead.

Arieh looks at the man's blue book and shakes his head. "Not a chance," he says to me in Hebrew. "Born in 1927. We can't get transfers approved for anybody under 50 right now. He will have to work at something else." The man looks 45 but is evidently 10 years younger. Arieh explains to him in his quiet Yiddish that requests for transfers from one town to another are passed on by a committee of the Absorption Department. He is afraid the committee will turn down his request because he is young enough to learn a new trade. He will find work in the textile factory.

"But why should I work in the factory for I£ 7 a day if I can earn twice as much as a butcher?" asks the man. Arieh shrugs and hands him a piece of stationery. "Here, you can write out a request, but it will be turned down. Why didn't you tell them when you were interviewed on the boat that you were a butcher?" The man says he did. Arieh glances at the booklet again. "It isn't written here."

The immigrant makes one last attempt. "I am willing to live in a *tzrif*," he says, in a shack. "A *tzrif* is a house too," Arieh replies. "We don't have any extra ones."

The Agency's unwillingness to transfer immigrants from one place to

another is based on considerations both practical and psychological. Because housing construction barely manages to keep pace with immigration, every available flat is immediately assigned to someone fresh from the ship, and tying up flats for transfer to people who already have settled down might cause shortages at a critical moment. One of the major principles is that every immigrant should have his own roof over his head the day he arrives, and the Absorption Department is proud of its perfect record.

It is also feared that transfers too freely approved might spark an exodus from the development areas to the closely settled coastal strip, whereas the authorities want young and able-bodied men to stay in the hinterland. For men over 50 who have a hard time finding work anywhere, exceptions are made, and parents are reunited with children wherever possible. Apart from this, only members of free professions who can prove they are university graduates are enabled to settle in or near the large cities where their services are in demand.

**B**UT IN SPITE of official policy, there has been a steady movement of immigrants away from the less successful development towns. During 1961, Kiriath Shmoneh in Northern Galilee received 728 new families and 328 moved away. In the same year, nearby Hatzor had a net growth of only 75 families out of 338 sent there. Most of those who drift away do so without Agency help, and their vacated apartments are immediately used again for new arrivals.

Housing built for immigrants, financed in part by Agency funds, is let to them at heavily subsidized rentals. The tenants are encouraged to buy their flats against a modest down



payment and monthly instalments in lieu of rent.

A man with a family of ten complains he received only nine beds. But the man's book shows that he signed for ten beds. Arieh asks Yihyeh to investigate, and tells me in an aside that occasionally a bed is thrown out to make extra space.

Yihyeh is on the payroll of "Supplies for the Immigrants," a company set up by the Jewish Agency to distribute household equipment. He earns I£ 70 a month for part-time work and also gets a small welfare grant because of his handicap. He puts four beds into each new apartment; if the family is smaller, which rarely happens these days, the excess is moved out, if larger, more beds are brought in. Until recently the rest of the furniture consisted of a simple table and two wooden stools, no matter how large the family. Since then instructions have come down to supply as many stools as there are occupants.

The standard immigrant flat, with its two modest-sized rooms, kitchen and toilet-shower, was designed with the small family from Europe in mind. For some of the more prolific recent arrivals, it barely has enough floor space for beds. Relief comes only—in the shape of a second flat—when there are 12 or more. Borderline cases call for ingenuity: As I was crossing the street with Mordecai later in the day, he was accosted by a man who has a family of 11. Since this does not quite entitle him to the extra space, Mordecai had arranged to put him into the same house with two friends, each of whom consented to take in an extra bed. This worked well for a while, but then there was a quarrel and the friendly neighbors threw the beds out. Mordecai promised to find some other solution.

In the office, an older resident argues

quietly with Arieh in guttural Hebrew. Small and wiry, with a neatly brushed mustache, Wakni is a trench-digger for Solel Boneh, the Histadrut construction company. Some weeks ago a nephew and a niece, 15 and 17 years old, arrived in the country and were placed with Youth Aliyah. Their parents were to follow after them but have not yet arrived. Wakni says the children do not want to stay in the boarding-school and have come to live in Dimona. He says he has no room for them and asks that the Agency give them an apartment where they can wait for their parents.

Arieh explains that he cannot give an apartment to two children. The uncle must either persuade them to accept Youth Aliyah placement temporarily or else keep them in his house. In either case, the Agency will pay for their maintenance.

Placated, Wakni says the children will stay with him, but his wife needs another kerosene cooker. This Arieh readily concedes, and they gravely shake hands.

The problem of what to do with the 16 to 18 year-olds who immigrate without their families is perplexing enough. Too old for the Youth Aliyah training course, they are also unable to attend secondary schools because of age, language difficulties and lack of funds. The kibbutzim are eager for manpower but only a small fraction of these boys and girls are willing to try them. The Agency is now experimenting with sending more or less compatible groups of youngsters to farm settlements after a three-month preparatory course. The trouble, however, is that farming seems to have no more attraction for city youths from outside the country than it has for youngsters from Tel Aviv, and the new absorption groups will at best be a



stopgap until the Army takes over for a while.

Next in line is a woman who also speaks fluent Hebrew. She protests that the Agency has sent her relatives for the second time within a year. Arieh agrees that her complaint is legitimate and promises to take the unwanted guests off her hands. But she must be patient—it will take a month to get them a flat. What happens, he explains to me, is simply this: The immigrants are asked on board ship if they have relatives with whom they can lodge. Sometimes they answer yes without the relatives' knowing that they are coming. The Agency is only too glad to save a flat, at least temporarily, and deposits the guests on the surprised relatives' doorstep.

IN ADDITION to Arieh and Mordecai, the Absorption Department staff in Dimona consists of two instructors. They are home-makers, matrons, case-workers and psychologists. Though probably trained in none of these fields, it is they who have the key responsibility of direct contact with the immigrant family. As originally planned the *madricha's* (instructor) job was to visit each family in its new home shortly after arrival and to establish the crucial first link with the resources of the community. This meant taking the children to the school and the father to the labor exchange; guiding the mother in the new household and shopping ways, and knowing when to refer an especially thorny case to the social worker from the Be'er-Sheba office who visits Dimona periodically.

But with 100 new families every month, the two instructors no longer have time for all this. They see the head of each family in the office instead, and house calls are made only if the interview reveals a situation which

had best be looked into at home. Even these special cases take up so much time that the office sessions consist mainly of filling out questionnaires and directing the immigrant to the chain of other institutions which all take a hand in his "absorption."

In the central part of the Agency building, the two women sit at adjoining tables and do their interviewing. Devora Schechter comes from Poland and her public was at one time mainly Yiddish-speaking; her colleague, Hannah Cabeza speaks Arabic and French. But since the need for Yiddish is on the decline, Devora now also works through an interpreter put at her disposal by the local welfare bureau. Both women have a cool, unruffled manner about them which puts their clients at ease. They wear lipstick, smart hairdos and bright, attractive dresses.

I watch them fill in the various forms, make entries on identification cards, and write out the potent referral slips which some of the men in the line grasp as though it were a ticket to fame and fortune. The interview at the Jewish Agency is but the first in a round of calls at institutional offices with which the Immigrant is launched on his career as an Israeli. At the labor exchange he looks for work, but only after he brings a medical certificate from the clinic and is signed up at the Histadrut as a union member; at the Government office he gets his citizen's identity card and his social security number; and if none of this helps him find a job he may be sent to the Jewish National Fund to join an afforestation crew or even to the welfare bureau for assistance.

One can't help but be impressed by the degree of sophistication which Israeli bureaucracy has attained even in this remote setting. But in spite



of the logic in the division of functions among the "absorbing" bodies, the new immigrant is not always sophisticated enough to keep them apart. Most of the offices are at some distance from one another, each with its own separate waiting line, and this institutional Cook's tour can be an exhausting experience. Where the instructor at one time was able to accompany the immigrant on at least part of his rounds, the pressure of new arrivals now makes this impossible.

After a while Devora suggests that I accompany her on a couple of home visits. I offer to drive her around in the car, for which she is grateful. It is hot and dry, and even a short walk in the shadeless streets can be wearying.

Devora carries a briefcase, the symbol of the social worker's trade, though she is not trained as one. To be good at this kind of work, she confides, is mainly a matter of the heart. She says this with a twinkle in her eye, not at all pompously. A short and lively woman in her late 30's, Devora survived an extermination camp and came to Israel via Germany. Her husband is a Histadrut official and local politician. She has three children at home and would like to work mornings only, once the pressure lets up a bit.

We visit a family which came to Dimona the previous month and was assigned two adjoining apartments in an unfinished three-story block. In addition to the couple, there are nine children and an old mother, who lies on a bed skeleton-like. But the "problem" Devora came to investigate is the disposition of a retarded child. Through Nissim, the interpreter, the mother tells us that the girl is eight, though she looks like a toddler. She had been normal in her first year, then for six years made no progress and

only recently began to show some alertness. The eldest son, a young man of nineteen or twenty, sits on one of the Agency-issue stools and smiles sheepishly during the interview. To Devora's question why he is not out working, he replies that he worked two weeks at the textile factory but was sent home without being told why. The father, it turns out, still works at the plant and brings home I£ 7 a day.

Devora asks the mother whether she has a certificate from the doctor about the retarded girl. No. Then she must take her to the Be'er Sheba hospital for an examination. She makes out a referral slip. She also fills in an order form for CARE packages, which are distributed to needy families by the Welfare Ministry, and makes a note to file a Malben referral form for the old mother. Malben is the Israel branch of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which looks after aged and chronically ill immigrants without means of support. If the old woman can be sent to a Malben home, it may make things easier all around, Devora says. On the other hand, the family may decide they want to keep her at home, in which case a modest old-age grant will be forthcoming from a fund to which Malben, the Agency and the Ministry each contribute a share.

Thus the interplay of institutions does not always take place on separate jurisdictional grounds. Two or more groups may get together and pool their resources to meet a particular need. The case of the fund for aged immigrants who arrived too late to be eligible for social security is an example. In another instance, the Jewish Agency, whose role in bringing the immigrants to the town triggers the reaction of all the other groups, pays the initial three months' premium to the Health Insurance Fund and also works closely with the local welfare



bureau. The latter is a department of the Local Council (municipality), but because Dimona is a new town and a poor one, the Welfare Ministry in Jerusalem finances the greater part of its outlay. When a family needs continued public assistance after the initial resettlement aid from the Agency is exhausted, the Agency transmits the funds to the welfare bureau and lets it disburse them. When a major expenditure is required for rehabilitation, as when an invalid is provided with a small store or an artisan with a workshop, the Jewish Agency practice again is to meet the cost together with, or at least through, the welfare agencies.

WE DRIVE PAST the welfare bureau, which is located in a more distant section of town. About 50 clients are waiting outside in the scorching sun. They look much worse as a group than the crowd at the Agency: these are the "social cases" among the immigrants—the old, the halt, the blind, and those unable to work. Devora wants to introduce me to Itzhak Cohen, the director; the guard knows her and unlocks the door to let us enter. But Cohen, a worried-looking, bespectacled man, says he prefers to have me come back at 2 p.m. when reception hours are over and we can talk undisturbed.

I drive Devora to her next call. Another new block of flats, white-washed and clean against the brown sand. In a ground-floor apartment an elderly woman shows us into a half-darkened room where a girl with an enormous head lies on a bed, her limbs thin and frail through the blanket. Only her black eyes are moving as she looks from one to the other of us reproachfully. The sight is so painful that Devora becomes professional and matter-of-fact. Has the doctor seen her

yet? What did he say? The mother does not know. Devora must check with Kupat Holim on the doctor's report—then she will come back and advise the mother what to do. Outside the heat is singeing after the coolness of the darkened room, but I don't mind it. Devora invites me to come along to Kupat Holim where she'll discuss the case, but I want to get back to the Agency.

I get there just in time to witness the day's climactic moment: new immigrants have arrived. Three families with about 15 children and a couple of old men among them are still sitting on the truck which has brought them from Haifa. Too few for a bus, too many for a more comfortable taxicab, they appear dazed by the six-hour ride. Awkwardly they descend from the vehicle and follow Arieh to their "housing." He leads them to a large block of apartments with scaffolding still covering the outside and building workers throwing wet plaster against the cement. Doors are in, but windows have yet to come; during the summer months this is no particular hardship. More unsettling is the absence of electricity and plumbing. There is an unpleasant smell throughout the house, and water has to be hauled up from a pipe in the street. But the immigrants have no complaints. They mount the steps slowly and look with some bewilderment at their apartments, which may well be luxurious beyond any they have lived in before. Yihyeh helps unload the luggage and also brings up the food parcels which the Agency supplies at the port. A few neighbors come in to ask about old home towns and to give advice. The Agency staff knows that fresh arrivals tend to be confused and irritable after their journey; they leave them alone.

Itzhak Cohen, the Director of the Welfare Bureau, is a veteran social



worker who has been in Dimona almost from the beginning. He knows how many families came with each successive phase of migration, how many stayed on from each group, and how many left again. But the current wave, he believes, is the most difficult one. Too many large families with too many problems. Sixty per cent of the families have nine or more members, or the head of the family is too ill or too old to work. There is great disparity in age between husbands and wives, much blindness, and many health problems among the children. Forty per cent of the new arrivals are in partial or full care of the Welfare Bureau. Cohen and his assistant are the only professional social workers in Dimona. To supplement them there is Miriam, a dark-haired young woman of great charm and poise and a natural empathy for her clients which all but makes up for the formal training she lacks. But the huge caseload makes individualized attention impossible.

A request has been made to the Local Council for three more social workers to join the staff but even if it is approved, it will be hard to find qualified personnel willing to move to Dimona. As Cohen mentions this, the social worker who acts as his assistant remarks that she will be leaving at the end of the month. She is a strong-boned, sun-tanned woman in her mid-thirties, probably born in Central Europe but with the resolute air of the generation that grew up in the country. She had left a pleasant home and job in Haifa to come to Dimona. I feel a sense of almost personal loss about her leaving the town and want to plead with her to reconsider. But I simply ask why she is leaving. "It is because of my children. They are not getting the right kind of schooling here," she replies.

Dimona, like every other city in

Israel, has two kinds of public elementary schools: religious and non-religious. The non-religious schools are said to be better, but they too suffer from overcrowding and from the volatile nature of the population. The children do not know Hebrew when they arrive and teachers spend a great part of the time teaching it. After they succeed in bringing the class to a level of language comprehension which permits orderly instruction, new children arrive and the process starts all over again. No wonder that teachers who will voluntarily move to the development towns are almost as hard to find as social workers. But here the army comes to the rescue: It releases drafted women teachers for service in the development towns and it later contributes directly by providing perhaps the only true "melting pot" where people of many backgrounds are thrown together in intimate daily living. Today half of Dimona's teachers are soldiers. There is only one fly in the ointment, which is neither the fault of the army nor of the young women doing the teaching: Because the girls are called up immediately after they graduate, they have no experience behind them when they arrive. Yet they are asked to teach under the most difficult conditions.

**T**O WHAT EXTENT is Dimona a melting pot? Is a new mixture jelling from among the many ingredients? Do the veteran Israelis who live there constitute the kernel around which a social structure is taking shape? To ask these and similar questions I made an appointment to see Reuben Peretz, the Secretary of the Municipality, at his home. Driving slowly over unpaved streets as I look for the house, the temperature gauge warns me that the water in the radiator is nearing the boiling point. At 3 p.m. it is over 100°



in the shade—though Dimona has little shade, because the trees are all newly planted and the skyline is flat. I leave the car to search on foot among the California-style cottages. The heat is extremely dry. When at last I find the house, a young woman opens the door, shushing a baby in French. Inside it is spic-and-span, even cool, with the windows closed and dark curtains keeping out the sun. The woman speaks to me in precise Hebrew and to the baby in melodious French. She offers me lemonade from the refrigerator in a tall glass with lumps of ice in it. I am glad her husband is late from work because I need some time to recover from the short walk in the heat so I can ask him my questions.

Peretz says the veteran Israelis who came to Dimona to work are not contributing much to absorption. In the beginning there was talk about visits to homes, joint programs, etc., but nothing came of it. Peretz does not criticize the old-timers—he thinks the problem is more or less the same everywhere. It is not, he feels, a matter of mingling ethnic communities, as the cliché would have it, but of economic and cultural groups. The men who work in Sodom and live in Dimona maintain social relations with their fellow-workers regardless of national origin. On the other hand, there is a wide gap between the people whose salaries are relatively high, which includes most of the veteran Israelis here, and the unskilled workers who earn a minimum wage. Furthermore, the administrative and professional personnel at the textile plants tend to see themselves on a higher level culturally and intellectually, and prefer to associate with their own group. It is a fact, too, that some of the veterans are part-time residents who still maintain a home in the North to which they travel on weekends.

All of this, Peretz affirms, puts the burden of integration on the institutions. He mentions several more which I had so far missed: a Golden Age Club, which the Welfare Bureau and the Local Council together maintain in a barracks; a day nursery for 80 children built by WIZO, the women's Zionist organization, where working mothers can leave their below-school age children during the day; a small Histadrut-run community center.

There had been headlines in the papers that week about a wave of murders and suicides among immigrants in Migdal Ashkelon, but Peretz tells me that Dimona has been mercifully spared that sort of thing. There is some juvenile delinquency in the town, but almost no adult crime except for family quarrels and an occasional brawl. "Our people like to talk a lot, but are law-abiding when it comes to action" he says. Delinquency consists mainly of petty thefts and breaking windows in the community center.

Reuben Peretz, thin and intellectual-looking, with a bearded face, belongs to the first group of settlers to come to Dimona from North Africa in the mid-fifties. It is their town, and they are proud of it—at times, some outsiders think, inordinately so. Undisputed leader of this young power elite is handsome Armand Laredo, the head of the Local Council. Diffident in conversation yet firm and energetic on an official level, he holds the affection and respect not only of his constituents but also of the powerful officials in the Mapai hierarchy who pick the party's local candidates on the ticket. Elections to the Local Council are along party lines, but since many of the immigrants do not know the difference between the various groups, the members are to a large extent chosen on the basis of personal popu-



larity. And since the city fathers are also immigrants, it is not surprising that some of them are themselves somewhat hazy about their ideology. They do not necessarily stay with the party on whose platform they got elected, in fact several of the Council members have already run through three parties each. Laredo's own position has not been shaken by these goings-on, and he has so far successfully withstood attempts by fractions in his own party to replace him.

IN THE EVENING the heat ends almost abruptly, and a cool wind sweeps through Dimona. After the sun sets, crowds of people appear on the streets, promenading up and down near the shopping center, pausing to chat with neighbors, seeing and being seen. Some of the girls make up conspicuously and dress with some chic, but with an exaggerated flare in their skirts which are just a mite short. Others wear towering hairdos and skin-tight pants in garish colors. The town's single movie house is packed for every show and programs change daily. Live performances by a small theater group which comes to Dimona for a one-night stand every few months can claim only partial success—the hall is filled, but the crowd's attention span soon gives out unless the show is a comedy with the humor clearly visible. Only a minority know enough Hebrew to follow the complexity of a dramatic plot or the subtleties of the dialogue.

For the Jewish Agency personnel there is no privacy during the evening stroll or even at home. A friendly greeting, a worried question, then a few minutes of serious talk as her clients seek out the instructor in the crowd. Hanna Cabeza, Devora's colleague, asks me to come up for some coffee and to meet her family in the evening. Soon we are joined by neigh-

bors who come to discuss their problems in the easy atmosphere of the living-room. A boy brings a letter from a woman pleading for a transfer to Ashkelon where her brother lives. A few minutes later the woman herself turns up for neighborly chat, meanwhile cleverly arguing her case. I begin to see the logic in the committee system of decision-making used by the Agency. It may mean long delays but it does take the pressure off the personnel on the spot.

Mordecai is up late, ready to receive the newcomers who are due after midnight. The driver who will bring them from Lydda knows where he lives and will come straight to his house. While we wait, we are joined by a fine, ruddy-faced young man with the customary mustache. I had asked Mordecai whether there were any Americans in Dimona and he told me there was an Argentinian whom I might wish to meet. But when I try my high-school Spanish on Rafi, he looks uncomprehending. It turns out that he is not from Argentina at all but from Yugoslavia, and his language is Serbo-Croatian, which is not one of mine. Embarrassed laughter all around, and we converse in halting Hebrew.

Rafi works in the Potash Works at Sodom, which is an hour's ride away on the company truck and reputedly one of the hottest places on earth. He says he doesn't mind the heat and hard work, what he does mind is that there is so little to show for it. Everybody in Dimona works hard but nobody has anything. Mordecai disagrees. More and more people own refrigerators, which is a sign of well-being, also upholstered furniture. But Rafi has another complaint: Everybody in Dimona is always tired, and there is no time for enjoying life. He himself goes to the movies once a week, but then he has to get up the next morn-



ing at 5:30 and is tired all day. From his description of Belgrade, things were a good deal more lively there, and I ask him why he came. Rafi says his parents and his whole family were killed, and he wants his children to grow up in Israel. His wife is expecting her first baby next month.

OF ALL THE OFFICES which the immigrant gets to know in Dimona, the Labor Exchange is the most fateful. Here he is told whether he can find work in his trade or will have to become a factory hand or a building worker. Sometimes he learns that he is too old to be accepted in a permanent job and will have to earn a scant living planting trees for the Jewish National Fund.

The Exchange is a branch of the Labor Ministry, which saw to it that it has a pleasant-looking and functional building. Only the steel bars on the windows, which are meant to prevent irate job-seekers from smashing the glass, and the jeep bearing a Government license plate which is parked in the front, mark its official character.

Conducting the operations of the Exchange are its directors, Hanan Ellal, his assistant, Albert Aboutboul, and a half-time employee charged with finding work for women, who divides her time between Dimona and nearby Kfar Yerucham.

Hanan has a forceful, no-nonsense manner about him and discusses his work with great articulateness and clarity. The Exchange must find jobs for between 200 and 250 new immigrants a month and for about 20 others who come to Dimona from within Israel. The office is open two hours in the morning for registration and another two hours in the afternoon for referral. In between, the staff matches applications with openings.

On the days when Hanan and Albert scour the vicinity in their jeep for work opportunities, the Exchange closes down altogether.

The same staff of two and a half which was assigned to the office when the town had a population of 3,000 five years ago, still serves today's 13,000 inhabitants. This leaves no possibility for the kind of interview which would bring out what a person can do so as to put the right man in the right place. For that the office would have to be staffed by four or five men, but so far all requests for reinforcements have been turned down.

Hanan says job opportunities are drying up, but there is no slow-down in the number of people sent to Dimona. Even now more than 100 able-bodied men are doing "made" work for the Jewish National Fund. "They are sending us too many people—and too many who cannot do physical labor, for whom there is nothing to do here. One of these days we will have no more jobs, and then we'll just have to close down." He is annoyed about other things: "They" are sending him TV engineers and dental technicians. "There must be some other places in the country where such people can be of use." The two main sources of jobs are the textile plants, Kitan and Dimona Fibers, and the building trades. But the textile plants are becoming choosy about the personnel they hire, and many of those referred are rejected. Building work will last as long as the immigration keeps up. A third source of employment is the Dead Sea Potash plant, where a big expansion program is about to get under way. For the time being, however, the work calls only for specialists.

I sit in while Albert interviews a blue-shirted truck driver for a job at



Sodom. He extracts his driver's license from a wallet bulging with papers and certificates. Albert studies it carefully, then says in French, "This is good only for trucks up to 8½ tons. Sodom wants drivers for 18-ton trucks, or else tractorists. Have you ever driven a tractor?" The man admits he has never been on one. Albert hands him back his driver's licence. "We will send you to a building course, where you'll be getting I£ 8 day while you are learning. Maybe later they will need your kind of driver in Sodom, then we can pull you out of the course." The man thanks him politely but looks dejected.

The next applicant is also told to report to the building course. He asks Albert's pardon for his behavior that morning, saying that he had been nervous. Albert graciously tells him to forget it and to be sure to report for the course. When he is gone, Albert explains that the boy had become hysterical on being told that there was no work in his trade, leather work, and the police had to eject him. Hanan later says, "Sometimes their rage is justified. We too get nervous after 60 interviews."

L YING FLAT and low-slung in a natural depression half a mile to the west of the last row of apartment blocks, the Kitan textile plant seems strangely silent and lifeless and, with the shimmer of heat hovering over its roof, almost like a mirage. If there is an air of unreality about the whole white cubistic town which anonymous planners decreed should rise from the brown desert sand, to be peopled with Jews from different civilizations and continents, then the sight of this lumbering giant of a plant cradled among the naked brown hills strikes one as the height of incongruity, as an outsize piece of foolhardiness. But it has

been so far the main support of Dimona's still frail economy; it cost more to build than all of Dimona's 2500 housing units combined, and its payroll is the biggest contribution to the town's livelihood. People who worry about such things feel uneasy in the knowledge that Dimona is in fact a one-industry town, and their uneasiness appeared amply justified when the U.S. Government announced, during my stay, that future imports of cotton yarn will be drastically limited. Israel's textile industry is heavily dependent on exports, and its yarns were just beginning to find a market in the U.S.

The young engineer who shows me around the plants, Asher Ornan, is a graduate of the Haifa Technion and of the Textile Engineering School at Georgia Tech. With his crew-cut and white shirt open at the collar, he belongs unmistakably to the breed which runs the world's machines in every country and knows their secrets.

In the spinning section of the vast, windowless plant, the thousands of spindles seem to work away by themselves, with only here and there an attendant checking a dial or replacing a spool. Their noise is little more than a loud hum, but in the wing where the weaving is done there is a great bang and clatter as the shuttles race back and forth on the looms. This work too is almost entirely automated—even the patterns in the cloth are fed to the machines on punched tape. Still, the plant employs more than 800 men and women in its two shifts.

Ornan speaks an American English, and from his stay in the States brought home an American wife with whom he lives in Be'er Sheva. A man who could easily be his father comes up and addresses him deferentially in German. Asher answers in Yiddish.



The conversation is about the yarn-dyeing plant which the older man supervises under Asher's direction. In the European country from which he came less than a year ago, he had been a planner of textile mills like the ones in Dimona.

The problem of communication is only one among many that pose themselves when a complex manufacturing facility is located in a remote immigrant town. Yaakov Tal, the assistant director of personnel in charge of training at Kitan talks about some of them. Before many of the immigrants can be trained to do a specific job, the idea of regular work must first be inculcated in them. Many have a fear of machines, yet they must be taught to rule whole banks of them. Others must get used to the thought that they won't get paid simply for having children, as was the case in the countries from which they came. Where the Government pays premiums to the heads of large families, having a brood of ten can be a livelihood in itself. But Europeans also have their adjustment problems. The Engineers are not used to contradicting management, and old Israelis find it hard to establish rapport with them at staff conferences. While their professional training is sound enough, they are afraid to make use of it if it runs counter to what they believe to be management policy.

Between fifteen and thirty percent in any given population group, Tal explains, has a high potential for learning and acquiring skills. The tests given to Kitan job applicants show that Dimona is no exception. But it takes longer than usual for individuals to do justice to their potential here: the emotional shocks of migration and the disorientation resulting from it impair their effectiveness.

After an applicant is taken on he

receives I£ 7.50 gross daily (\$2.50), which is raised to I£ 8.50 after six months. Two thirds of the personnel taken on in the mill's first year of operation are still with the plant, many of them being trained for more responsible jobs such as loom-fixers and supervisors.

Kitan had the alternative of bringing workers from the North and supplementing them locally, or using untrained local labor primarily. The former course is the one generally adopted when factories are set up far from a supply of skills. At the very least, according to Tal, the first twenty-five per cent of the working force is brought in from the outside. While this would have brought Kitan short-range efficiency, it would also have meant bringing in people whose prime incentive is the premium wage and who would be likely to leave again after they had saved up enough money. By deciding to base the plant on local labor instead and engaging in a costly and time-consuming training program, the management feels it is building up long-range stability.

Workers are made to feel that this is their plant and that they can grow with it. Of the 1200 men and women who will eventually be employed, only three per cent will have been brought in from outside. Productivity is still too low to make output competitive, but the charts in Tal's office show progress toward the goal, and he is confident it will be reached. Dimona's future may well depend on it.

**B**ACK IN THE AGENCY office, the cycle starts anew. Arieh is on the phone with Be'er Sheva. They want to send him eight families, but he has apartments for only five. He compromises on six, offering to find the extra space in an unfinished building by evening.



But eight is out of the question.

The place is in a state of agitation again, with half a dozen people crowding around the desk to be heard. Arieh maintains his calm, replying with courtesy and equanimity.

On the chair next to Mordecai's desk sits a woman of 58, with a finely chiselled face, straight gray hair parted in the middle, the telltale veil of trachoma over one eye. Her husband arrived with one leg; the doctors found cancer in the other; they just took it off. She lives with her blind old parents, there are no children to help with support. Mordecai, who can be so tough, almost weeps with her as the tears begin to stream down her face.

Driving back to Be'er Sheba later that day, I take on a hitch-hiker where the Dimona road joins the Sodom highway. She is a girl of perhaps nineteen or twenty, the kind motorists always

stop for. I ask her the usual questions, the kind every motorist has a right to ask of his hitch-hiker. She came to Dimona six years ago from North Africa; is a first-year nursing student at the Be'er Sheba Hospital; goes home every few days to visit her parents. She graduated from an agricultural school but decided to take up nursing as a career, because she can be of more help to people. When I drop her off, she turns her fresh, bronzed face to me to thank me for the ride. It is the face of a typical Israeli young woman, such as one finds in hundreds of towns and villages, with its blend of ingenuousness and self-confidence. Six years, I say to myself, is not too long for acclimatization to take hold. If Dimona can come up with a whole new generation like this, it will be a success.



# THE TASK IS NOT DONE...

AMERICAN JEWISH  
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Report of 25th Anniversary United Jewish Appeal  
Study Mission to Europe and Israel—October, 1962



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THE TASK IS NOT DONE. . .

The Report of the 25th Anniversary

8TH ANNUAL UNITED JEWISH APPEAL STUDY MISSION

TO EUROPE AND ISRAEL

October 16 - November 1, 1963

High on a hillock at Korazim, overlooking Israel's famed Sea of Galilee, a noted hydraulic engineer stands before a map, tracing the long course of the Jordan-Negev conduit - a great, nine-foot high, pipeline.

"The largest pipeline in the world in the smallest country in the world!" This remark, passed in humor, to the assembled members of the 8th United Jewish Appeal Study Mission, also served as the perfect allegory for the work at hand, and Jewry in general.

"The smallest group in the world with the world's largest and longest lifeline of aid," remarked a Mission member.

Here, in the presence of the members of the Mission, one could move at once from symbolism to fact: the main lifeline - the United Jewish Appeal - anchored firmly in the wellsprings of a dedicated American Jewry deeply concerned with the fate and future of Jews everywhere.

One branch of the UJA lifeline is directed to Jerusalem, the world headquarters of the Jewish Agency for Israel, meeting the needs of Israel's immigrants.

Another stems out from the New York headquarters of the Joint Distribution Committee to its overseas operational center in Geneva and from there veins out to centers of need and distress in 28 countries of the world.

In recent years, some 600,000 Jews yearly have been reached by the overall lifeline. Every year about 300,000 have been aided by each of the two branch lifelines. In the course of a typical year thousands of those outside Israel are brought there, and given every aid to become absorbed into the economic fabric of that country. But others seem to arise and take their place.

## 1962 - NOT AN AVERAGE YEAR

In an average year...but 1962 was not an average year. Neither was the year before it. Nor is there any likelihood that 1963 will be an average year.

In the lexicon of Jewish overseas aid, even the phrase "average year" does not mean a period of greatly lessened responsibilities. But as for 1962, it was one that was overwhelmingly great in unmet needs with:

- Europe teeming with the largest number of Jewish refugees since the DP era.
- Israel called upon to receive the second highest immigration in a decade.
- The United States receiving one of the highest movements of Jewish refugees in recent years.

All in all, 1962 was a year that saw more Jews on the move - nearly 200,000 in various parts of the world - than any since 1957.

It was to assess this situation that the 8th United Jewish Appeal Study Mission, representing a cross-section of the leadership of the American Jewish community, leaders who were charged with the operations of the great UJA lifeline, was led overseas by Joseph Meyerhoff, UJA General Chairman.

On October 15, 1962, members of the Mission dispersed to various destinations in Europe and North Africa.

One group of Mission members, led by Mr. Meyerhoff, flew on to West Germany. Another, headed by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman, UJA Executive Vice Chairman, flew to Poland. A third, consisting of Philip Zinman of Camden, and Mr. and Mrs. Paul Kapelow of New Orleans, went to North Africa. The remaining members went on with Edward M. M. Warburg, UJA Honorary Chairman, and Chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, to Paris.

The first two made pilgrimages to the sites of two of Hitler's most notorious concentration camps: Bergen Belsen near Hamburg, Germany, and Auschwitz, in the



vicinity of Cracow, Poland. While in Poland, the group also visited the Warsaw Ghetto. These three places represent three shrines most sacred to the memory of the six million Jewish victims of the Nazi holocaust.

Then in Paris, all three groups came together on October 18 and began a minute and thorough review of the most pressing Jewish refugee situation in Europe since the DP era following World War II. This is a situation created by the presence of 160,000 Jews in France who have been forced to flee Algeria and other North African countries in the last 18 months.

#### BACKGROUND OF THE MISSION

Composed of 145 men and women from 36 cities in 21 states, the Mission was the largest, as well as one of the most representative of the Jewish leadership of the country, ever to participate in such a venture. Its membership of 145 included 24 UJA officers and members of its policy-setting National Campaign Cabinet. All of the members were key individuals in their communities: past general chairmen of their community campaigns, presidents of local welfare funds and chairmen elect of forthcoming campaigns, and leading contributors.

#### ON THE EVE OF UJA'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY

Notable was the fact that the Mission's journey was being undertaken on the eve of the UJA's 25th Anniversary year. The negotiations between the JDC and the then United Palestine Appeal to form a United Jewish Appeal began following the infamous Kristall Nacht of November 10, 1938 - that night of utter devastation that marked the beginning of the end for 6 million Jews in Europe. The years since UJA's founding constituted an epoch unparalleled in the history of mankind. In this span of years Jewry both suffered the greatest of human tragedies, and reached the highest peaks of human achievements in lifesaving and Jewish community rebuilding, with the aid of the Jews of America.

For these reasons, the Mission's visit was eagerly awaited by the two major Jewish communities whose existence had been reinforced by this unique dedication on the part of American Jewry - the Jews of Europe and of Israel.

The Mission imposed three specific tasks upon itself:

To honor the 6,000,000 slaughtered and to pay tribute to the revived Jewries of Europe and Israel;

To make an exhaustive inquiry into the overseas needs that should be met through UJA in 1963;

And, with the people of Israel about to mark their fifteenth year of statehood, to try to look beyond the immediate present to the time when Israel will complete its second decade of independence and able to accommodate a population of three million.

Each of these tasks the Mission fulfilled.

#### IN GERMANY AND POLAND

The pilgrimages to Germany and Poland - the scenes of Jewry's greatest tragedy - served as more than an occasion to pay homage to the dead: it became a reminder of a terrible loss which will never be recouped. The overriding conclusion that emerged from the visits to the principal Jewish centers of these countries - Hamburg, West Berlin, Cracow and Warsaw - was that these Jewish communities probably would never - certainly not for generations - return to their former stature and glory.

Poland's Jews, Mission members learned, now number 25,000 as compared with a pre-war population of 3,500,000; West Germany's is 20,000 - a loss of nearly 600,000. The latter needed no further help to speak of. Polish Jewry, on the other hand, continues to rely heavily on JDC for child care services, for aid to its sick and aged, for supplementary relief to its indigent, for rehabilitative and vocational training.



At best, it would seem, the Jews of Germany and Poland will remain becalmed, contributing little to Jewish life except through the emigration of their younger people.

That is why it was almost with relief that the two delegations returned to Paris, even though the tide of Jewish woe there was at flood stage.

But here the Mission was also on solid ground. Germany and Poland were places in which to reflect on the past. Here was an arena in which to act to meet the needs of the day. Allies and colleagues were awaiting them here - the Fonds Social Juif Unifie, the central French Jewish Welfare organization, the representatives of the Standing Conference on European Jewish Community Services; the honored JDC.

Since the summer of 1956, France has withstood the shock of recurrent migrations. Among the hundreds of thousands that fled to that country - from Hungary, from Egypt and other lands, were tens of thousands of Jews, the greatest number coming from the former segments of the French empire, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. Two developments provoked the flight of Jews, particularly, from those countries - the clash between the French and Tunisian forces at Bizerte in 1961 and Algeria's independence achieved in July, 1962. The latter development, alone, sent more than 100,000 Jews in flight to France.

In all, 160,000 Jews from North Africa have come to France in the last 18 months. France? Why not Israel?

In Paris, it was not difficult for the Mission to understand. Algerian Jews - like the Jews of France itself - are French citizens, the products of French egalitarianism. Their education, their customs, their mores are French. They came from an area that was as integral to France as Hawaii and Alaska are to the United States. The French government is helping all former residents of Algeria who held citizenship without distinction.

The help is small and inadequate. But Algerian Jews having opted to come to stay in France wish to exercise their rights, to find homes and jobs, and the French-Jewish community, aided by other Jewish communities of the world, is helping them to do so.

There are also the grave problems represented by those who are not French citizens: Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia - the latter group, alone, numbering 30,000. These can receive help only from Jewish sources - the Fonds Social Juif Unifie; the OSE, the Jewish Medical Agency; the ORT, and other JDC-supported organizations.

The three days the Mission spent in Paris - from October 18 until the day of departure for Israel the afternoon of October 22 - were among the most crowded and yet the most informative and fulfilling days experienced by a UJA Mission.

Among other things, they provided an opportunity for the Mission members to pay tribute to the 6,000,000 dead at The Tomb of The Unknown Jewish Martyr. "We have come to this shrine," Rabbi Friedman said, "to dedicate ourselves in the name of the martyrs to help meet the needs of the living."

"To the living" meant intensive consultations with Charles Jordan, JDC Director-General in charge of overseas operations; with Jewish Agency officials, with the directors of the programs of ORT and the United Hias Service.

It meant dialogues with the leaders of the French Jewish community - including Baron Elie de Rothschild, and his brother, Baron Alain de Rothschild who held a reception at his home in honor of the Mission; with Dr. Astorre Mayer of Milan, Italy - Chairman of the Standing Conference on European Jewish Community Services - and the following leaders of this association of Jewish communities of 13 European countries which the JDC was instrumental in rebuilding: Mr. Heinz Galinsky of West Berlin, Chairman of the West German Federation of Jewish Communities; Otto Heim of



Zurich, President of the Swiss Union of Jewish Welfare Agencies; H. Oscar Joseph of London, Chairman of the Central British Fund for Jewish Relief and Rehabilitation; Fritz Hollander of Stockholm, Chairman of the Stockholm Jewish Community; Claude Kelman of Paris, Vice President of the French Federation of Jewish Communities; Otto Levysohn of Copenhagen, President of the Copenhagen Jewish Community; Paul Philippon of Brussels, President of the Brussels Jewish Social Services and President of the Belgium Consistoire; Leon Maiersdorf, President of the Brussels Jewish Home for the Aged; Isidore Noah of Athens, President of the Federation of Greek Jewish Communities, and Edouard Spier of Amsterdam, President of the Jewish Social Work Federation of Holland.

It included an intensive tour of the emergency relief installations in Paris for North African Jewish refugees - reception centers, feeding stations, shelters, and the slum area of Belleville in which many of these new arrivals will have to live until better homes can be found for them.

The conditions the Mission saw in Paris prevail not only in that city but in Marseilles, Toulons and other cities, the Mission learned.

"A QUESTION OF HUMAN DIGNITY"

"We at the JDC are more than appreciative of the way you have been helping us take the relief measures necessary to tide these people over the period of their arrival when they find themselves without food, shelter or money," Mr. Jordan told the Mission members. "But we don't want them to go on eating in canteens, sleeping in reception centers, and living in slums twelve to a room for a day longer than is necessary. These are only temporary arrangements. This is a question of human dignity. Your job and ours is to see to it that at the earliest possible moment they have the chance to sit at their own tables in decent homes of their own."

How big is the job? Six years of rising Jewish immigration into France,



capped by a tidal wave of 100,000 Jewish refugees from Algeria, has sent the French Jewish population soaring from 300,000 to over 500,000 - an increase of more than 60 percent. This has created a situation where existing Jewish community facilities and services - welfare agencies, clinics, schools, synagogues, community centers - have been swamped in their efforts to absorb and integrate the newcomers. This applies not only to Paris, but to scores of towns and cities, especially in the south of France, where Jewish communities have doubled, tripled or quadrupled in size of population, particularly in the last four months.

As a result, JDC aid has risen sharply from \$2,500,000 in 1961 to nearly \$3,000,000 in 1962. This sum, almost a third of its total budget for 27 countries outside of Israel, has been pooled with funds raised by the Fonds Social Juif Unifie (\$1,500,000) and the contributions from the countries represented in the Standing Conference on Jewish Community Services (\$150,000).

In 1963 the JDC will have to spend an additional \$2 million - \$5 million in all - in France, both for essential services such as child care, cash relief, canteens, care for the aged, etc. and to begin a long-range program of integration in which building schools, synagogues and community centers to meet the traditional, religious and cultural needs of these newcomers is the first step.

But the tragic plight of the Jewish refugee was not the total picture uncovered by the Mission in Paris. There is a brighter side to the European scene, too. This was the theme of the dinner in observance of the UJA's 25th Anniversary given on Sunday, October 21 by the French and other European Jewish communities, at which Mr. Meyerhoff presided.

"Tonight," Edward M. M. Warburg declared, "we mark not one culmination but two. Twenty-five years of unity and determination on the part of American Jewry and the great post-war record of European Jewry which is demonstrated by the presence of the Standing Conference on European Jewish Services."



Its creation, Mr. Warburg noted, was part of the JDC philosophy of reconstruction - "to get the European Jewish communities on their feet" so that "after the JDC had left, there should continue to be a body of communities in Europe able to help each other find solutions for the problems they had in common."

"TOGETHER YOU HAVE WORKED A MIRACLE"

How did this come about - Jewish communities in Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and other countries which are now functioning almost on a prewar level?

As the Conference Chairman - Dr. Astorre Mayer who is also Chairman of the Jewish Community of Milan, Italy, declared: "...Through our common friend, the JDC, whom you provided with funds to rebuild our synagogues, our schools, our old age homes, our community centers. Together you have worked a miracle..."

These European Jewish communities have manifested their collective concern over the crisis created by the influx of North African and other Jewish refugees into France by establishing a "UJA" of their own - the Mutual Aid Fund. To this, six communities have already contributed over \$150,000, Dr. Astorre revealed.

"Given the continued generosity and devotion you have shown in the past, and with us on this side doing our share more and more as the years go by these problems will also be surmounted. We hope that already you can regard us as partners in your work."

Here the task was unfinished. UJA aid on the largest scale possible was still vital, essential and indispensable to Jewish reconstruction in Europe. But, as Rabbi Friedman observed: "Today we do not have the sense of desperation and impotence that overwhelmed us 25 years ago."

"In the past quarter of a century we have raised \$1,435,000,000. With it we have repaired the shattered lives of 3 million men, women and children.

"From this achievement we have a feeling of confidence. We also have the

conviction that comes from a great ideal. We leave here knowing we must continue our labors. Once again history offers us the chance to repair damaged lives. We cannot fail the trust that our suffering brother Jews place in us."

And to the leaders of the European Jewish communities - facing this greatest refugee crisis in a decade - came this assurance from Mr. Meyerhoff: "The dark days after the Nazi tyranny taught us that no problem is insurmountable. As we have solved the problem of the DP's and the survivors of the concentration camps, so we will solve those that face us today."

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AMERICAN JEWISH  
THE MISSION COMES TO ISRAEL  
ARCHIVES

The most rapid changes in Jewish climate and outlook can be achieved by a five hour jet flight from Paris to Lod Airport in Israel. Here has occurred a phenomenon that not only the Jewish people, but all the people the world has come to regard as a miracle of achievement - the acceptance of more than 1 million Jewish refugees in the short space of 14 years.

Here the UJA lifeline made it possible - in each of the years 1949, 1950 and 1951 - for Israel, a country prostrated by war, short of housing, food, industry to receive immigrants at the rate of from 170,000 to 200,000 annually.

At one time - 1951 - more than 200,000 immigrants could be housed no better than in tents and in shacks.

Today - this ma'abarot population is down to less than 3,000 persons.

Today - the "ship to settlement" scheme is bringing immigrants into cities, towns and villages which did not exist in 1948 and which range in age from six years - Dimona, to one month - Arad.

The result of this lifeline of aid and the sacrifices of the people of Israel: the end of the tortuous quest for homes for more than 1,200,000 Jewish refugees.



But even to as seasoned a group as the Mission members, it was a jolt to learn that the greatest portion of the financial burden of the costs of immigrant absorption has fallen on the Israel taxpayer.

The very first day of briefing, conducted by Aryeh L. Pincus, Treasurer of the Jewish Agency revealed this:

The Jewish Agency which is responsible for organizing immigration abroad, bringing the immigrants to Israel, settling the newcomers on the land and helping them to become self-supporting, and which seeks to finance these activities with funds raised by UJA, and by campaigns among other sections of world Jewry, has been able only to provide one third of the funds needed for Israel's immigrants.

The other two-thirds comes from the people of Israel, via taxes and compulsory loans.

NEED 15,000 HOUSING UNITS

But the 15,000 housing units that must be built to meet the needs of those coming to Israel this year will require an expenditure of \$68 million - IL 200 million. Meanwhile, as Mr. Pincus revealed, "neither the current income of the Jewish Agency from the UJA and other Jewish sources, nor the taxes the government of Israel could divert for this purpose would be sufficient to meet these and other vital immigrant absorption costs."

"At a time of rising - and eagerly sought for - immigration, financial help that is too little or too late would be the most serious setback to the task we have jointly undertaken - that of saving Jews by bringing them to Israel," Mr. Pincus said.

The greatest reason for increasing the proportion of UJA aid was best presented by a group of immigrants whose arrival the Mission witnessed. As the October 23rd issue of the Jerusalem Post described it: "A dramatic climax to a day of surveys,

lectures, facts and figures, came to the 145 members of the United Jewish Appeal Study Mission last night when they witnessed the arrival at Lod Airport of 280 new immigrants within an hour, on three planes.

"It was an occasion when both the immigrants and the Americans were unsuccessful in fighting back tears. Many of the newcomers were smothered in the embraces of welcoming sons and daughters, some of the reunions representing years of prayerful waiting.

"...After a hot meal, each arrival was issued an immigrant's certificate. Each head of the family was given IL 10.00 and IL 5.00 for each member of the family. Food parcels containing rice, sugar, jam, oil, tea, beans and smaller items such as matches, candles, salt and pepper were issued.

"Within two hours of arrival, the first of them piled into buses and taxis for the night ride to their new homes in 18 towns and settlements from Nahariya in the north to Dimona in the south."

The thrilling sequence of events - arrival one evening and settlement by the next in fully furnished apartments in a score of cities and towns throughout the country which the Mission witnessed after a flight to Dimona - was just one of those miracles which have become an every day occurrence, thanks to the pooling of the free gift dollar resources provided by UJA and Israel state revenues.

It was a perfect example of how closely the national effort is tied into the fabric of sound immigrant absorption. In Israel's first years, food shortages dictated the establishment of newcomer farm settlements. These absorbed 30,000 immigrant families and helped to create the food abundance the country now enjoys.

Later settlement areas were developed as self-contained economic units, with farm villages as well as industries. An example is the Lachish area, where the settlers grow a variety of crops, especially cotton, groundnuts and sugar beets



for industrial use. These crops give employment to the residents of Kiryat Gat whose plants include a cotton gin, a spinning mill, a textile plant, a sugar mill and other industries.

#### ISRAEL'S FUTURE LIES IN THE NEGEV

Today, with the water made available by the Western Galilee-Kishon and Yarkon-Negev projects, the Negev is being pushed as a major settlement area. It is in the Negev where the immigrant's - and Israel's - future lie. Its vast areas not only provide living space for a rapidly expanding population, but economic elbow room for the entire nation. Most of Israel's mineral resources are in the Negev, including the wealth of the Dead Sea, and vast reserves of natural gas. It awaits only the completion of the Jordan-Negev pipeline and its assimilation into the national water grid to fulfill all the hopes Israel has for the Negev as the agricultural and industrial center of the country.

For this reason Dimona now holds 13,000 Jews (an increase of 7,000 in 16 months); Ascalon 6,000; Ashdod, the nation's new port city and future Mediterranean outlet for the products of the Negev, 12,000. Meanwhile Arad has just been opened, and other Negev development towns and farm areas are in the planning stages.

These and other facts were provided by Aharon Zisling, head of the Jewish Agency Absorption Department at luncheon at the Ulpan Hostel in Beersheba.

The origins of Dimona's population accurately reflects the makeup of Israel's entire Jewish population: Jews from North Africa (the majority here); Eastern Europe, India, Iran, Yemen, Iraq and native-born Israelis.

Dimona's main employment is provided by textile and fibre mills, the Dead Sea works at nearby Sodom for the extraction of chemicals, mining, trades, professions and services.

More than 3,000 children are attending primary school, and the number grows with the arrival of each immigrant family.

But it was the housing problem that absorbed the Mission's attention. Dimona's population occupies 2,500 units in buildings three to four stories high, with 2,000 others planned for immediate construction. These buildings are a far cry from the tin huts of the ma'abarot, and the asbestos huts of the late 1950's - which once were the best housing the country could give its newcomers.

"Our vast experience has made it clear that no useful purpose is served by providing the same family with temporary housing two or three times, and then housing of a semi-permanent character before actually providing that family with its permanent home," Mr. Zisling said.

"Today we are building immigrant housing of a standard and quality which are on a par with public housing construction in other countries. We have come to recognize that from the financial, social, welfare and urban planning standpoints, it is a sounder policy to construct the type of immigrant housing that will be in keeping both with the highest standards of development and our modest means."

Mr. Zisling told the Mission that the most powerful deterrent to the Absorption Department's efforts is created by the lack of funds. Ideally, Israel should have a housing reserve that is at least 25 percent greater than the anticipated rate of arrivals. "If we need 10,000 housing units, we should have enough funds to build an additional 2,500 units so that we shall never be in danger of being caught short, as we almost always are."

#### SOURCE OF JORDAN PIPELINE TO NEGEV

The third day of the Mission's survey tour brought it to Korazim, overlooking the headwaters of the Jordan River, the source of the new Negev pipeline - which, when completed, will be the greatest engineering exploit in the Middle East.

Here the Mission learned why defense was as vital as engineering to the completion of the project. First, to avoid armed conflict with the Arabs, the original



and preferred site on the upper reaches of the Jordan River, north of Sea of Galilee, was abandoned. This would have provided a water supply of a much lower chemical content than the present source - the Sea of Galilee, itself - and also would have permitted the erection of a giant electric generator driven by the Jordan waters.

Nevertheless, as the engineers pointed out, this Israeli project is being planned and constructed so that it can be integrated in the future, if need be, into the regional water plan suggested by Eric Johnston which would include Syria, Jordan and possibly Lebanon.

In a dining hall at Korazim, from which the views of the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan were breathtaking, General Abraham Yoffe, Chief of the Northern Command and Baruch Wenderoff, Chief Engineer of the National Water Authority, briefed the Mission members on the Jordan-Negev water development project.

The scheme makes use of the Sea of Galilee as the main reservoir of the chief water "household" of Israel.

Pumping installations will lift the waters from this fresh-water sea - 210 meters below sea level - to a conduit 40 meters above that level. The waters will then be carried by a series of open canals, a giant reservoir, tunnels and a pipeline 108 inches in diameter to the Yarkon-Negev line. There the water will become part of the national water scheme, to which it will add many millions of cubic meters of water annually.

One important question was raised by the Mission: Would the use of Galilee waters deprive neighboring Arab countries of the water they normally require for domestic and agricultural use?

Mr. Wenderoff assured them it would not, for the following reasons:

First, the pipeline will divert less water than Israel is legally entitled to under the Johnston plan.

Second, even a portion of what Israel will draw will be returned from the main lines to the Jordan River to make up for the loss of water from the Sea of Galilee and Yarmuk River waters which is on the Jordan side.

Third, Israel is also working on a scheme to divert a large number of underground springs into the Jordan River.

The Mission saw another great engineering feat being performed when it visited Ashdod. Once the great port city of the ancient Kingdom of Philistia, it is being restored by Israel's Port Authority as a major outlet to the sea for the products of the vast Negev hinterland. Already the jetties and the breakwaters of the future port are of impressive size and length, and by the end of 1964, Ashdod should be capable of handling more than one million tons of cargo a year, and more than five million by the end of 1970. It is not only destined to become Israel's second biggest Mediterranean port - after Haifa - but like that city, an important center for heavy industry. Its population growth also has been phenomenal - from a handful of sabras and immigrants who staked out the area shortly after the Sinai campaign, to more than 12,000, today.

#### JDC-MALBEN SERVICES FOR IMMIGRANTS

Another side to the absorption story was revealed to the Mission during visits to several of the JDC-Malben installations. Israel's open-door policy has resulted in the admission of the kind of Jewish immigrant no other country would accept on a permanent basis - the man who is chronically ill, or the hopelessly handicapped, either physically or mentally, the overaged and other hard core cases whose eventual rehabilitation can only be achieved after years of costly medical and institutional care. Huge numbers of such social cases arrived last year.

The Mission visited the Tel Hashomer Government Hospital - the country's largest medical center - where the earliest psychiatric ward in Israel was opened in 1959



through the joint efforts of JDC-Malben and the Ministry of Health. The occasion: to participate in the cornerstone laying ceremony for the new building for the hospital's Psychiatric Department which Malben and Ministry of Health will staff and operate under the Psychiatric Trust Fund.

Other places visited were Malben's Mahane Israel Hospital and Rehabilitation Centre near Lod, the only institution in Israel devoted to the care of adult cerebral palsy victims, and the Malben Home for The Aged at Givat Hashlosha. These are just three of the more than 40 institutions maintained by JDC-Malben, which care for nearly 50,000 persons yearly. For its remarkable Malben program the JDC has utilized more than \$125 million in UJA funds during the past 13 years, thereby contributing enormously to the health and welfare of Israel's immigrants.

#### ISRAEL MARKS UJA ANNIVERSARY

During the Mission's 11-day stay in Israel, there took place two events dedicated to the observance of the forthcoming 25th Anniversary of the United Jewish Appeal. How Israel felt was best expressed by Mr. Aryeh Pincus, the Jewish Agency Treasurer, when he told the group:

"...There is not a blade of grass, there is not a field, there is not a farm - collective or private, there is not an enterprise - industrial or otherwise, there is not a human being in this country that will not be able to say to you: all this in some measure was due to the indefatigable work that was done by the Jews in America during the last 24 years."

The Israel press took note of UJA's anniversary with numerous editorials and feature stories.

Kol Israel, Israel's broadcasting service, devoted more than 12 hours of prime radio time to UJA, including transmissions from Paris as the Mission visited there, interviews with UJA leaders, Jewish Agency officers, members of the Government and

ministries, and day to day reporting on the Mission's activities as it visited various parts of the country.

The Israel Post Office also designed a stamp which will be issued in December - the first such honor to fall to a non-Israel Jewish organization.

On October 27th the Israel National Committee for the Observance of the UJA's 25th Anniversary headed by Moshe Sharett, M.K. who is Jewish Agency Chairman and a former Israel Prime Minister, honored the Mission at an "Israel Salutes UJA" gala concert at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv. The event was attended by 3,000 persons. Here Mr. Meyerhoff accepted the scroll of the National Committee on behalf of UJA. Members of the Israel National Committee include more than 70 of the country's most distinguished leaders in private and public life.

The final Anniversary event was the Prime Minister's dinner, Tuesday evening, October 30, at the Hotel Sheraton - Tel-Aviv. Here Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion; Kaddish Luz, the distinguished Speaker of the Knesset; Dr. Nahum Goldman, President of the World Zionist Organization and UJA's General Chairman, Mr. Meyerhoff, were the speakers.

Earlier that day the traditional caucus meeting of the Mission members took place. Out of it came a resolution which, it is hoped, will serve as a framework for action by the Delegates to the United Jewish Appeal's 25th Annual National Conference when they meet in New York, December 7, 8, 9, to consider the needs and objectives of the 1963 campaign.

The views presented by a number of the Mission leaders, and the personalities who addressed the Mission on various occasions - all authoritative spokesmen on Jewish needs - so imbued the thinking of the framers of the resolution, that they deserve specific mention.

One was provided by Edward M. M. Warburg, Chairman of the JDC, when he pointed



out in his address in Paris that the funds which the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany contributes to JDC, amounting to \$9 million annually, would be terminated by the end of 1964.

"Let me not underestimate how much we have been aided in recent years by the funds made available through the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany," Mr. Warburg declared. "If I have spoken of the building and rebuilding of schools or of community centers and other institutions, let it be clear that in large measure these have been made possible only because of the restitution funds which the Claims Conference allocated for this purpose.

"...the full contribution of the Claims Conference will perhaps be most noticed when its funds are no longer available. I know you appreciate this as we do; that is why we have been working and planning together so carefully for the days after 1964.

"It is vital that we do such planning for the future; for while we have seen many changes in the map of the world, and in the map of Jewish need in these 25 years, there yet remains many unsolved problems, many great and still unanswered questions, many unfinished items still part of our agenda."

Moshe Sharett, addressing an evening session of the Mission's many deliberations, stressed the fact that:

"A prolonged and concerted effort of free gift financing is essential, if we are not to miss the chances of rescue...and if we are to offer those saved the opportunity of rebuilding their lives on a solid foundation.

"...Bond issues, private investment capital, complement work made possible by the free gift funds contributed by the UJA.

"They build upon the foundations laid by UJA - foundations which must continue to be laid as long as a mass immigration of impecunious people continues to flow,

and the need for developing the land's latent resources without the expectation of a financial return persists.

"By now it is patent that the range of UJA's work is to be measured not in terms of years but of decades...The UJA's 25th Anniversary is an important milestone - it is by far not the journey's end...As long as there are Jews oppressed by spiritual bondage or vegetating in material misery, the work of the UJA will not be done. If only their rescue is attainable, these communities must be salvaged and brought over, settled and integrated. The process takes time, but as long as it is a life-giving one, its length must be matched by patience and perseverance.

"The celebration of the UJA's 25th Anniversary...is a great opportunity for taking stock of these historic realities in terms both of a long range program and of the compelling tasks of the moment."

Levi Eshkol, Israel's Minister of Finance, who celebrated his 67th birthday at a Mission dinner, raised a similar point as he spoke of Israel's hope to reach the 3 million mark in population by 1970 both through immigration and natural increase.

"What shall we have to do to settle and absorb these additional 700,000? First we shall have to work very hard. We shall have to invest huge sums of money, not only tax money and investment funds, but UJA gifts because the newcomers we shall be receiving will be, for the most part, penniless immigrants who will bring with them no dowry of skills or trades - for whom we shall have to build thousands of new housing units, provide additional education and health services, invest heavily in new development areas, in new settlements and in industrial expansion. This will continue to create a financial burden too great to be carried by the people of Israel alone.

"At no time in the visible future can we foresee a lessening of the need of UJA



aid. In fact, I must appeal to American Jewry to match the efforts and sacrifices of Israel's citizens, to play their full part in this joint effort we are making to absorb and integrate recent arrivals and the immigrants still to come."

One of the danger spots in Israel that needed world Jewry's immediate attention was caused by the discrepancy in numbers between students of European origin and those from the Moslem world attending secondary schools, according to Abba Eban, Minister of Education and Culture.

"If you look over our universities and institutes of scientific research you will find that only five percent of the 13,000 graduates and other students come from one-half of our population - namely the oriental half. Of the 2,000 who received degrees last year at the Hebrew University, there were only 29 of oriental origin...This means that all the future leaders of the country - the chief officers and the judges and the doctors and the lawyers are all going to be drawn from one part of the population.

"The decision which we must look to you for help is the one which will decide whether we are going to be a single Israel, sharing a common historic experience and aspiration or whether we are going to be kind of Algeria or South Africa, with problems such as you have in the southern United States...The central issue of our social unity is now at issue, and the only way to build a bridge over this gap is by embracing more and more of the young people in the new immigrant communities in secondary and higher education."

And, of course, there was the confident note sounded by Mr. Ben-Gurion in his address at the final Mission session which saw the partnership between the people of Israel and the Jews of the free world - particularly American Jewry - as an enduring one.

"I am confident," Mr. Ben-Gurion told the Mission members "that this creative

partnership. . .will steadily grow. . .No achievement is impossible for this partnership. Through this partnership we shall succeed. . .in preparing our country to absorb hundreds of thousands who yearn for redemption but are still confined, bring up our young generation for labor and intellectual endeavor, close the spiritual, cultural, social and economic gap between the modern tribes of Israel, increase the skills and technological capacity of the younger generation, enhance the efficiency of our economy, raise our productivity. . .populate and fructify the wilderness in northern Galilee and the Negev, and consolidate our international status - so that every Jew, wherever he may be, shall be proud of his free and independent people in his ancient homeland."

The final note, however, was sounded by President Itzhak Ben-Zvi before a large delegation of Mission members who came to his official residence in Jerusalem to pay a pre-departure call.

Modestly disclaiming any credit for the gains recorded by Israel during his ten years in office - he had just been reelected to an unprecedented third term - Mr. Ben-Zvi credited instead the people of Israel and world Jewry for this.

"During my recent visit to the African states, the President of Liberia remarked that his country had 30,000 taxpayers.

"Our small nation," I replied, "is more fortunately endowed. In addition to the taxes of the 2 million Jews who live here, Israel could count on the voluntary support it receives each year from the 5 million Jews of the United States and hundreds of thousands of dedicated Jews in other free countries. Although living outside of Israel, they have been contributing unstintingly and continuously to the building of the state, thus making it possible for Israel to accept and absorb the many thousands who have come here, and will continue to come."

These powerful and penetrating insights were borne out by these compelling facts:



The tremendous pressures on the JDC and the French Jewish community, created by the rising needs of 160,000 recent Jewish refugees.

The even greater burden imposed on the people of Israel to meet the second largest immigration in a decade.

The certain prospect that this heavy movement of Jews to Israel will continue in 1963.

Out of these pressures - and this soul-searching inquiry overseas - came the resolution which the Mission adopted unanimously, of which the following is its core:

"WE RESOLVE to return to our communities, determined to mobilize maximum support for the adoption of such goal that will be commensurate with the needs of the constituent agencies of the United Jewish Appeal, and with the economic potential of the American Jewish communities to support such a goal.

"Therefore we

"RESOLVE to urge upon the delegates to the forthcoming 25th UJA National Annual Conference to retain the principle of EXTRA GIVING through the UJA SPECIAL FUND as the most effective means to realize our goal for 1963."

This is more than a statement. It is a summation of the mood, the spirit and the resolve with which this largest Mission in UJA history returned to the United States. In the words of one of its members: "We have no choice but to lead the Jewish communities of America in the greatest United Jewish Appeal campaign of the last ten years."

# # #

RESOLUTION  
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL 8TH STUDY MISSION  
Adopted Oct. 30, 1962 - Hotel Accadia, Herzlia, Israel

We, the 145 members of the United Jewish Appeal's 8th Study Mission, constituting the largest study mission of UJA national and communal leaders ever to come to Europe and Israel, have just completed our inquiry of the overseas needs of the Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency.

The frame of reference for this inquiry was first provided by our experience in the two focal points of Jewish need today - France and Israel. In the former country we saw the tragic problems created by the very rapid influx of 160,000 refugees from North Africa: the shortage of housing, penniless families struggling to stay together, the undernourished children, the disillusioned youth and the new Jewish ghettos that are springing up at an alarming rate in the slums of Paris, Marseilles and Toulons.

We have seen in Israel a nation geared physically and spiritually to the task of absorbing the thousands of newcomers that are arriving each month. Here the ma'abarot have been almost totally liquidated, replaced by new dynamic towns in the development areas where the immigrant can be swiftly absorbed. We have seen the newcomer and his family move into a modern flat in such a development project within hours of his arrival, fortified by the knowledge that Israel is not only providing him with a home but hopefully will provide him with a job, an elementary school education for his children and medical and rehabilitation care.

As a result of the upheavals that are taking place in many parts of the world, Israel represents the only hope of survival for hundreds of thousands of Jews now living in these countries.

(more)



Therefore, the most important conclusion that we have drawn from our own survey, and our consultations with the leaders of the Government of Israel, the Jewish Agency and the JDC, is that the range of UJA's work - particularly on behalf of the countless thousands forced to flee their homes and the newcomers in Israel - the rescue of those who can be saved, and the work of reconstruction and absorption must continue with renewed vigor.

The challenge and the opportunity that this poses to us - the most prosperous Jewish community in the world - make it imperative that the national goal which the United Jewish Appeal should adopt for 1963 should be commensurate with those needs and one that will reflect fully and accurately American Jewry's economic capabilities.

Therefore, at this critical juncture in our history of overseas aid,

WE RESOLVE to return to our communities, determined to mobilize maximum support for the adoption of such goal that will be commensurate with the needs of the constituent agencies of the United Jewish Appeal, and with the economic potential of the American Jewish communities to support such a goal.

These are irreducible needs. Therefore

WE RESOLVE to urge upon the delegates to the forthcoming 25th UJA National Annual Conference to retain the principle of EXTRA GIVING through the UJA SPECIAL FUND as the most effective means to realize our goal for 1963.

FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED, that we shall urge the representatives of every community attending this 25th UJA Annual Conference to restudy these needs with a view toward increasing their regular allocations to the UJA; and thus assure the assumption by each community of its fair and proportionate share in this national responsibility.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that for this great humanitarian cause we shall do our utmost to raise our own standards of giving and work diligently for the fulfilment of the established goals in each of our respective communities.

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL  
165 WEST 46th STREET  
NEW YORK 36, NEW YORK

MEMORANDUM

November 7, 1962

TO: Members of Eighth UJA Study Mission who visited Germany

FROM: Irving Bernstein

SUBJECT: Report on Pilgrimage to Germany

Attached is an unedited report prepared by Mr. Rudolf Jorysz, Joint Distribution Committee Field Representative in Germany, on the visit we made to Germany.

I believe you will be interested in looking over this report.





REPORT ON THE TOUR IN GERMANY OF THE UJA STUDY MISSION

October 15 - 17, 1962

A delegation of UJA leaders, members of the 8th UJA Study Mission, representing American Jewish Community Leadership across the country, arrived here in Hamburg on Monday, October 15th, 1962 at 10.00 a.m., coming from London. Head of the delegation was Mr. Joseph Meyerhoff, UJA General Chairman. Members of the delegation touring Germany were:

- 1-2 : Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Meyerhoff
- 3 Mr. Fred Forman
- 4 Mrs. Max Fisher
- 5 Mrs. Milton Trost
- 6-7 Mr. and Mrs. James Permutt
- 8 Mr. Sidney Glaser
- 9 Miss Molly Glaser
- 10 Mr. Charles Gershenson
- 11 Mr. Joseph Shane
- 12 Mr. Jerome Klorfein
- 13 Mr. Irving Bernstein
- 14 Mr. William Kahn

The mission was received at the airport by:

- Mr. Samuel L. Haber, JDC Assistant Director General
- Mr. Max Willner, Executive Director of the Central Welfare Organization of Jews in Germany
- Mr. Gunther Singer, Executive Director of the Jewish Community, Hamburg
- Mr. Rudolf Jorysz, JDC Field Representative in Germany

The mission arrived in three groups, the first one at 10.00 a.m., the second group (Mr. Gershenson, Mrs. Fisher and Mrs. Trost) arrived at noon, while Mr. and Mrs. Meyerhoff, coming from Casablanca, arrived in the late evening, 9.00 p.m.

A bus which had been hired by JDC for two days brought the delegates to the Hotel Atlantic, where the best rooms available had been reserved for the delegation. The Hotel Atlantic is the best one in Germany and enjoys an excellent international reputation.

At 14.00 h we started for a sight-seeing-tour, passing the famous Alster, the Junfernstieg, Gansemarkt, the beautiful City Hall, the main business streets, such as Monckebergstr. etc.

We then visited the new "Israelitisches Krankenhaus", where we had been received by Mr. Eric Warburg and the Chief Physician Dr. Landecker. Mr. Warburg in his welcoming speech gave the history of this famous hospital which originally was founded by Mr. and Mrs. Heine, uncle of the famous poet Heinrich Heine. The "Warburg Family" had always been part of this foundation, and Mr. Eric Warburg was the initiator for re-erecting the new building, for which funds were given by the Hamburg Senat.



The director of the hospital and the chief physician, Dr. Landecker, and the chief surgeon, Dr. Snopkowski, led the delegation through the hospital, which is a very modern and very well equipped place. The delegation was then invited for refreshments.

Thereafter, we visited the Old Age Home. Mr. Singer, the executive director of the Hamburg Jewish Community explained that the old building was by far too large and too uneconomic for which reasons it had been sold and the new one erected. Only a small amount of \$15,000.- had been contributed by the Claims Conference. Here Mr. Haber explained in length what the Claims Conference means as this was not known to the delegates. Mr. Haber expressively drew the attention of the delegates to the fact that not a single penny of UJA monies had been taken for all those new buildings, and that funds for the re-construction of buildings -Old Age Homes, Community Centers, Synagogues, etc.- had mainly been given by the city governments, state governments and the government of the Federal Republic. Only here and there, but very rarely, small contributions had been made by the Claims Conference, while UJA money was never touched for those purposes. Mr. Haber stressed this point very strongly, in order to avoid any misunderstandings. After visiting the Old Age Home in which 46 persons are residing, the group returned to the hotel.

In the evening the delegation was invited to dinner by the Hamburg Jewish Community and the Central Welfare Organization of Jews in Germany. In addition to all the persons mentioned above the following gentlemen participated at the dinner:

Mr. Gottschalk, Chairman of the Hamburg Jewish Community				
Mr. Eric Warburg, Board member of the Jewish Community				
Dr. Manasse,	"	"	"	"
Dr. Rosenhaft	"	"	"	"
Dr. Loffler	"	"	"	"
Mr. Mindus	"	"	"	"
Mr. Reder	"	"	"	"
Rabbiner Grunewald				
Mr. Goldstein, former chairman of the Jewish Community				
Mr. Haase, Director of the Old Age Home				

(the events during the dinner-reception were not attended by Mr. Jorysz as he had to pick up Mr. and Mrs. Meyerhoff)

Tuesday, October 16th, 1962: At 9.30 a.m. the bus started for Bergen-Belsen, where Mr. Prager, the Chairman of the Jewish Community in Hannover, and Mr. and Mrs. Fishel, Vice Chairman of the Hannover Community, received the guests. (Bergen-Belsen is situated in the State of Lower Saxonia, for which territory the Jewish Community Hannover is responsible.) These three persons led the group through Bergen-Belsen and the couple Fischel, who were inmates of the concentration camp and the DP-camp Bergen-Belsen, explained to the group the horrible experiences of concentration camp inmates. At first, the group went to the Jewish monument, where Mr. Meyerhoff and Mr. Forman, as the chairman and the vice-chairman, laid down a beautiful wreath with the inscription: "To the Victims of Nazi-Barbarism - UJA Study Mission". At this monument Mr. Prager said some prayers and finished with the Kaddish.

From here we went to the international monument at which very many non-Jewish groups of youngsters, school-boys, and women were met.



We, then, visited the former DP-Camp in which area the Jewish cemetery is situated. Here, those are buried who died after the liberation in consequence of the horrible suffering during imprisonment. Since this territory is within the NATO, resp. the British Army Area, a special permission for entering was required and, of course, received.

Thereafter, we went for lunch to the "Rosenhof", a beautiful spot, famous for its trouts. When we entered the place, everyone was enthusiastic about the lovely place and atmosphere. After lunch Mr. Prager delivered a speech in which he expressed his gratitude to the American Jewry for their generosity in contributing the money which made it possible for JDC to do the excellent humanitarian work which, at that time, saved thousands of Jewish brethren from starvation. The food, clothing, medical aid, assistance in rehabilitation and many more things which JDC was able to provide to the poor survivors, was only possible due to the generous donations and contributions of the UJA, and with tears in his eyes, Mr. Prager stated that he is happy to express his gratitude to this group, who as far as he knows, consists of the main leaders of UJA.

On the way back to Hamburg we made another sight-seeing-tour to the Hamburg harbour and the internationally known area of St. Pauli and Reeperbahn. We then returned to the hotel.

No program was scheduled for the evening. Some members of the group went out for shopping, some took a rest, and dinner was taken at various places which had been recommended to the delegates.

At this evening Mr. Kahn, who actually was supposed to land in London due to the fog there landed in Frankfurt instead, and therefore decided to join the group in Germany.

The delegates were informed that the start next morning would be very early and, therefore, most of them went to bed early.

Wednesday, October 17th, 1962:

At 7.45 a.m. the bus picked up the group for the flight to Berlin where we arrived at 9.35 a.m. Mr. Heinz Galinski, Executive Director of the Jewish Community, Berlin and Chairman of the Community, and his secretary Mr. Gerhard Schaefer, welcomed the delegates already at the airport. Here again, a bus had been hired by JDC which brought the Mission to the Bristol Hotel Kempinski, one of the most outstanding hotels in Germany.

Around 11.00 a.m. the delegates gathered at the Gemeindehaus, situated just opposite the hotel, the place at which the famous "Fasanenstrasse synagogue" was burnt down at the infamous "Kristallnacht" on 9 November 1938. The newly erected, modern building shows at the entrance the arch of the former synagogue. The Gemeindehaus had been built with funds granted by the Senat of Berlin. Mr. Galinski in his lengthy welcome speech explained to the group the reconstruction of the various buildings and institutions which would be visited by the delegates, and he informed the group of the composition of the community members as well as of the German Jewry in general, or better to say of the Jews now living in Germany. Of course, Mr. Galinski did not forget to mention the political aspects and the difficult situation of the city of Berlin and naturally of the Jewish Community.



Heinz Galinski then led the group through the house. Later on lunch was taken at the restaurant of the Gemeindehaus.

Due to the request of the delegates the actual program prepared had to be changed, as they decided to make a tour through East Berlin. Therefore, the group visited the Heinrich-Stahl and Leo-Baeck Houses quite in a hurry, and then took the bus to the East.

(R. Jorysz did not participate in the tour to the East)

At 8.30 p. m. the big reception at the Gemeindehaus took place. The dinner given by the Jewish Community Berlin in honour of the UJA Study Mission was in addition to the aforementioned persons attended by:

Mr. Franz Amrehn and his wife, Deputy Lord Mayor  
Mrs. Edith Lowka, Vice-President of the Berlin Parliament  
Dr. and Mrs. W. Klein, Senatsdirektor and Chief of Protokoll  
Dr. Max Rosenzweig, Board member of the Jewish Community Berlin  
Mr. and Mrs. Kroll, " "  
Mr. and Mrs. G. Susskind " "  
Mr. Siegf. Cohn Board Member  
Mrs. Gerti Hoffmug " "  
Mrs. Jeannette Wolff, President of the Community Parliament  
Rabbi and Mrs. D. Weiss  
Mr. E. Nachama, Cantor  
Mr. A. Zepke, Organist  
Mr. H. G. Sellenthin, Press

A beautiful, with blue-white flowers decorated table stimulated immediately the right atmosphere of a festival, which was opened by a beautiful song, delivered by Cantor Nachama.

During the delicious dinner, various speeches were delivered: By Heinz Galinski who, this time, in his speech expressed the gratitude of the Jews in Germany for the generous assistance they received by JDC, realizing that the funds had been contributed by the American Jewry, the UJA; another speech by the Town Mayor, Mr. Amrehn contained, of course more of a political aspect, stressing the point that the German youth is the hope for a democracy in Germany, but also mentioning the recognition of the generous assistance given not only to the Jews in Germany, but to Germany as such. Mr. Amrehn delivered his speech in a fluent English which was greatly appreciated and applauded by the audience. Mr. Meyerhoff, in his capacity as the UJA general chairman, thanked the Berlin Community for the wonderful reception of the group and expressed his full understanding of the situation in Germany. Mr. Meyerhoff said that the American Jewry considered it its moral duty to help Jews where ever and whenever they are in need, and he is happy to see that Jews in Germany did not fail in reactivating Jewish Life in Germany and taking care of the Jewish education of their children.

In the course of the evening Mr. Nachama entertained the group with various Hebrew and Yiddish songs which were enthusiastically applauded. The party was a real success and ended only late at night.

The various speeches, and not only those in Berlin, were translated either from German into English or vice versa by Mr. Samuel L. Haber who did it in a wonderful humorous way, and as a matter of fact, his interpretations were sometimes more applauded and better liked than the original speeches.



Thursday, October 18, 1962:

The bus picked up the group at 9.40 a. m. as the flight to Paris was scheduled for 11.20 a.m. When we reached the airport we only then learned that the plane will be delayed for about two hours. Mr. Meyerhoff suggested that we should use those two hours for another sight-seeing-tour. So we showed the group at their request the new living quarters "Hansaviertel" where each house was built by another architect of another nationality. Those buildings as well as the famous Congress Hall were of greatest interest to the group. We then passed by the Old Age Home and the Jewish Hospital of the Berlin Community, and then we went to the ill-famous prison "Plotzensee". Here one could still see the hooks on which the victims of the Nazi-Barbarism had been hung. In the middle of the hall once the guillotine was placed, but about one year ago it was removed. The bus driver told us that it was removed upon request of the Jewish Community. I wish, however, to inform the delegates that this is not true. I checked this question with Mr. Galinski, but the reason for the removal was not known to Mr. Galinski.

Also at "Plotzensee", just like in Bergen-Belsen many buses with students, school-boys, and others from the various parts of Germany arrived during our presence. "Plotzensee" impressed the group very much.

At 1.15 p.m. the plane finally took off for Paris.

Prepared by: Rudolf Jorysz  
24 October 1962



HAF

RESOLUTION  
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL 8TH STUDY MISSION  
Adopted Oct. 30, 1962 - Hotel Accadia, Herzlia, Israel

We, the 145 members of the United Jewish Appeal's 8th Study Mission, constituting the largest study mission of UJA national and communal leaders ever to come to Europe and Israel, have just completed our inquiry of the overseas needs of the Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency.

The frame of reference for this inquiry was first provided by our experience in the two focal points of Jewish need today - France and Israel. In the former country we saw the tragic problems created by the very rapid influx of 150,000 refugees from North Africa: the shortage of housing, penniless families struggling to stay together, the undernourished children, the disillusioned youth and the new Jewish ghettos that are springing up at an alarming rate in the slums of Paris, Marseilles and Toulons.

We have seen in Israel "a nation geared physically and spiritually" to the task of absorbing the thousands of newcomers that are arriving each month. Here the ma'abarot have been almost totally liquidated, replaced by new dynamic towns in the development areas where the immigrant can be swiftly absorbed. We have seen the newcomer and his family move into a modern flat in such a development project within hours of his arrival, fortified by the knowledge that Israel is not only providing him with a home but hopefully will provide him with a job, an elementary school education for his children and medical and rehabilitation care.

As a result of the upheavals that are taking place in many parts of the world, Israel represents the only hope of survival for hundreds of thousands of Jews now living in these countries.

Therefore, the most important conclusion that we have drawn from our own survey, and our consultations with the leaders of the Government, the Jewish Agency and the JDC, is that the range of UJA's work - particularly on behalf of the countless thousands forced to flee their homes and the newcomers in Israel - must continue with renewed vigor, rescue those who can be saved, and continue the work of reconstruction and absorption.

The challenge and the opportunity that this poses to us - the most prosperous Jewish community in the world - make it imperative that the National goal which the United Jewish Appeal should adopt for 1963 should be commensurate with those needs and one that will reflect fully and accurately American Jewry's economic capabilities.

Therefore, at this critical juncture in our history of overseas aid, we

(more)



RESOLVE to return to our communities, determined to mobilize maximum support for the adoption of such goal that will be commensurate with the needs of the constituent agencies of the United Jewish Appeal, and with the economic potential of the American Jewish communities to support such a goal.

These are irreducible needs. Therefore we

RESOLVE to urge upon the delegates to the forthcoming 25th UJA National Annual Conference to retain the principle of EXTRA GIVING through the UJA SPECIAL FUND as the most effective means to realize our goal for 1963.

FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED, that we shall urge the representatives of every community attending this 25th UJA Annual Conference to restudy these needs with a view toward increasing their regular allocations to the UJA; and thus assure the assumption by each community of its fair and proportionate share in this national responsibility.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that for this great humanitarian cause we shall do our utmost to raise our own standards of giving and work diligently for the fulfilment of the established goals in each of our respective communities.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PARTICIPANTS

8th UJA STUDY MISSION (1962)

- \* - Professionals with Mission  
\*\* - Correspondents

(Just attended a couple of Paris sessions)

Herbert Abraham  
Adelman Laundry & Dry Cleaners  
709 E. Capitol Drive  
Milwaukee 12, Wisconsin

Joseph Cole  
The National Key Co.  
5777 Grant Avenue  
Cleveland, Ohio

Morris Abrams  
Curtis Industries, Inc.  
1130 E. 222nd Street  
Cleveland 17, Ohio

Samuel H. Daroff  
H. Daroff & Sons, Inc.  
2320 Walnut St.  
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Bernard H. Barnett  
Kentucky Home Life Bldg.  
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Israel Davidson  
Davidson Brothers  
1200 McNicholas  
Detroit 3, Mich.

Mr. Charles J. Bensley  
1616 Bronxdale Avenue  
New York 62, N.Y.

Mrs. Marion Doniger  
Manursing Way  
Rye, New YORK

- \* Mr. Henry C. Bernstein  
United Jewish Appeal  
220 West 58th St.  
New York 19, N.Y.

Melvin Dubin  
Slant-Fin Radiator Corp.  
130-15 89th Road  
Richmond Hills 18, N.Y.

- \* Irving Bernstein  
United Jewish Appeal  
165 West 46th St.  
New York 36, N.Y.

Robert M. Feinberg  
4603 South 72nd Street  
Omaha 7, Nebraska

Mrs. F. Gordon Borowsky  
220 W. Rittenhouse Square Apt.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Myer Feinstein  
Myer Feinstein Co.  
1627-29 Walnut Street  
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Mrs. Abner Bregman  
65 Shore Drive  
Grey Rock Park  
Portchester, N.Y.

Mrs. Max M. Fisher  
27751 Fairway Hills Drive  
Birmingham, Michigan

Rabbi Isadore Breslau  
4511 Argyle Terrace, N.W.  
Washington 11, D.C.

Fred Forman  
B. Forman Co.  
46 Clinton Avenue, S.  
Rochester 4, N.Y.

Harold J. Cohen (With Mission only  
1 Shephard Lane for last day in  
Roslyn, New York Israel)

Herbert A. Friedman \*  
United Jewish Appeal  
165 W. 46th St.  
New York 36, N.Y.

Nehemiah M. Cohen  
Giant Food Dept. Stores  
6900 Sheriff Road  
Landover, Maryland

Charles H. Gershenson  
Wayne Michigan Bldg. Corp.  
4800 Greenway  
Detroit 4, Mich.

Mrs. Thomas Cohen  
310 West 49th St.  
Kansas City 12, Mo.



Edward Ginsberg  
Gottfried, Ginsberg, Guren & Merritt  
1114 Hippodrome Bldg.  
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Abraham Gitlow  
1601 N. 11th Street  
Philadelphia 22, Pa.

Sidney U. Glaser  
201 S. Elmer Avenue  
Sayre, Pa.

Leonard Goldfine  
Goldfine Truck Rental Service  
350 N. 2nd St.  
Philadelphia 6, Pa.

Samuel L. Greenebaum, Jr.  
Greenebaum, Barnett, Wood & Doll  
Kentucky Home Life Building  
Louisville 2, Ky.

Felix A. Greenhut  
General Cigar Co. Inc.  
485 Lexington Avenue  
New York 17, N.Y.

Bernard D. Grossman  
30 Union St.  
Braintree, Mass.

\* Rabbi Hugo Gryn  
American Joint Distribution Comm.  
3 East 54th Street  
New York 22, N.Y.

Merrill L. Hassenfeld  
4 Woodlawn Terrace  
Providence 6, R.I.

Dr. I. Jerome Hauser  
1980 Strathcona  
Detroit 3, Michigan

Mrs. Lewis Hoffman  
425 East Meyer  
Kansas City 31, Mo.

Joseph Holtzman  
18310 Livernois  
Detroit 21, Michigan

Charles A. Kahaner  
928 Chestnut Street  
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

William V. Kahn  
2746 Brentwood  
Columbus, Ohio

Kevy K. Kaiserman  
52nd & Montgomery  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Joseph H. Kanter  
The Kanter Corp.  
787 W. Kemper  
Cincinnati 40, Ohio

Paul Kapelow  
Shelby Construction Co., Inc.  
136 S. Derbigny St.  
New Orleans, La.

Moses M. Katz  
1125 Seventh Street  
Denver, Colorado

Jerome Klorfein  
Julius & Rose Klorfein Foundation, Inc.  
350 Fifth Avenue  
Room 4101  
New York 1, N.Y.

Sol Koffler  
American Luggage Works, Inc.  
91 N. Main St.  
Warren, Rhode Island

Edward Koppelman  
4424 Bergans Drive  
Encino, California

Mr. Marshall Kuhn\*  
Jewish Welfare Federation of  
San Francisco  
230 California Street  
San Francisco 11, Calif.

Hoses A. Leavitt, Exec. Vice-Chairman\*  
American Joint Distribution Comm., Inc.  
3 East 54th Street  
New York 22, N.Y.

Jack O. Lefton  
Red Seal Oil Co.  
988 Saratoga  
Ferndale 20, Mich.

N. Aaron Naboicheck  
The Standard Mattress Co.  
55 North Street  
Hartford, Conn.

Dr. Samuel Levin  
1600 Lincolnshire  
Detroit 3, Mich.

Irving S. Norry  
Electric Equipment Co.  
P.O. Box 51  
Rochester 1, N.Y.

David N. Litwin  
235 Austen Road  
Orange, New Jersey

Joseph Ottenstein  
District News Co., Inc.  
P.O. Box 1805  
Washington, D.C.

Arthur Loewengart  
Loewengart & Co.  
443 Park Avenue South  
New York 16, N.Y.

James L. Permutt  
Sirote-Permitt-Friend & Friedman  
First Federal Building  
2030 First Avenue N.  
Birmingham, Ala.

David Lowenthal  
1915 Frick Bldg.  
Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

Mr. Solomon N. Petchers  
Premium Point  
New Rochelle, N.Y.

Joseph M. Mazer  
Hudson Pulp & Paper Corp.  
477 Madison Avenue  
New York 22, N.Y.

Theodore R. Racoosin  
551 Fifth Avenue  
New York 17, N.Y.

\* Samuel Melnick  
Federation of Jewish Agencies  
of Greater Philadelphia  
1511 Walnut Street  
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Saul Rosen  
United Yarn Products  
160 Ward Street  
Paterson, New Jersey

Morris M. Messing  
Del Rex Precious Metals  
75 River Road  
Nutley, New Jersey

Samuel Rothberg  
Tower Theatre Building  
575 Peachtree Street  
Atlanta 8, Ga.

Joseph Meyerhoiff  
The Joseph Meyerhoff Co.  
1300 First National Bank Bldg.  
Light & Redwood Streets  
Baltimore 2, Md.

Mr. Harry Rubenstein  
2309 Baynard Blvd.  
Wilmington 2, Delaware

Joseph N. Mitchell  
Beneficial Standard Life Ins. Co.  
756 S. Spring St.  
Los Angeles 14, Calif.

William B. Rudenko  
Blank, Rudenko, Klaus & Rome  
1660 Suburban Station Bldg.  
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Benjamin F. Saltzstein  
625 N. Milwaukee St.  
Milwaukee 2, Wisc.

Leon Schottenstein  
50 North Drexel Avenue  
Columbus, Ohio



Mrs. Joseph H. Schwartz  
465 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

Joseph D. Shane  
J.D. Shane & Co.  
9862 Wilshire Blvd.  
Beverly Hills, Calif.

Irving Shavitz  
175 Kings Court  
West Englewood, New Jersey

Mrs. Burt J. Siris  
103 Greenhaven Road  
Rye, New York

\*\* Mr. Philip Slomovitz  
2966 West Otter Drive  
Detroit 21, Michigan

\*\* Mr. Boris Smolar  
147 West 79th St.  
New York, New York

Dr. Dewey D. Stone  
53 Arlington St.  
Brockton, Mass.

Isaac H. Taylor  
Columbia Pike  
Ellicott City, Md.

Sanford Treguboff\* (Paris Only)  
Executive Vice-President  
Jewish Welfare Federation of S.F.  
230 California St.  
San Francisco 11, Calif.

Milton S. Trost  
Stein Bros. & Boyce  
Starks Bldg. Arcade  
Louisville, KY.

Edward M.M. Warburg  
American Jewish Joint Distribution  
3 East 54th St.  
New York 22, N.Y.

Jack D. Weiler  
711 3rd Avenue  
New York 17, New York

Mack Wolf  
Star Launderers & Cleaners  
839 University Avenue  
St. Paul 4 E, Minn.

Stanley Yarmuth  
National Auto Sales, Inc.  
815 West Broadway  
Louisville, Ky.

Aaron Zacks  
R.G. Barry Corp.  
78 East Chestnut St.  
Columbus, Ohio

Philip Zinman  
South Jersey Mortgage Co.  
500 Market St.  
Camden 1, New Jersey

SOLICITATION ASSIGNMENTS

Morris Abrams	-	Ed Ginsberg
Charles Bensley	-	Henry Bernstein
Mrs. Abner Bregman	-	" W
Isadore Breslau	-	JM
Nehemiah M. Cohen	-	JM & DS
Samuel H. Daroff	-	DS
Israel Davidson	-	DS
Melvin Dubin	-	Dave Lowenthal
Robt. Feinberg	-	" "
Chas. Gershonson	-	JM
Ed Ginsberg	-	HAF
Abraham Gitlow	-	I. Breslau
Sidney U. Glaser	-	Fred Forman
Leonard Goldfine	-	Zinman
Felix Greenhut	-	Henry Bernstein
Bernard Grossman	-	DS
Jos. Holtzman	-	Zinman
Wm. V. Kahn	-	Forman
Keyv Kaiserman	-	JM
Paul Kapelow	-	E. Ginsberg
Moses Katz	-	I. Breslau
Jerome Klorfein	-	Henry Bernstein
Edward Koppelman	-	Barnett + Joe Mitchell
Jack O. Lefton	-	JM + Gershonson
David Litwin	-	I. Breslau
Arthur Loewengart	-	H. Bernstein
Joe Mazer	-	" "
Morris Messing	-	I. Breslau
Joseph Mitchell	-	DS
Joe Ottenstein	-	JM
James Permutt	-	Kapelow + Zinman
Solomon Fetchers	-	Henry Bernstein
Theodore Racoosin	-	DS
Saul Rosen	-	Daroff
Sam Rothberg	-	I. Breslau
Harry Rubenstein	-	Daroff + Zinman
Wm. B. Rudenko	-	JM to give to K. Kaiserman
Leon Schottenstein	-	Kapelow
Joseph Shane	-	DS
Irving Shavitz	-	Zinman
Isaac Taylor	- X	JM
Milton S. Trost	-	Barnett
E. M. M. Warburg	-	Henry Bernstein
Jack D. Weiler	-	" "
Stanley Yarmuth	-	Barnett
Aaron Zacks	-	Forman
Philip Zinman	-	JM
Joe Kanter	-	HAF & JM
Mrs. J. J. Schwartz	-	Henry Bernstein



SOLICITATION ASSIGNMENTS

Bernard Barnett	will give no less than 1962 gift (\$30,000)
Charles Bensley	from \$11,000 to \$15,000
Isadore Breslau	\$25,000 - \$30,000
Israel Davidson	will give no less than 1962 (\$50,000)
Melvin Dubin	increase of at least \$1,000 (\$6,100) 25%
Charles Gershenson	from \$21,500 plus \$5,000 increase
Ed Ginsburg	\$37,000 - \$40,000
Leonard Goldfine	increase \$9,000 to \$11,000
Bernard Grossman	will increase substantially over 1962 (\$30,000)
Kevy Kaiserman	prepared to increase from \$20,000 to \$30,000 but wants to include Rudenko gift
Jerome Klorfein	possible increase of \$25,000 over 1962 (\$20,000)
Sol Kofler	although Fall campaign - promised Zinman considerable increase
Jack O. Lefton	"will do better in Detroit" (1962 was \$11,000)
Arthur Loewengart	increase from \$27,000 to \$37,000
Joe Mazer	undecided
James Permutt	indicated he will "go up plenty"
Harry Rubenstein	indicates he will "double" 1962 of \$2,500 but Zinman aiming for \$7,500
Joseph Shane	will give minimum 1962 gift \$23,000
Irving Shavitz	\$3,500 to \$5,000
Isaac Taylor	indicated he will give \$20,000 - \$25,000 (1962 - \$15,000)
Philip Zinman	43- \$50,000
Devey D. Stone	same as 1962 (\$200,000)
Mrs. Deniger	will increase from \$10,000 to \$15,000
Merrill Hassenfeld	Fall community increased from \$50,000 to \$52,500

*Thousands each money*

*ask Devey to see 2 letters*



Mission Members to be Solicited

		<u>HIGH YEAR</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	
✓	Morris Abrams, <sup>Cleveland</sup> Milw.	62-50,000	26,500	50,000	Ginsberg & HAF
Sol.	Bernard H. Barnett, Cleve.	62-30,000	18,000	30,000	Max Fisher and Ed Ginsberg
	Charles Bensley, NYC	62-11,000	11,000	11,000	JDW, NYC —
	Morris Brecher, NYC	62-51,000	51,000	51,000	JDW, NYC
	Mrs. Abner Bregman, NYC	62-10,350	10,350	10,350	JDW, NYC —
Sol.	Isadore Breslau, D.C.	62-25,000	24,000	25,000	J.M.
	Nehemiah M. Cohen, D.C.	62-150,000	85,000	150,000	J.M. and D.S.
?	Mrs. Thomas Cohen, K,C,Mo. (inc. in Katz Drug gift)	60-35,000	25,000	20,000	Breslau
	Joe E. Cole, Cleveland	62-50,000	20,000	50,000	J.M. & Ginsberg
	Samuel H. Daroff, Phila.	49-76,000	35,000	45,000	M. Fisher
	Israel Davidson, Detroit	52-85,000	50,000	50,000	M. Fisher
	Melvin Dubin, NYC	62-6,100	6,100	6,100	JDW, NYC
✓	Robt. Feinberg, Omaha	62-3,500	2,200	3,500	Lowenthal
	Myer Feinstein, Phila.	62-30,000	24,000	30,000	D.S. <u>PARIS ONLY</u>
Sol.	Max M. Fisher, Detroit	57-220,000	110,000	140,000	JM, DS & HAF
	Fred Forman, Rochester NY	61-65,000	65,000		Breslau
	Charles Gershenson, Detroit	57-26,825	16,500	21,500	Fisher
Sol.	Edward Ginsberg, Cleveland	62-37,500	30,000	37,500	HAF & IB
	Abraham Gitlow, Phila. (of which 15,750 to N.Y.)	49-23,750	8,000	8,500	Phila Grp.
	Sidney U. Glaser, Sayre Pa.	59-8,065	5,570	5,600	Lowenthal
	Leonard Goldfine, Phila.	62-9,000	6,700	9,000	Phila. Grp.
	Felix A. Greenhut, NYC				JDW, NYC
	Bernard Grossman, Boston	61-30,000	23,000	30,000	D.S.
Sol.	Merrill L. Hassenfeld, Prov.	61-50,000	50,000	52,500	Fall Campaign
	Dr. I. Jerome Hausner, Detroit	62-5,400	4,550	5,400	Barnett



Page 2: Mission Members to be Solicited

	<u>HIGH YEAR</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>
Paul Himmelfarb, D.C.	57-75,000	57,500	60,000	Breslau -PARIS ONLY
Joseph Holtzman, Detroit	56-111,000	25,000	20,000	Levin
William V. Kahn, Columbus	57-7,000	4,875	6,000	Levin
Kevy Kaiserman, Phila.	62-20,000	11,000	20,000	Phila Grp.
Paul Kapelow, New Orleans	62-33,000	25,000	33,000	Ginsberg
Moses Katz, Denver	58-11,000	5,000	10,000	Levin
Jerome Korfein, NYC	62-20,000	20,000	20,000	JDW, NYC
Edward Koppelman, L.A.	62-30,000	1,500	30,000	Barnett
Jack O. Lefton, Detroit	62-11,000	7,000	11,000	Mitchell
Sol. Albert A. Levin, Cleveland	62-57,000	52,035	57,000	JM, DS & JDW
Dr. Samuel J. Levin, Detroit	59-3,905	2,500	3,000	Hassenfeld
David M. Litwin, Newark	62-2,000	1,200	2,000	Hassenfeld
Arthur Loewengart, NYC	62-27,000	7,000	27,000	JDW, NYC
Sol. David Lowenthal, Pitts.	62-50,000	28,000	<u>50,000</u>	HAF & Ginsberg
Joseph M. Mazer, NYC	62-155,000	145,000	155,000	JDW, NYC
Morris M. Messing, Newark	62-10,000	3,500	10,000	Hassenfeld
Sol. Joseph Meyerhoff, Balti.	62-120,000	<u>70,000</u>	<u>120,000</u>	HAF & DS
Sol. Joseph N. Mitchell, L.A.	62-90,000	47,500	90,000	DS & HAF
N. Aaron Naboicheck, Hartford	62-7,500	5,000	7,500	Zinman
Sol. Irving S. Norry, Rochester	57-43,266	40,000		Fisher
Joseph Ottenstein, D.C.	62-30,000	25,000	30,000	Levin
James L. Permutt, Birmingham	57-5,805	3,925	4,800	Kapelow
Solomon Petchers, N.Y.C.		25,000 +10,000	25,000	JDW, NYC
Theodore R. Racoosin, NYC	60-22,000	15,000	16,000	JDW, NYC
Leonard Rosen, Miami	62-26,000	10,000	26,000	JM
Saul Rosen, Paterson	57-9,000	4,500	5,000	Shane



Page 3 - Mission Members to be Solicited

	<u>HIGH YEAR</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	
	Samuel Rothberg, Atlanta	59-8,000	5,200	6,750 JDW
	Harry Rubenstein, Wilmington	59-7,500	2,000	2,500 Shane
	Wm. B. Rudenko, Phila.	62-16,500	13,350	16,350 Phila. Grp.
	Benj. F. Saltzstein, Milw.	62-10,000	10,000	10,000 IB
	Leon Schottenstein, Columbus	62-11,000	10,000	11,000 Mitchell
Sol.	Joseph D. Shane, L.A.	62-23,000	11,500 + 10,000 (one time gift)	23,000 HAF
	Irving Shavitz, W. Englewood	62-3,500	3,000	3,500 Kapelow
	Joseph Smolian, Birmingham	48-37,500	17,000	17,500 Kapelow
Sol.	Philip Stollman, Detroit	57-36,000	25,000	35,000 Stone
Sol.	Dewey D. Stone, Boston	62-200,000	150,000	<u>200,000</u> HAF
	Isaac H. Taylor, Baltimore	62-15,000	11,500	15,000 JM
	Milton S. Trost, Louisville	62-5100	4,600	5,100 Barnett
	Philip A. Vogelmann, NYC	62-6,000	6,000	6,000 JDW, NYC
Sol.	Edward M. M. Warburg, NYC (w. Mrs. Frieda Schiff Warburg)	51-650,000	67,500 +250,000 Spec. Proj.	87,500 JDW, NYC
Sol.	Jack D. Weiler, NYC (w. Benj. Swig)	59-189,000	60,000 50,000	85,000 S.F. NYC 85,000 N.Y.
	Mack Wolf, St. Paul	62-30,000	24,200	30,000 Ginsberg
	Stanley Yarmuth, Louisville	62-3,750	2,500	3,750 Barnett
	Aaron Zacks, Columbus	62-15,000	12,500	15,000 Levin
Sol.	Philip Zinman, Camden	62-43,000	28,500	43,000 JM



## MEMORANDUM

Date October 1, 1962

To Mr. Irving Bernstein

From Harry D. Biele's office

Subject Mission Assignments for Solicitation

Bernard H. Barnett

Dr. I. Jerome Hausner  
Edward Koppelman  
Milton S. Trost  
Stanley Yarmuth

Irving Bernstein

Edward Ginsberg  
Benj. F. Saltzstein

Isadore Breslau

Mrs. Thomas Cohen  
Fred Forman  
~~Paul Himmelfarb (PARIS)~~

Max M. Fisher

Bernard H. Barnett  
Samuel H. Daroff  
Israel Davidson  
Charles Gershenson  
Irving S. Norry

Herbert A. Friedman

Morris Abrams  
Max M. Fisher  
Edward Ginsberg  
David Lowenthal  
Joseph Meyerhoff

Herbert A. Friedman (cont'd.)

Joseph N. Mitchell  
Joseph D. Shane  
Dewey D. Stone

Edward Ginsberg

Morris Abrams  
Bernard H. Barnett  
Joseph E. Cole  
Paul Kapelow  
David Lowenthal  
Mack Wolf

Merrill L. Hassenfeld

Dr. Samuel J. Levin  
David M. Litwin  
Morris M. Messing

Paul Kapelow

James L. Permutt  
Irving Shavitz  
Joseph Smolian

Albert A. Levin

Joseph Holtzman  
William V. Kahn  
Moses Katz  
Joseph Ottenstein (w. Zinman)  
Aaron Zacks

(see Page 2)

David Lowenthal

Philip Zinman

Robert Feinberg  
Sidney U. Glaser

N. Aaron Naboicheck  
Joseph Ottenstein (w. Levin)

Joseph Meyerhoff

Isadore Breslau  
Nehemiah M. Cohen  
Joseph E. Cole  
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Albert A. Levin  
Leonard Rosen  
Isaac H. Taylor  
Philip Zinman

Joseph N. Mitchell

Jack O. Lefton  
Leon Schottenstein

Joseph D. Shane

Saul Rosen  
Harry Rubenstein

Dewey D. Stone

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Myer Feinstein (PARIS)  
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Charles Bensley  
Morris Brecher  
Mrs. Abner Bregman  
Melvin Dubin  
Felix A. Greenhut  
Jerome Klorfein  
Albert A. Levin  
Arthur Loewengart  
Joseph M. Mazer  
Solomon Petchers  
Theodore R. Racoosin  
Samuel Rothberg  
Philip A. Vogelmann  
Edward M.M. Warburg





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(as of 9/28/62)

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- 62-30000 Mr. & Mrs. Bernard H. Barnett  
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- 62-11000 Mr. Charles J. Bensley  
New York, N.Y.
- Mr. Henry C. Bernstein  
New York, N.Y.
- Mr. Irving Bernstein  
New York, N.Y.
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- 62-10350 Mrs. Abner Bregman  
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- 62-25000 Rabbi & Mrs. Isadore Breslau  
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- 62-10000 Mr. & Mrs. Harold J. Cohen  
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- 62-15000 Mr. & Mrs. Nehemiah M. Cohen  
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- KATE DANCY  
62-20,000 Mrs. Thomas Cohen  
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- 62-50000 Mr. Israel Davidson  
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Sayre, Pa.

(accompanied by daughter)

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Mr. Charles Goodall  
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W. Bernard Baerett  
62-30000 Mr. & Mrs. Samuel L. Greenebaum, Jr.,  
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62-250 Mr. & Mrs. Felix A. Greenhut  
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(record by daughter-in-law)



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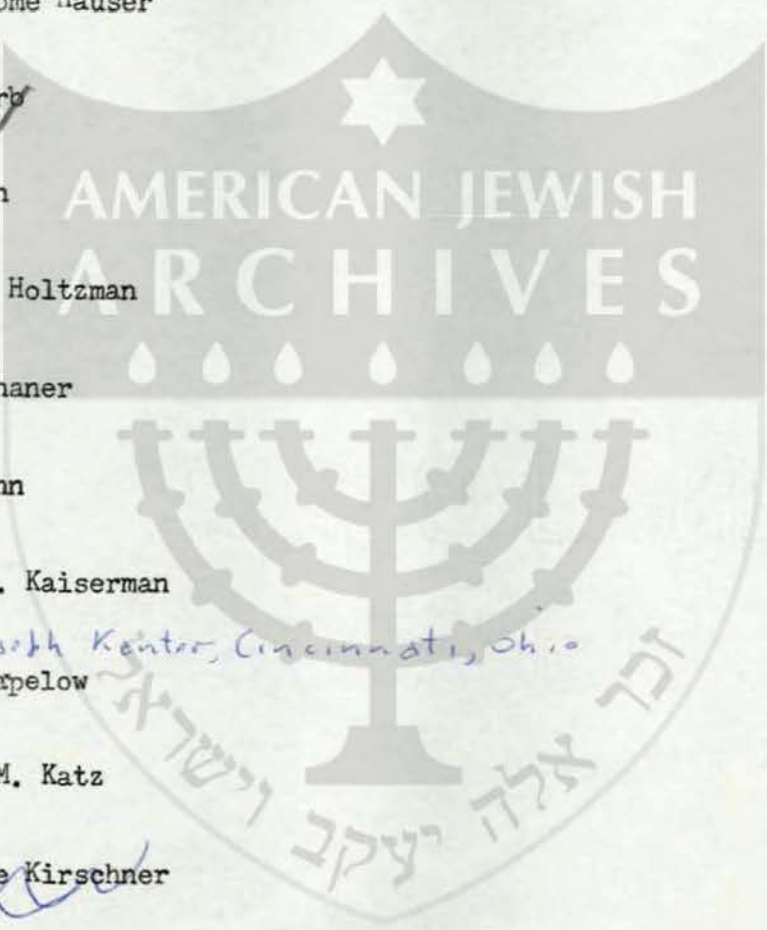
62-20000 Mr. Jerome Klorfein  
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62-30000 Mr. & Mrs. Edward Koppelman  
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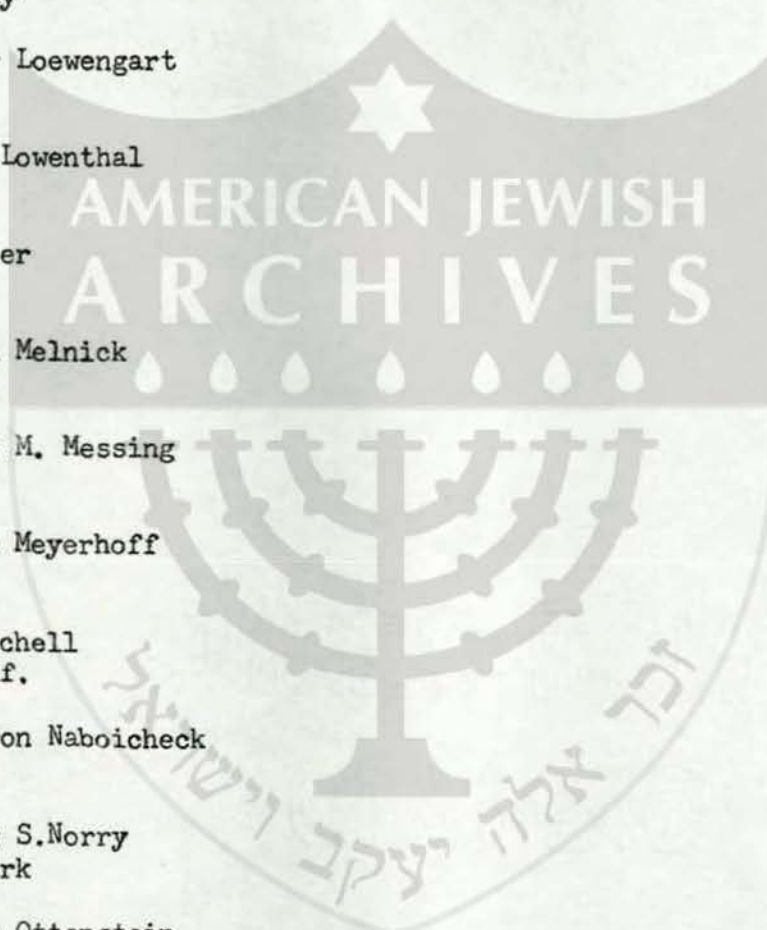
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(accompanied by daughter)
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UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

VINITSKY

SEPT. 25, 1962

JEVAGENCY

JERUSALEM (ISRAEL)

W.U. CABLES

FOLLOWING CABLE SENT RIVLIN QUOTE

HAVE LEARNED FROM WEISGAL THAT WEIZMANN INSTITUTE PLANNING LARGE CONVOCATION AT REHOVOT  
OCTOBER THIRTYFIRST AT 5:30 TO BE FOLLOWED BY GARDEN PARTY SUPPER AT 7:00 STOP WEISGAL  
SAYS BENGURION SPEAKING AT CONVOCATION STOP I EXPRESSED COMPLETE SURPRISE BECAUSE OUR  
PLANS FOR BENGURION STATE DINNER SAME EVENING LONGSINCE CONFIRMED BY YOU STOP HAS SOME  
CHANGE OCCURRED STOP WEI GAL INSISTS WE TRY SHIFT OUR DINNER TO FOLLOWING NIGHT NOVEMBER  
FIRST STOP IS BENGURION AVAILABLE NEXT NIGHT STOP PLEASE DISCUSS WHOLE PROBLEM WITH  
SHARETT ALSO TRY FIND MEYERHOFF AND DISCUSS WITH HIM THEN CABLE ME STOP I AM WILLING  
TRY COOPERATE WITH WEIZMANN INSTITUTE BUT NOT AT COST OF DAMAGING OUR DINNER STOP  
WARBURG MUST LEAVE MORNING FIRST FOR JDC CONFERENCE GENEVA STOP SEVERAL OTHERS ALSO  
PLANNING LEAVE NOVEMBER FIRST SINCE WE ANNOUNCED REPEATEDLY STATE DINNER EVENING  
THIRTYFIRST STOP WOULD APPRECIATE BEST ADVICE HOW HANDLE THIS COMPLICATED SITUATION  
LSHANA TOVAH UNQUOTE PLEASE TRY FIND MEYERHOFF READ THIS TO HIM LSHANA TOVAH

FRIEDMAN



UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

SEPT. 25, 1962

W.U. CABLES

RIVLIN  
JEVAGENCY  
JERUSALEM (ISRAEL)

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LSHANA TOVAH

FRIEDMAN



X

*Fell*

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

SENRETT

SEPTEMBER 25, 1962

JEVAGENCY

JERUSALEM (ISRAEL)

W.U. CABLES

MISSION NOW OVER 150 WITH 35 CABINET MEMBERS INCLUDING 15 OFFICERS STOP SINCE KNESSET  
BUILDING CAN ONLY HOLD LIMITED NUMBER MEYERHOFF STONE WARBURG MYSELF CONCUR IN  
~~EXECUTIVE~~ RECOMMENDING CANCELLATION VISIT ORDER NOT OFFEND OTHER OFFICERS AND CABINET  
BY CHOOSING ONLY FEW TO MAKE VISIT STOP HOWEVER ALL AGREE IT WOULD BE MOST IMPORTANT FOR  
KNESSET PASS RESOLUTION IN HONOR UJA AND HAVE SPEAKER OF KNESSET READ RESOLUTION AT  
BENGURION DINNER NIGHT THIRTYFIRST STOP HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE ARRANGE REGARDS

FRIEDMAN

**RCA COMMUNICATIONS**  
A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION  
25 WEST 43rd STREET, N.Y., TEL.



**COMMUNICATIONS, INC.**  
A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION  
25 WEST 43rd STREET, N.Y., TEL.

FA168 IU65

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SEP 25 1962

RADIOGRAM

KEEC 31 X 3654 JERUSALEMISR 14 24 1530

REPLY TO DIRECT

LT UJAPPEAL BERNSTEIN NEWYORK

RE KNESSET MEYERHOFF HAS NO OBJECTIONS TO FRIEDMANS  
DECISION

VINITSKY



RCA COMMUNICATIONS  
A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION  
25 WEST 43rd STREET, N.Y., TEL. BR. 9-0572



RCA COMMUNICATIONS  
A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION  
25 WEST 43rd STREET, N.Y., TEL. BR. 9-0572



Out P.

4 September 1962

Mr. E. J. Horwitz, Chairman  
South African Zionist Federation  
P.O.B. 18  
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Edal:

I have received the copies of the letters which you sent to all of the parties interested in the South African campaign and cannot begin to tell you how much I appreciate the speed with which you sent them and the genuine warmth and enthusiasm which permeates them.

I came back to an enormous load of work here in my own office, but have been unable to throw off the glow which I felt, upon the completion of my visit to South Africa. It was such a rich and heartwarming experience to come to know you and all of your colleagues, that I really feel I gained much more than I might have managed to give. These friendships I shall cherish and certainly look forward to renewing them, either through another visit to South Africa in the future, or to seeing each of you in Israel or in the United States.

I shall keep the address of your daughter and the next time I am in San Francisco, which will probably be in November, I shall certainly make it a point to meet her and tell her what I think of you.

Would you please tell Dave Waks that the oil painting arrived in perfect condition and I now have it on the wall of my room. It is a handsome portrait and reminds me of our times together. It also reminds me, because of the poignant look on the face of the young girls of the problems which lie deep in the South African situation. In addition, I received a packet of papers which he sent me airmail. The only thing yet to come are some books which he was sending by surface mail and I do not expect those for many weeks as yet.

I am preparing the next overseas Mission of the UJA and invite you to join us if you have any time or opportunity. Our group will be meeting in London on the 15th of October and will be splitting that morning into two sections, one going to Germany and one going to Poland. We will make visits to those two countries to the former concentration camps where there are now memorials to the Jews who were killed. We then meet in Paris on the 18th and remain there through the 21st. The final leg of the journey is from Paris to Israel on the 22nd and we have a full program there culminating on the 1st of



Mr. E. J. Horvitz

-2-

4 September 1962

November at the Weizmann memorial service. If you or any of our other friends would find it feasible to join, we would love to have you. Please let me know. I will be in my office until the 13th of October.

Again with all good wishes and with many, many thanks for the lovely letters you wrote, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Herbert A. Friedman  
Executive Vice-Chairman

HAF:gb

