

ISRAEL AND WORLD JEWRY

ARTICLES :

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RESEARCH — SURVEYS — SYMPOSIUMS :

- GUIDE TO THE WORLD JEWISH COMMUNITIES
- ABSORPTION POSSIBILITIES FOR SELF-EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS
- THE DETERMINANTS OF MOTIVES OF ISRAELI STUDENTS STUDYING IN THE U.S.A.
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- THE ACTIVITIES OF THE J. A. AS VIEWED BY THE ISRAELI PUBLIC
- ISRAEL'S IMAGE ABROAD — SYMPOSIUM
- THE EXODUS OF POLISH JEWRY — SYMPOSIUM

956
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1971 ANNUAL

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THE OFFICE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH
THE JEWISH AGENCY, JERUSALEM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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Editor : Dr. L. BERGER

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1971 ANNUAL

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THE UNITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

by L. A. PINCUS,

Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive

No one with a sense of history — history of the Zionist movement, history of the Jewish people and its relation to Jewish Palestine and then Israel — can but feel the significance of people coming together for the first time, really, since 1935, in this form: the representatives of the Zionist Movement on the one side, and on the other the leaders of the Jewish community who devote large portions of their time and effort for the assistance to Israel, to the Jews who have to come here and to the Jews who are already here. We've always spoken of partnership. I have deliberately avoided using that expression. I prefer to express our presence here as Israel relying on itself, and as part of that self, relying on the Jews of the world.

It was Weizmann who, in 1929, perceiving the need of the total Jewish people to be mobilized, tried to bring into partnership with the Zionist movement those factors and those persons who were willing to go at least part of the road with the Zionist movement for the benefit of all. Therefore I make no apology for looking backward. You cannot escape, not in this country and not at this moment, the wealth of history that lies behind this gathering.

Let us never forget that our history and our past have a direct practical relevance to what we have to do today. Let us never forget that those who cannot remember the past are doomed to repeat it.

ISRAEL AS ENVISAGED BY LOUIS MARSHALL

With this spirit and with this purpose, let me refer to what was said by the leaders that gathered in Zurich, in 1929.

In his book *Trial and Error*, Weizmann made it clear that organizationally the Jewish Agency did not bear the fruit we wanted from it then. But it left behind it a rich legacy of unity of spirit and carved paths of that unity, all of which bore magnificent fruit during the period of the Holocaust, during the creation of the Jewish State and, in a real sense, today.

Louis Marshall, who was then President of the American Jewish Committee said: "Jewish Palestine has accomplished marvels in the last 25 years. In stimulating Jewish thought among our youth throughout the world, it has brought about a renaissance of Jewish learning and scholarship which has once more made

* Keynote Address to the Planning Committee for the Reconstruction of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, August 24, 1970.

Hebrew a living language. It has given thousands of us who at one time were indifferent to our history something to live for and aspire to. Why should not such an ideal be regarded as belonging to all Jews?"

It is a commonplace today that Israel has those qualities in much greater measure than even Marshall foresaw. He said that in 1929 when there were 156,000 Jews living in mandated Jewish Palestine, when the total immigration for the ten years preceding the statement was but 100,000. Today we are talking about the role that Israel plays in the Jewish renaissance, with a Jewish State and a society practically, morally, effectively based on the prophetic principles of social justice, at a time when its heroic struggle for survival is one of the great challenges and one of the great inspirations to our youth throughout the world. Anybody here who has any dealing with the diaspora knows what a long, long role we have to play in bringing the Jewish youth towards us, with us in our future. But I make so bold as to say that if there is one dynamic inspiring force that is beginning to prove itself amongst Jewish youth, it is the dynamic inspiration that Israel in its society, in its posture, in its real content is playing in their lives. And not only amongst the free youth.

Never should a Jewish Assembly of any kind pass by without reference to this. Israel is playing its part with Jewish youth we had thought was bound to be lost to us forever, assimilated, gone from the body politic of Jewish life. It is Israel that has brought back the Jewish youth of the Soviet Union, in growing and growing numbers, in courage and determination to reestablish its links with us and with the total Jewish people.

That is Israel. And that is the Israel of Marshall's vision. Marshall did not and could not then have spoken, not only of that spiritual renaissance but of the great humanitarian task that Israel has played since 1929. We must not treat everything as if history began on May the 15th of 1948. One million seven hundred thousand Jews were brought here from 1929 to today, prior to the establishment of the State and thereafter. They were taken from the hell of Hitler, they were taken from the fast vanishing communities in the Moslem countries. They are being taken today from countries where the saving of life and the insuring of freedom as a man and as a Jew is vital, and it has become significant for a growing number of young people from the free countries. Those were the aspects that maybe Marshall never even believed were possible. Maybe he thought, as many did, that this was the crazy dream of the Zionists.

FREE AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION

At the Zionist Congress in 1968, and again at the subsequent Actions Committee, it was decided that organizational reforms and ways and direction must be found to give proper expression to the new spirit that was abroad, to the new spirit of unity among the Jewish people that has become manifest after the Six Day War.

The Zionist Movement came to the conclusion that it would accept a partnership on the basis of separation but it would not push that separation any further than the legal obligations compel it, and would not, under any shape or form, destroy the spirit of unity and make separation, as it were, an ideal in itself.

Whatever the failures of the past have been, and with all those reservations, we were satisfied that the time was ripe for implementation. As to the ideal of a broadened Jewish Agency, its time has also come. Today we sit as fund-raising bodies, with the World Zionist Organization, to join in free and equal participation in the work of rescue, rehabilitation, resettlement, reconstruction in Israel. And to

share, all of us together, in the thinking, the planning, the execution of these great tasks.

CLOSING THE GAP

The Zionist Movement, which has been now for over 25 years the sole custodian of the Jewish Agency, has concerned itself since the beginning of the century with the establishment of the Jewish State. Very often that Zionist Movement had to bear the brunt of being a minority in Jewish life, but it pursued its ideals with relentless and unreserved devotion. Our Zionist Movement has a philosophy: unreserved commitment to the State of Israel, the belief that Israel is a decisive factor in the solution of the Jewish problem which still awaits proper, adequate and permanent solution. As part of that philosophy, it believes that there is an enormous amount of work to be done outside Israel—in the field of education, in the field of youth—in the field of aliyah from the free countries. It is profoundly committed to the belief that we are one people. This is another way of saying that Israel depends on itself and as part of itself the total Jewish people. It has a profound belief in the unity of the Jewish people and that we are one people and in our capacity as one people to survive. Of course, the gap has grown narrower and narrower since the days of Marshall to today and very often the gap becomes blurred and more often than not it is just a question of whether a man calls himself a Zionist or not.

As for the other side, the so-called non-Zionists, it is clear that they are not “non-Zionists”. These “other” persons not within the organized Zionist Movement have a magnificent record of practical help to Jewish Palestine and later to Israel, achievements of stupendous dimensions in 1948 and ever greater, in 1967, an on-going, year-in and year-out assistance. Nor is fund-raising the really great value of what they have been doing. Fund-raising and their guidance and leadership transcend the mere material aspects. It has begun to be a solidifying force. It has begun to destroy the idea of “we” and “you”. It has begun to involve young leadership, it has begun to show Israel as it really is and it has become the pivot abroad which many Jewish communities find their only real expression of unified will and unified expression of that will.

The willingness of the so-called “non-Zionists” to share in the decision-making in all the matters that concern Israel has become apparent. The Conference on Human Needs in Israel was a demonstration of what joint thinking can produce not only in the thinking itself but in generating enthusiasm, generating the feeling that we are one, generating the desire to be one. If the reconstituted Jewish Agency can capture and maintain this spirit in its on-going day-to-day work, that will be the greatest contribution the fund-raising instruments in Jewish life have made. That is really the closing of the gap between the Zionist and the non-Zionist.

The reconstitution of the Jewish Agency is taking place at the beginning of the new situation created by Israel's difficulties in regard to survival in the military sense. The word survival has many meanings, many facets. Physical survival is important, without it nothing else can come. But if it is only physical survival then the dream of Herzl and of Weizmann has proved valueless. Their dream was not physical survival of the Jews, but the building of a Jewish State, which will give to the Jews everything that their past entitles them to.

Therefore, the agenda of this planning meeting is designed to give practical expression to the things I have said. We will deal with legal administrative matters. I hope we'll deal with them pragmatically. I hope that we will be careful, no matter how we feel about things that bring us together. These matters aren't easy.

Some of them are delicate. Let us not try to solve all the problems at once. Let life teach us how we ought to get on together and how we ought to work together, provided the essence and spirit of that agreement is maintained — mutual respect and mutual trust.

Let us forget very soon, if we possibly can, that we are two groups. We are 38 Jews concerned with Jewish leadership, we are 38 Jews concerned with Jewish survival, and that is the guiding factor, and not any group ideology.

Let us begin at this very planning meeting the inquiring insight into our problems. Delay is impossible to tolerate any further. Time has marched too swiftly for us. At this meeting we are only bringing before you special areas: immigration and absorption, higher education, agricultural development. But this is an enormous portion — not everything, to be sure, but let us not try to solve all the problems at once. Let us not treat those presentations formally as another speech. Let us begin to probe the problems and what is behind the figures and the facts so that our thinking can become more and more productive as time passes. I've tried to give you the *tachlis* as well as the historic nature of the occasion.

The new Jewish Agency is giving organizational flesh and blood to something which we know is needed, something which is essential to the voyage of our life as a people. It is an historic opportunity to create a new dimension in the relationship between Israel and the diaspora, to create the real dialogue which can only reach fruition on the basis of understanding, knowledge and unity of purpose. This is the major problem of Jewish life in the long run. The building of that bridge, not only for ourselves and our generation but to insure that that bridge remains for the generation to come.

I began by quoting Marshall. Let me end by quoting from the same great meeting, this time by the Zionist Chaim Weizmann. He said then, in pursuing what he wanted for the Jewish Agency, "The Balfour Declaration was given to the Jewish people, not to one section of that people." We can say it today and make it applicable. The Jewish State was established for the whole Jewish people, not for one section of that people.

CO-EXISTENCE IN THE ISRAELI ECONOMY

by A. L. DULZIN

Treasurer, Member of the Jewish Agency Executive

The distinctiveness of the Israeli economy lies in its diversity. It is the action locale for a variety of economic factors, each of which projects economic enterprise, tailored to its own social and political concepts. Histadrut/cooperative, public (governmental and municipal) and private enterprises function in Israel one alongside the other; their inter-balance is achieved in pragmatic and at times improvised fashion. All this is not by chance.

During the first years of Israel's existence, the idea that public economy was superior to the private enjoyed absolute credibility. This segment of the economy was therefore definitely favored, in all its facets, while private economy was shunted aside, mainly because the accepted economic policy of those days did not look upon it as a factor worthy of aid and support. The arrival of the first middle-class immigrants, at the end of the 'fifties, and the need for mobilizing private capital investment wrought a change in the attitude toward private entrepreneurs, and this, in turn, influenced a change in the principles of economic policy.

These outside factors exercised a great deal of influence on the growth of the Israeli economy, thereby distinguishing this growth from the development processes which many countries throughout the world underwent. At the same time, it should be noted that the functional forms of these external factors did create processes with characteristics common to both the Israeli development and that of the developing countries.

As an example, the general aspect of economic development points to the problem of "population explosion" as a cause for the evolvment of weighty problems in the national economy, the creation of capital, consumption and savings. A similar phenomenon of "population explosion" apparently exists in the Israeli economy, but here it is rooted in immigration and not in natural increase alone. And while "population explosions" and their proper solutions are meeting with difficulties in the developing countries, Israel has come up with an original solution to this problem. The economic absorption of each wave of immigration and its integration in the economy has served as the basis for the economic absorption of the next wave. This is one of the interesting features of the Israeli economic model and its utilization of the manpower at the disposal of the economy in order to thrust it to higher stages of development.

From November 1948 to the end of December 1969, the Israeli populace grew from 872,700 persons to 2,919,200 (the Jewish population grew from 716,700 to 2,496,400 and the non-Jewish from 156,000 to 422,800. These figures do not take

in the population of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, but they do include, as of the beginning of 1968, the populace of East Jerusalem). This increase is affected by quite sharp fluctuations.

The scope of these fluctuations depends on the size of the waves of immigration. With the birth of the State, its gates were flung open to Jewish ingathering; during the first five years of its existence, 685,000 Jews came to its shores; this is to say that the augmentation of the populace caused by immigration in the Jewish sector equalled its number on the day that Israel was founded. Today, immigrants account for two-thirds of the country's populace. This means that Israel's economic development has been taking place under unique demographic conditions, arising from population growth of extraordinary proportions.

The absorption and disposition of the immigrants who arrived during the first five years of the existence of the State was the prime concern of the Israel Government. Action in this area was hampered by difficulties emanating from the nature of the Israeli economy of those days. This economy resembled the economies of the developing countries in the primary stages of their development. Shortage of capital, meager natural resources, a limited production of food and economic backwardness forced the Government to seek solutions that would answer the needs of the moment and would also suit the plans for economic development.

The aid which Israel received from outside sources greatly increased its ability to function and furthered the activity of non-private capital. This created in Israel the same situation that was to be found in many of the developing countries which were being aided financially by external sources. This aid is the sole way to help them pull themselves out of their difficulties, since their own capital is too meager to provide for the urgent needs of the moment and at the same time to finance economic progress. However, funds received by way of foreign aid confront the developing countries with a problem which cannot be readily solved, in that the outside funds put into them generally come from national or international institutional sources.

Adherence to the dicta of modern democracy and the dependence of Government on public opinion greatly strengthen the temptation to use foreign aid funds for taking care of current needs. This obviously endangers the future of the economy and postpones its attaining the road to economic progress. The search for a solution to this contradiction has caused, in general, the adoption of rather extreme decisions. In certain countries the government reconciled itself to the idea of having its population suffer, and its financial resources were diverted to purposes of investment and the progress of the economy only. These countries showed an increasing tendency toward concentrating on a general economic and political policy. Other developing countries chose the other extreme; the formulators of their policies adopted decisions in the opposite direction and preferred to use, "temporarily", foreign aid funds for consumption needs. Later it was found that nothing could be done to rectify the situation; the decision meant foregoing the advancement of the economy.

The Israeli solution and the way which we have found out of this dramatic contradiction is based on a synthesis which did away with both of these extreme possibilities. This solution, flexible in its structure, lies in the granting of incentive to economic enterprise on the part of the different economic factors—public (governmental and municipal), Histadrut (joint/cooperative) and private. The solution has been evolutionary, in that the areas of incentive have been periodically examined anew and adapted both to the needs of the moment and to the new economic goals. In the primary period, incentive was given to the production of consumption items, so as to supply the constant demand of the populace out of

local production and thus lower the importation of ready-made consumer goods. The Government was at that time engaged in a number of significant projects. Settlements had to be set up throughout the country and the new immigrants had to be assigned to new points of population. There was need of housing for the populace, and much more food had to be produced. Statistical data relevant to this period show that the GNP in agriculture and irrigation, transport, communications and construction had higher growth rates than did the increase of the GNP on the average. At the same time, employment had to be found for the new bread-winners. Toward this end, the Government made use of funds from the Development Budget to establish new enterprises, on its own and on the initiative of the Histadrut and the cooperative economy.

This development emanated from the Socialist concepts of the formulators of Israel's economic policy. On the other hand, one should note the administrative facility that is inherent in this cooperation between the Government and the Histadrut-collective-cooperative enterprise, which makes it possible to organize development activities in concentrated form. In contrast, working with private enterprise, represented by quite a large number of economic elements of various degrees of capability, caused undue fragmentation of the total program involved in the development of the economy. This gave the Government's economic policy a definitely centralized character, and the Government proceeded to care for the needs of the populace, whose size doubled in five years. For this period, therefore, the public sector registered a much higher growth rate than the average rate of growth of the GNP. (The public sector includes the medical services tendered by the Sick Funds and those tendered to new immigrants by national institutions).

Average Growth Rates of the GNP, by Branches (in %)

	1950-54	1955-64	1965-66
GNP	12.2	10.6	0.1
Agriculture and irrigation	13.6	11.5	0.8
Industry and mining	4.2	12.2	1.8
Transport and communications	17.9	11.7	— 0.5
Public sector and national institutions	16.5	6.7	10.4
Other branches of the economy	15.6	10.6	— 7.2

The program of the public and Histadrut sector, which was financed by public funds, actually left substantial room for private enterprise. Public and Histadrut undertakings required interim products and various auxiliary services, which were provided by small industry and the crafts, commerce, banking services, etc. Back in the first years of the State there were already signs of the synthesis which made possible the economic interplay of the various economic sectors. This interplay also witnessed much controversy and friction among the various sectors, as each sought to embrace a wider sphere of operations. However, the pragmatic approach engendered in Israel's economic policy made it possible, each time, to find some new solution based on compromise and a resolution of the conflicts which arose among the various sectors in the economy. This evolutionary method made it possible to watch over the spheres of activity of the various sectors in the economy and to further the economic development of the State.

While each of these economic sectors has more or less retained its proportion in the net national product, the Government's flexible approach has also brought about the creation of far-reaching changes in the nature of the economic program of each of the economic sectors. These changes were made possible also by the arrival of new immigrants who augmented the labor force at the disposal of the economy. There was a relatively large increase in the number of unskilled workers. The professionals who came from the diaspora enabled the public sector to expand and deepen its activities within the economy. This was the period of growth and establishment of new, highly-capitalized industrial enterprises, mining and metal industries and chemicals. Private enterprise was given considerable incentive for establishing highly-capitalized industrial undertakings, in foods (processed), textiles (spinning mills), transport (assembly plants), electricity (wire, motors, electric refrigerators, etc.). The Histadrut sector experienced considerable development in collective farming, cooperative transport enterprises, industrial plants for food processing, manufacture of vehicles for cooperative transport undertakings (*Haargaz, Merkavim*), and other branches of production. Public and private initiative accounted for the founding of new enterprises in tourism services, seafaring, air and land transport (ZIM, El-Al, Arkia, El-Yam, the railroad, highways, bridges, etc.).

Occupations of Male Immigrants, Abroad and in Israel, by %

Occupation	Abroad (1950-1952)		In Israel (1952-1966)
	Born in Asia/Africa	Europe/America	Total Jews
Free professions, science and technology	4.7	10.2	10.9
Managers and clerks	13.0	17.7	15.7
Merchants, agents, salesmen	24.3	18.2	8.7
Farmers and fishermen	6.0	5.3	10.1
Transport and communications workers	2.8	3.3	6.7
Construction, mines and quarries workers	2.9	2.7	10.3
Artisans and industrial workers	33.4	30.5	29.6
Services, sports, entertainment	3.8	2.6	3.0
Unskilled workers	9.1	9.5	—
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

A detailed delineation of those changes, which took place as a result of the flexible approach, wherein the financial resources of public funds were distributed among various economic activity factors in turn, gives a picture of the evolutionary vicissitudes that occurred in the development of the Israeli economy. These vicissitudes can be described, along general lines, as follows: during the first period, when Israel received the mass "Operation Rescue" immigration of European refugees and many Jews fleeing from the Arab countries, the economic policy

stressed the problems of employment and of supplying the needs of the populace out of local production. This program caused a considerable deficit in the country's trade balance. Later, this caused the focal economic activity to devote itself to matters involving the increase of Israeli exports; this is the guideline of the present policy, as well. As a result, far-reaching changes occurred in the development program of the agricultural policy. While it was necessary, during those first years after the birth of the State, to increase local production, in a relatively short time, in order to supply food for the populace, later, on the other hand, it was necessary to carry out stringent selectivity among the various branches of the agricultural economy. This necessity emanated from certain limitations: meager land reserves and the absence of additional sources of water to augment the conventional use of water. This brought the agricultural economy to the straining point of its capacity, and immigrants could no longer be assigned to farming as a source of livelihood. In order to further the absorptive capacity of this sector, it was necessary to go over to intensive work methods in agriculture, so as to utilize most effectively the land reserves and the water resources available to Israeli agriculture. This, in turn, called for intensification of scientific research and the expansion of professional agricultural knowhow. The subsequent increase in the volume of agricultural production led to surpluses in the local market, making it necessary to set up a stringent selectivity, in planning for the development of the branches of agriculture. For instance, it was found necessary to reduce the production volume of eggs and go over to an increased production of meat fowl. Milk production had to be cut down. On the other hand, planning had to be initiated for the exportation of farm produce, so as to utilize the increased production capacity of agriculture for the improvement of Israel's foreign trade balance. This led to the policy which reduced the proportion of agricultural employees within the civilian labor force of the economy.

Israel's industry also developed in similar fashion. In the first years after the rise of the State there was urgent need to provide employment for new immigrants. New work places had to be created on short order. This process prevented sufficient attention from being given to problems involving the profitability of the new investment ventures. Employment was then the key factor in the selection of the investment objectives.

Later, however, as a new and positive approach toward the problems of private enterprise in Israel began to be apparent, more interest was shown in the problem of profitability in the new program. The element of added value was given more consideration, with a view toward improving Israel's trade balance. These new trends were concretized in the Law for the Encouragement of Capital Investment, which created conditions favorable to private enterprise and the establishment of new plants in the country. At the same time, Israel's economic policy continued to give effective protection to the local market and to the manufacturers for this market so as to bar competitive imports. Exports were under administrative control, and imported goods had to pay a high protective tariff.

In the 'sixties, however, our economic policy took another turn. Imports were liberalized and the local market was exposed to competing imports. The exposure was carried out in stages. Today the principle of protecting the local product holds good only where its production is profitable from the standpoint of the general economy. Products not in this category have been exposed to competing importations.

A selective approach was also introduced in the categories of aid given for the establishment of new enterprises and fresh investments in the economy. In line

with this approach, such aid is given to plants which manufacture chiefly for exportation. During this period the Government undertook the establishment of various agencies, which it financed and charged with various duties in the area of encouraging exportation. Among these are the Israel Company for Fairs and Exhibitions, the Israel Export Institute, the Institute of Product Packaging and Design, Market Survey Services, the Israel Standards Institute and the Productivity Institute. This period also witnessed a certain amount of obliteration of the boundaries between the programs of the different economic sectors. For instance, Histadrut did not hesitate to enter into partnership with private capital in order to establish new industrial enterprises. Private enterprise also gained ground in this period, supplying auxiliary products and a line of services for the new undertakings. Also, private enterprise was aided considerably by the introduction of incentives for exportation. The flexibility of private industry and its expertise in certain branches (diamonds, fashions, sweets, oils, furs, etc.) enabled it to adapt itself to the demands of exportation and to find markets for its products. The proportion of private industry in exportation has risen much higher than what it is in the national product.

Foreign economic policy has also been giving much attention to the need for exportation. The Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry have jointly organized the functions of the commercial attaches in Israel's diplomatic representations. Bi-national chambers of commerce have been organized, in which economic factors of all the sectors are participating. Trade, shipping and air transport agreements have been signed with many countries of the world. Much has been done to regulate trade relations between Israel and the European Common Market, and this year these efforts have borne fruit: a preferential trade agreement has been signed between Israel and the ECC. Economic development, during this period, has received the support of public funds through an allocation of adequate means from Development Budget funds.

On the other hand, much has been contributed to this development by private enterprise, financed by the transfer of immigrants, assets, unilateral transfers of private funds, plus private investment, carried out within the framework of the Law for the Encouragement of Capital Investment. This investment has also undergone changes in the wake of the evolutionary vicissitudes experienced by Government policy in this sphere. Along with the Government's moves to encourage private enterprise, much has been done by the Jewish Agency, particularly by the Settlement Department and the Economic Department. The Settlement Department has been instructing new immigrants in various branches of agriculture, while the Agency's Economic Department has played a major role in the economic absorption of the self-employed in Israel's economy. These developments have brought about a rise in the role of private enterprise in industrial production. Private corporations accounted, in 1967-68, for 38% of all the industrial enterprises employing five or more workers — compared with 22.2% in 1963-64. The portion of these enterprises in employment also rose in that period from 47.2% to 53.3% of all the wage-earners employed by industry.

After the Six-Day War the Israeli economy began marking up quite impressive growth rates. In 1966, for instance, the real GNP rose by 1.3% over 1965 and by 2.4% in 1967 over 1966, but the growth in 1968 over 1967 was by 15.3% and in 1969 over 1968 by 11.3%. Productivity during that period also rose per work-hour, from a 3.0% increase in 1968 over 1967 to a 6.5% rise in 1969 over 1968.

Most of this growth has taken place in the industrial sector. The industrial production index went up 28.7% in 1968 over 1967 and by 16.4% in 1969 over

1968. Industrial exports during that period grew by 24.8% in 1968 over 1967 and by 15.6% in 1969 over 1968. The major portion of this rise in exports centered in the industries manufacturing electrical equipment and electronic items (here the rise was 71.1%), moving equipment, rubber and plastics, machinery and all kinds of metal products.

Private enterprise plants are producing 75% of all the goods which make up Israeli production. This fact points to the capacity of these enterprises for adapting themselves to world market conditions and to their flexibility, which enables them to compete freely in the world markets.

The ties between Israel and the developed countries of the West in general and its ties with the centers of Jewry in the free countries in particular have also exercised much influence as a stimulus to economic thinking in Israel. A new approach has been formulated toward the problems of the middle-class, and this has contributed significantly to the progress made in the economy by the private sector. Moreover, the Israeli economy is now at the beginning of a new era, in that the Government is engaged in selling to private interests the concerns which it has established on its own initiative.

In retrospect, one can now view Israel's economic policy from a broader general standpoint. Even the errors made in the past gain new import, from this aspect. The priority given during the early years of the State to Government enterprise and the collectives made possible the accelerated implementation of the plans associated with the absorption of the mass rescue immigration during the first five years of the State, but even though Government policy in the beginning acted as a serious brake to private initiative, the latter eventually managed to find its way. The accelerated economic development and the capital invested in enterprises undertaken by public and Histadrut initiative also brought about greater activity opportunities for private enterprise, particularly in the area of production for exportation and in producing interim items and auxiliary products for the highly-capitalized enterprises of the non-private sectors. This has created in Israel the original synthesis of the three factors, as each of them created its own channel for the activity which suited its character best.

Statistical analysis of the proportion of each of these three factors in the GNP is likely to give a misleading impression. Statistical data note relatively minor changes in the specific importance of each of the economic sectors in Israel's economy. In reality, however, weighty changes have taken place in this field. For instance, the increase in volume in agriculture and the cooperative land transport of passenger and cargo traffic, completely controlled by the Histadrut-collective-cooperative sector, has come about only with the increased output of the economy as a whole. The private sector creates the demand for the transport services, the local market absorbs the produce grown by the collective agriculture, while private enterprise processes its field crops and livestock products. These circumstances have given rise to reciprocity in relationships which has led to cooperation among the sectors. The social concepts of the formulators of Israel's economic policy, rooted mostly in principles of world Socialism, have not prevented the rules of free competition from militating in the Israeli economy. Of late there is a tendency to have persons acquire whatever they need from any source of supply and to sell their wares to any buyer. Even though complaints on this score are still coming from representatives of the private sector against the others, it can be stated that the principle of free enterprise is gaining an ever greater acceptance in the Israeli market, and its influence is felt in the delineation of the areas of economic activity within the purview of the different sectors in the economy.

ECONOMIC REVIEW

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THE FATHERS OF KEREN HAYESOD

by Dr. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

Chairman, Keren Hayesod-United Israel Appeal

It was the late Yitzhak Gruenbaum, the veteran Zionist leader, one of the stalwart supporters of the Keren Hayesod, who once said that there is such a thing as a "Keren Hayesod Zionism". Indeed, there is a lot of truth in this statement. Ever since its inception the Keren Hayesod had inscribed on its banner the education of the Jewish people towards a Zionist consciousness. And it was the late Moshe Sharett, one of the leading supporters of the Fund, who said that the Keren Hayesod volunteer army are all members of an "Order of Knighthood" of a unique kind.

The very idea of a tithe, which was announced at the World Zionist Conference convened in London in July 1920, had an educational motivation behind it. It is to the credit of the Keren Hayesod that it succeeded in inculcating in the consciousness of the Jewish people the idea of a voluntary tax for the upbuilding of the country. It was a telling expression of the "state underway" which imposed taxes upon its "citizens" scattered throughout the Jewish world. It was an expression of a march forward towards Jewish sovereignty. In his deeply rooted, I would almost say Pinsk type Jewish consciousness, Chaim Weizmann knew that the only way open to him was to turn to the Jewish people. "Jewish people where art thou?", he cried. Chaim Weizmann was indeed one of the fathers of the idea of the Keren Hayesod and its implementation.

A strong controversy had arisen with Louis Brandeis and his associates, who were of the opinion that the time had come to base the enterprise on economic foundations and investments rather than contributions. However, at the American Zionist Conference which took place in 1921 in Cleveland, the popular approach, which said that one must go out to the people, gained the upper hand. At the head of those who accepted Chaim Weizmann's view, was Louis Lipsky, who made an important contribution to the advancement of the Zionist idea in the United States.

MEN AND FINANCES

M. M. Ussishkin, who together with Professor Albert Einstein accompanied Chaim Weizmann for the launching of the first Keren Hayesod campaign in the United States, once said that "it is not the funds which create people but people who create the funds". The first Director of the Keren Hayesod, Dr. Berthold Feiwel, a unique combination of activist and man of the people, added that in the Keren Hayesod we saw that when we were out to raise money we found

people, people who in their turn went out to create funds. He also said at the 12th Zionist Congress which was held in September 1921, that it was the Keren Hayesod which in many places had renewed the Zionist Organization, rather than Zionism that organized the Keren Hayesod. It was clear to Berthold Feiwel that through the Keren Hayesod the narrow circle around the Zionist Organization had expanded for the first time.

WE ARE OUT TO FOUND A JEWISH STATE

When reminiscing about the Keren Hayesod one cannot possibly overlook mention of Yitzhak Asher Naiditch, a native of Pinsk, who had reached great affluence and who in the opinion of Chaim Weizmann, occupied an honoured place among that group of people who "through their efforts and struggles over a period of 50 years had laid the foundations for the State of Israel." Itzhak Naiditch was the first to suggest a plan for a new national fund for the upbuilding of Eretz Israel, a fund that should be known as the Keren Hayesod — the Palestine Foundation Fund. Naiditch, together with Hillel Zlotopolsky, also one of those wonderful Jews in Russia who combined learning and greatness of spirit, did not cease stressing the necessity of setting aside a popular tithe on the part of all circles and strata in the Jewish people. For Naiditch it was clear that there would be no difficulty in raising the sum of 25 million sterling over a period of 5 years. Obviously it was not he who was to blame that in the course of the first 5 years the sum of only 2¼ million sterling was raised, and that only at the end of March 1948 had the Keren Hayesod income from the Jewish people reached the 28 million sterling mark, — it took 28 years instead of 5 years.

But for Naiditch and Zlotopolsky, the fathers of the Keren Hayesod, it was clear that through the very creation of the institution of a National tax "we are going to found the Jewish State." In his pamphlet "The Popular Tithe", Naiditch demanded of the Zionist leaders to set an example, and his demand is as topical today as it was 50 years ago.

THE MODERN EMISSARIES

Yitzhak Naiditch, Dr. Berthold Feiwel and Leo Hermann — the Secretary General who conducted the Keren Hayesod work in London (with Feiwel) and in Jerusalem (with Dr. Hantke) exerted great efforts in order to pick the first emissaries such as Dr. Alexander Goldstein, Dr. Yehuda Wilensky, Leib Yaffe and others, with Dr. Shmaryahu Levin at their head. Of course, from time to time these were joined by Chaim Weizmann, Nachum Sokolow, Zeev Jabotinsky and others. These were the first modern emissaries from the Holy Land. And they became the Zionist emissaries of the period following the Balfour Declaration — the period of the Jewish State in the making. They did not content themselves with the collecting of money, but also brought the message of the country to their audiences and in doing so also succeeded in discovering far flung Jewish communities; thus did the modern Zionist emissaries play an important role in the education of the Jewish people towards Zionist precepts. In particular they looked upon themselves as ambassadors of the State under way.

SHMARYAHU LEVIN — OPENER OF HEARTS AND POCKETS

Dr. Shmaryahu Levin, the first and foremost of Zionist emissaries, was himself a Zionist leader of very high standing, one of the heads of Russian Jewry. In his youth he had been a member of the "Scientific Association of Russian Jews" in Berlin, among whose leaders were Leo Motzkin, Nachman Syrkin, Victor

Jacobson, Arthur Hantke and others. Already then, his abilities as a fiery orator came to the fore. At Zionist Congresses he proved himself to be a "practical" Zionist, despite his great reverence for Herzl. He had also been a member of the Russian "Duma" (the first Russian Parliament established after the 1905 Revolution). When the "Duma" was dispersed he was among the signatories of the "Wiebork Manifesto" which called for revolt. Subsequently he settled in Germany and was active in the Hilfsverein in Berlin, devoting himself especially to the interests of the Hebrew Technion in Haifa. At the same time, however, under the influence of his teacher and friend Achad Ha'am, he joined the protagonists of the Hebrew language as the language of instruction. When he proved victorious he was elected in 1911 a member of the Zionist Executive. During World War I he undertook ramified information activities in the United States. In 1919 he was elected Head of the Department of Education and Culture of the Zionist Executive in London. In 1920 he participated in the London Conference and since then placed himself at the disposal of the Keren Hayesod. There is hardly a country in the world with a Jewish population which he did not visit. He was able to attract his Jewish audiences by his popular manner of speech and found a path to the hearts of the rich Jews. His pawky humour and incisive replies often disarmed his adversaries. Indeed Shmaryahu Levin succeeded in ploughing deep in the Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora so as to "open both their hearts and their pockets."

Dr. Shmaryahu Levin was one of Dr. Weizmann's closest friends, and was also a close associate of Achad Ha'am and Bialik. Weizmann wrote that the old generation of Jews in America remembers Shmaryahu Levin both as a great teacher and an illustrious personality, whereas he himself remembered him as "an important collaborator in his Zionist work and as a warm-hearted friend."

REFERENDUM CONCERNING ERETZ ISRAEL AND THE KEREN HAYESOD

From Shmaryahu Levin we pass over to Alexander Goldstein. He too was a leading writer and journalist and an impressive orator. Dr. Alexander Goldstein was one of the leaders and spokesmen of Russian Jewry. He had participated in the well-known Helsingfors Conference in the year 1906, which had decided upon what is known as "Gegenwarts Arbeit" (practical current activities in Eretz Israel) — something that Dr. Berthold Feiwel had preached years before him. He was only 22 at the time. In the Petersburg Conference of 1917, Dr. Alexander Goldstein spoke about a "referendum concerning Eretz Israel." On the founding of the Keren Hayesod Dr. Goldstein continued to carry through a daily referendum concerning Eretz Israel. He visited the cities and towns of England, laying the foundations for organized activity which expanded as the years went by. The following year he went on a Keren Hayesod mission in order to carry through the "referendum" in Bulgaria, Argentina and Uruguay, and his visits turned out to be victory campaigns. In 1922 he was active in the United States as a member of a delegation which included also Ze'ev Jabotinsky, Professor Otto Warburg and Colonel Patterson. In 1924 he visited South Africa for the first time and succeeded in "capturing" the Jewish community there. He wandered as far as Australia, India, Singapore, Korea, etc. He was active in every country in Europe, wherever it was possible to undertake Zionist work. In 1929 he was Chairman of the Keren Hayesod campaign in Britain, of which Lord Melchett was President, and in 1932 he accompanied Dr. Weizmann on his great mission on behalf of the Keren Hayesod to South Africa ("as a simple soldier" and not as President of the Zionist Organization). In 1942 he was invited to South Africa for the third time.

From 1933 until his death in 1949, he headed Keren Hayesod activity in Eretz Israel. His name and activities are inscribed in golden letters in the history of the Keren Hayesod.

FROM THE REALM OF POETRY TO THE WORLD OF FIGURES

Leib Yaffe came to the Keren Hayesod from the world of poetry. Here he began to sing, as he was used to say, "the song of figures". He was born in 1876 and studied at the Yeshiva of Volozhin and the Universities of Heidelberg, Leipzig and Freiburg. He was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress at which he was a member of the "Democratic Fraction" together with Chaim Weizmann, Martin Buber, Leo Motzkin and Berthold Feiwel. During the Uganda dispute he was one of the uncompromising fighters for Zionism in Zion. He was editor of various Zionist publications (in different languages) and for several years acted as editor of "Ha'arets" in Tel-Aviv. Beginning in 1923 he devoted himself to Keren Hayesod activity, and in 1926 was appointed, together with Dr. Arthur Hantke, as Director of the Keren Hayesod. In this capacity, he visited all countries of the world (with the exception of Russia) and scored great successes.

He gained both people and money for the cause. In the course of World War II he undertook a mission to Latin America, spending some time there, and was also in London in connection with his work. Special mention should be made of Leib Yaffe's mission to South Africa in 1934, when he accompanied Nachum Sokolow. Sokolow had planned also to go out with Leib Yaffe to the Argentine in order to conduct a Keren Hayesod campaign there, but death overtook him several days before they were due to set out. Leib Yaffe himself was a Keren Hayesod emissary par excellence. A poet of Zion, and one of the leaders of Herzlian Zionism, he fell at his post when the Keren Hayesod building in Jerusalem was blown up during an Arab bomb attack on March 13, 1948.

THE KEREN HAYESOD IN LONDON

The Keren Hayesod in London has a lot to tell about "people and funds", about leading personalities in the Zionist Movement who had given their all to the Keren Hayesod. At the head of them all stood Chaim Weizmann, of course. Mention, however, should also be made of Lord Simon Marks and his great activities for the Keren Hayesod, of Lord Sieff and Mr. Harry Sacher, both of whom are still happily with us, of the late Reverend J. K. Goldblum and Mr. Sigmund Gestetner who contributed both of their efforts and of their worldly possessions for the success of the Keren Hayesod in England.

FOLLOWING THE PATTERN OF EMISSARIES OF OLD

Then there was Dr. Emanuel Olswanger, a poet, translator of Dante's "Inferno" and Tchernichowsky Prize Laureate for translations, a great authority of Jewish folklore and one of the world's leading Esperantists. Since 1921 he became an active Zionist, a preacher of Zionism and one of the leading emissaries of the Keren Hayesod. Whenever he visited, whether it was South Africa or England, India or Rumania, he followed the pattern of Jewish emissaries of old. He used to gather Jewish folklore wherever he found it. While in South Africa he wrote a work of research on the influence of English and Afrikaans on Yiddish and on the influence of Yiddish on the English language spoken there. When he was on a mission to India, he took time off to investigate the "B'nei Israel" community there and the Cochin community. He contributed considerably to our knowledge of

these far-flung communities. Dr. Olswanger was among those who looked not only after the monetary success of their missions but endeavoured to gain supporters for the Zionist idea.

THERE WAS A FREE GEORGIA ONCE

We must mention also Dr. Yehuda Wilensky, the hundredth anniversary of whose birth was marked in July 1970. He too was a delegate to the first Zionist Congress and a member of the Shmaryahu Levin and Leo Motzkin group. When things in Russia, where he had been active, became impossible, he moved over to Rostow in order to make his way to Eretz Israel via Georgia. There was then a Social Democratic and independent Georgian Republic and he sought to convince the Georgian Government to grant certain facilities to the Jews making their way to Eretz Israel through their country. He reached a signed agreement between the Georgian Republic and the Zionist Organization. Meantime, however, Georgia was captured by Soviet Union and the doors of exit were closed.

After spending some time in Eretz Israel, Dr. Wilensky was called to London where he undertook a mission on behalf of the Keren Hayesod. He went from one country to another and from one continent to another. He was greatly active in South America where he stressed the principle of the voluntary tithe. In his opinion that was the best and most effective means for the political education of a people that "had to learn methods of sovereignty before it set up a State of its own". But in 1924, when he realized the failure of his idea, he cried out to a mass meeting in Rumania which applauded him, "You're applauding me, but rather you should beat your hearts in repentance." His achievements on behalf of the Keren Hayesod turned him into the teacher and mentor of a whole generation of key Keren Hayesod workers.

ZIONISM AS AN EXPERIENCE

There was a great Zionist awakening in Germany, which must be ascribed to the work of Kurt Blumenfeld. This son of a judge had been brought up in the spirit of assimilation, but while still a student he joined the Zionist Movement and became the leader of the academic Zionist youth in Germany. Subsequently he became one of the leaders of German Zionism and was very active on behalf of the Keren Hayesod in Germany under the leadership of Dr. Arthur Hantke. He had a great share in the winning over of Albert Einstein and the banker Oscar Wasserman and others in German Jewry for Zionism and for the Keren Hayesod. Kurt Blumenfeld was a Zionist thinker and ideologist. He did much for the Zionist education of the Jewish youth in Germany and for him Zionism was an eternal experience. In 1919 he acted as Secretary General of the World Zionist Organization which had its head offices in Berlin, and from 1924 to 1933 was President of the Union of German Zionists. He settled in Eretz Israel in 1933, and in 1936 was appointed member of the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod. A gifted orator, Blumenfeld was also a loyal emissary of the Keren Hayesod and attracted many Jews to Zionism.

THE GRAND OLD MAN

Finally, we come to Arthur Hantke. He was born in 1874, the son of a prominent businessman. His home was far removed from Zionism, but as far back as 1893, he joined the "Jewish Humanitarian Society" which was one of the first two Jewish national students' organizations in Berlin. In the course of time he occupied important positions in the Zionist Organization in Germany, especially

during World War I. In 1919 he moved to London where he headed the work of the Zionist Executive. As from 1920, he conducted the Central European Department of the Keren Hayesod in Berlin, and at the 12th Zionist Congress (September 1921), Dr. Hantke submitted the Resolutions formulated by the Keren Hayesod Committee. It is interesting to note that in his Congress address at the time, Berthold Feiwel said that he drew the proper conclusions from the Resolutions submitted by Dr. Hantke which, in their final form, boiled down to an expansion of the Jewish Agency.

In 1926 Dr. Hantke, together with Leib Yaffe, was appointed Director of the Keren Hayesod and when the Head Office moved to Jerusalem, he settled in Eretz Israel. Mr. Zalman Shazar notes very justly that Arthur Hantke who had reached a ripe old age (he died in 1955) "was noted for the fact that he reached a hoary age while standing at the helm of Zionism. He was one of the few who had been elected to a central office in the Zionist Movement for a period of 60 consecutive years, without any interruption, despite the many changes that took place in the Movement".

★

In these lines I wished to recall some of the figures who had contributed so largely to the Keren Hayesod and who are no longer with us.

The list is far from complete. It would be difficult to sum up in one article the great work that they had done. But not only those who worked outside contributed to the success of the Keren Hayesod. Much was done by those who sat at their desks and carried out the daily chores. In the course of the years changes have taken place in methods of approach. A new generation has arisen which has introduced new methods. One must not, however, overlook the early founding fathers and one must realize that it is they who had laid the foundations for the Palestine Foundation Fund. The foundations rest on faith and confidence that the Jewish people will not be found wanting and will answer the great call "Where art thou?" with: "Here we are! . . ."

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF LAND — GUARANTEE OF ITS EQUITABLE DISPOSITION

by YAACOV TZUR

Chairman of the J.N.F. Board of Directors

The year 1970 was marked in the Zionist movement and in the entire Jewish world by a major financial endeavor emanating from the emergency conditions in which Israel finds itself. The spotlight has naturally been trained on the Emergency Campaign. But it has been found, perhaps more than in any other year, that the instrumentalities which the Zionist movement created at the outset, particularly the Jewish National Fund — the eldest among Zionism's institutions — have retained their value, from the standpoint of the practical work being done in Israel as well as of the consolidation of Zionism's ranks in the diaspora.

AN EDUCATIONAL INSTRUMENT

The subject of having a separate fund dedicated to land matters has been discussed more than once by Zionist institutions over the last fifty years. Some have maintained that there is no need to operate two financial agencies; others have claimed that the J.N.F. land program, important in itself, can nevertheless be carried out within the general ramifications of a single campaign. However, reality has shown repeatedly, in the past as in the present, that this approach does not hold water. This is true above all in view of the work done here by the J.N.F. in the past — the acquisition of land prior to the birth of the State and its improvement since then — a program designed by its very nature not for immediate purposes but rather for the inestimably important future of settlement in Israel.

The Zionist movement has been suffering from a chronic ailment of lack of funds to finance its multiple and varied needs. Obviously, immigration and security are pressing demands, but, had the J.N.F. not been given the possibility of devoting its resources, even under the most trying circumstances, to the "stockpiling" of land, the territory controlled by the Jewish community in its War of Independence totality would not have evolved as it did. The War of 1948 might have had dangerous implications, had the Jewish community of that day been restricted to a narrow strip of fertile land along the coast, while the interior of the country remained void of Jewish settlement. We can better understand this danger if we were to imagine the State of Israel today minus Upper Galilee, the Huleh region, Kurazim, the Gilboa, the Adullam district, Lakhish and the 'Araba — all of these being territories which could have and did become centers of habitation only thanks to the tremendous and systematic preparatory labor, involving mighty financial means, that was done by the Jewish National Fund.

Nor were the lands added to Israeli territory after the Six Day War fertile beyond the need for improvement. Settling the Golan Heights, for instance, required basic preparation of an area covering almost 10,000 acres, so as to make possible the establishment of the existing settlements—the guardians of the Jewish foothold in this vital area. And even within the boundaries of the “Green Line”, the settlement of the ‘Araba, which is entirely border and desert, nothing would have come about without preparatory work and basic drainage of the ‘Araba water course and its environs. The activities of the J.N.F., as a trail blazer to agricultural settlement and a powerful machine, which was utilized in time of emergency for paving roads along the borders, are essentially a continuation of Israel’s major consolidation process.

As we examine these J.N.F. operations from the viewpoint of the Jewish community in the diaspora and its emotional and practical ties with Israel, we find that the J.N.F. has become the focal point of a movement which embraces hundreds and thousands of workers who have been attracted to labor for Israel, day in and day out, by way of the unique methods generated by the institution over the years of its existence. The bonds fashioned between entire communities or a Jewish family, not only with Israel in general but with a forest, a parcel of land, a region—the fact that J.N.F. workers associate the contributor’s routine life with the commandment of upbuilding the land—all these have been weaving a fabric of deep and valuable Zionist educational relations and fashioning the way for bringing wide segments of the Jewish community closer to Israel.

LAND OWNERSHIP

The concept of national ownership of land, born—as aforesaid—more out of theoretical considerations than of practical information about conditions in the country, spared the State of Israel the difficult tribulations experienced by almost all the young states which arose during the past fifty years.

South American countries, for example, now 150 years old, are still in the throes of the problem of land ownership. In many countries much blood has been spilled in the struggle for agrarian reforms which would assure efficient land exploitation and development. The system of latifondia and inequitable distribution of land have prevented the stabilization of many large and important countries of “the third world”. Israel has been spared distress of this type because, in the spirit and under the influence of J.N.F. principles, public ownership of land has been assured ever since the founding of the State. The Israel Lands Act of 1960, which provides, as legal principle, that Government and J.N.F. lands are not for sale but only for long-term lease, assures public control over 92% of Israel’s land. This in itself obviates the injustice of inequitable distribution of the land. (In many countries, as in South America, for example, 80% of the land is owned by 5% of the people).

Moreover, since the establishment of the State, the J.N.F. has introduced another principle in land development which can serve as an example—perhaps even provide the solution—to a problem which deeply engages the attention of the entire world, namely, the situation of the land-poor and land-hungry nations. The J.N.F. has not merely undertaken the task of providing land for settlement, but has also placed it at the settler’s disposal already improved and fit for cultivation.

A well-known sociologist, a Brazilian, stated in a book published several years ago, that one of the reasons for hunger in the world—particularly in Asian countries—is the tendency on the part of people to cultivate only the good and fertile land and to withhold the effort necessary to fructify the marginal soil by

artificial means. The J.N.F. took it upon itself not to forego a single inch of land, poor and hard to cultivate though it may be, without eking out of it some measure of benefit. In the hill regions, boulders were dislodged and stones cleared away until the soil became suitable for planting. In poor areas—such as the 'Araba, for example—the J.N.F. works in systematic fashion, bringing rich soil from distant points in order to mix it with the barren soil and thereby prepare it for cultivation. Saline soil is washed out, and lands whose salinity is washed away by floods are drained. In the seventy years of J.N.F.'s activity, the land area which it has improved in this manner has accumulated to almost 125,000 acres.

AFFORESTATION

J.N.F. projects are carried out in coordination with Government planning commissions, in which the Ministry of Agriculture and the Settlements Department of the Jewish Agency are represented. These commissions determine which areas in Israel can and may be used for purposes of afforestation. In line with the principle of optimal use, only those lands which are not suitable for agricultural cultivation, even after their improvement, are set aside for afforestation.

The afforestation project of the J.N.F., which is observing its golden jubilee this year, has changed the country's landscape and climate and has thereby contributed substantially to an amelioration of the life expectancy of the country's inhabitants, who are spending more and more of their leisure time in the beneficence of woods and glades. The J.N.F. has already planted 100,000,000 trees, most of them since the birth of the State, on an area covering 100,000 acres. The J.N.F. is also taking care of some 75,000 acres of primeval and withered forests, relics from the forests which abounded in the land in ancient days and which in time degenerated to a jungle of dwarfish trees, of interest only to goats and wild animals. This activity, well exemplified by the Carmel project, restores the forest and renews its fertility and growth after generations of neglect. This item on the J.N.F. program can well be defined as a geographic evolution in Israel; it is one of the major challenges which have been confronting Jewish settlement from its early days.

SECURITY AND DEFENSE

The vast experience accumulated by the J.N.F. in land improvement, in trained crews that implement the projects, in the complement of tools and in skilled manpower, has enabled it to make a noteworthy contribution to the solution of problems involved in the current safeguarding of the country's boundaries, by opening new tracts for settlement, on the one hand, and by preventing the incursion of murderers and saboteurs sent in to attack the border outposts. Among the roads paved by the J.N.F. since the Six-Day War (which are additionally important for defense as well as for their being communication arteries and approach roads to isolated settlements) mention should be made of the road which runs the length of the Jordan Valley, descending from Bet-Shean to Jericho and forming the backbone of Israel's defense deployment along the border with Jordan; the road to the crest of the Hermon, which rises 7,000 feet from the Golan ridges to the highest point of the Hermon under Israeli control, and the road recently completed along the Lebanese border, from the Hermon slopes near Dan to its juncture with the road leading up to the Hermon crest. This road forms a shield against that part of southern Lebanon which is used by the saboteurs (known as "Fatahland"), and it bolsters the security of the country along its northern border.

The J.N.F. has yet another role to play in Israel's complex defense system. As does every other agency and individual in the country, the J.N.F. is looking forward to the day when peace and understanding will reign between Israel, its neighbors and the Arab population in its midst. J.N.F. is making a modest contribution toward this day by extending expert aid to the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, by way of afforestation, the improvement of soil for farming, paving highways and approach roads, and methods of irrigation. In all of these, J.N.F. experts have attained noteworthy achievement. But above and beyond the practical gains from teaching modern methods of land improvement and soil cultivation to West Bank farmers, the J.N.F. regards this work as a contribution to Jewish-Arab understanding, which may eventually lead to the sought-after peace.

ANNIVERSARY YEAR

December of 1971 will mark the seventieth anniversary of the J.N.F., which was established by a resolution adopted at the Fifth Zionist Congress — actually the first formal financial instrument created by the Zionist movement. As we recall those early years and realize that the individuals who founded the agency were unfamiliar with the conditions in the country (most of them never visited it), yet they fashioned an ideology which to a large extent formulated the image of Israel's society, we are amazed and moved to admiration by their vision and their wonderful ability to foresee the future. As is its custom, the J.N.F. will observe the seventieth anniversary of its founding with practical work, at the core of which will be many large-scale projects in the 'Araba.

WORLD JEWISH YOUTH IS SEEKING PATHS TO JUDAISM

by MORDECAI BAR-ON

Head of Youth and Hechalutz Department

In speaking about Jewish youth throughout the world, we must bear in mind the ecological differences which set countries and continents apart. Along with the numerous contacts, currents and mutual influences, there are also specifically local needs and pressures in each and every country. We must therefore set forth in detail the situation in several principal centers and, from this, draw all possible generalizations.

It is difficult to commence with a study of the problems of Jewish youth throughout the world without first going into an area where we have no direct contact with the masses of young people; I am referring, of course, to the Jewish youth of the Soviet Union. And yet, the problem of Russian Jewry — and at its core, the tens of thousands of Jewish young people who, despite their physical and spiritual isolation and their forcible detachment from their ancestral soil, have discovered within their beings the powerful hidden ties with the Jewish people and are exhibiting an unquenchable thirst for national Jewish identification — is expressly the one which should be specially noted and emphasized.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA: A CLASSIC NATIONAL REVOLT

The drama now unfolding within Russia's Jewish youth is a phenomenon which did not arise only last year. Actually it is a process of many years' duration, except that during the past year it burst forth in full vehemence for all to see, effervescent and impassionate. We have been witnessing the phenomenon of youth imbued with daring defiance of the authorities, courageous and extraordinary undaunted, despite the specific conditions of the regime under which it has been living. This phenomenon has points of special interest to us: the Zionism of the Jewish youth in Russia is classic Zionism, namely Zionism as the movement of the revival of the national redemption of the Jewish people. Elsewhere Jewish youth comes to Zionism by way of a mixture of concepts — religious, social, national, moral, political and even economic; here we have a case of identification on the pure and simple level of undiluted nationalism. This is a situation which arouses amazement and admiration, because it is specifically in the Soviet Union that Jewish youth possesses none of the elements of national belonging — neither a national tongue nor culture nor even religion. The sources of national culture are closed to it, and the possibility on the part of the individual to foster this identity within himself by drawing on the national essence is closed to him, as well. Nevertheless, he possesses an attachment to this identity even if he is not familiar with

it and cannot define it. Jewish youth in Russia defines itself as part of the Jewish people and wants to be part of this people as it wants nothing else, despite its limited acquaintance with the values which distinguish this people. The young people express their identification in a pathetic way — by singing, in front of the one synagogue allowed to remain in the city, the only song they know: *Am Yisrael Khai*, "The People of Israel Lives On"; this is their sole national resource. But this song, bursting forth mightily once a year on Simkhat Torah, gives voice to the consciousness and identification of the Jewish youth behind the Iron Curtain more than any fully-documented dossier can do. The identification of Russia's Jewish youth with the State of Israel is no less complete. In Israel these young people see the cynosure of their dreams, and they support its aspirations without questioning the righteousness of its cause.

Another dimension of the national awakening which is taking place among young Jews in Russia is its aspect of rebellion. While young people in the West are in revolt against the Establishment mainly on social grounds (patriotic rebellion is no longer in style), the opposition on the part of Russia's Jewish youth to the regime is a classic national rebellion. The young people demand the right to define themselves as they see fit. In order to obtain this right they are prepared to run the risk of being imprisoned, of having their rights to citizenship and economic welfare revoked, of having to renounce professional careers. From this standpoint the struggle being waged by Jewish youth in Russia can be compared to all the classic national struggles, from the revolt of the Spaniards against Napoleon down to the latest revolutions in Latin America or those which have been taking place throughout the "Third World".

Here we should take note of the great value inherent in relating to the problem of Russian Jewry, with respect to Jewish youth throughout the world. During the past year we have witnessed broad identification on the part of Jewish youth with the depressed state of Russian Jewry. This identification took various forms, some of them extreme and even violent, such as attempt to break up a cultural performance (the Russian Symphony Orchestra appearance in New York); these forms have been condemned by most of the young people who are active on behalf of Russian Jewry. For the most part, the measures were taken to express the solidarity of the Western young people with their brethren in the East, in dignified and impressive fashion, such as the silent demonstration at the U.N. Building or in front of Russian embassies in Western capitals, by youths who put themselves in chains to symbolize the subjugation of Russian Jewry.

This phenomenon — the awakening of young people throughout the world to action on behalf of a Jewish community in distress, spontaneously and without any prodding by any Jewish organization whatsoever — should be studied from two aspects: its source and its impress. It comes from one of the most deeply-rooted values of the Jewish people — the sentiment of solidarity that binds one Jew to another. All these phenomena, in which we as Israelis are particularly interested — such as the identification of Jews with the State of Israel, its political struggles and their implications — emanate from that basic concept which we call *klal Yisrael* (the entirety of Israel), the sense of solidarity and the feeling of concern which pervades the being of a Jew when he learns that another Jew is in distress.

The awakening of Western young Jews is therefore an authentic phenomenon which comes from the depth of their Jewish souls and from their determination to give expression to their faith in the unity of their people and in the mutual responsibility that Jews bear toward each other throughout the world. But what has this awakening achieved?

The ideological and educational results emanating from the response of our

young people to the situation of Russia's Jews should be studied on two levels. Some people wonder whether the Russian Jews themselves are benefiting from it. Is Russia likely to be influenced by Jewish demonstrations staged in New York, London, Paris or Jerusalem, to the point of letting its Jews go? Obviously it is very difficult to measure this influence; it is doubtful that these demonstrations have a direct bearing on Moscow's decisions, which are based on much more complex considerations — although the Kremlin is known to be quite sensitive to the problem and to the bitterness expressed in the Western world over this point. However, the principal importance of such acts lies in the fact that, indirectly, word of these acts of solidarity on the part of Jewish boys and girls does reach Russian Jewry, primarily the young people there. This is of supreme moral and spiritual importance, for we know that young Jews in Russia are constantly asking whether Jewish youth elsewhere is interested in their state. It is therefore most important that the echoes of this solidarity reach them on every occasion and at maximum frequency, so as to provide them with courage for the continuation of their struggle.

Another result, of interest to us as Zionists, is this: whenever a young Jew from the United States or any other Western country goes out to protest against the injustice being done to his brethren in Soviet Russia, out of the motivations of the Jewish solidarity inherent in his being, he usually arrives at conclusions of a Zionist bearing. True, I personally feel that our demands of the Soviet authorities should be that Russian Jews be granted not only the vital right of immigrating to Israel but also equal rights with the other national minorities, that is, that they be allowed to nurture their Jewish communal and spiritual life until they do immigrate to Israel. However, it is clear that, under present conditions in the Russian regime, Russian Jews want to establish their Jewish identity primarily on the basis of their identification with the State of Israel. Therefore, anyone who demonstrates for their right to give voice to their sentiments becomes part and parcel, regardless of his intentions, of a Zionist action demanding that Russian Jewry be given the right to national identification with the core community in Israel and for immediate immigration to Israel. These are two clearcut Zionist principles. The very activation of Jewish youth within the ramifications of the *klal Yisrael* principle and the unique solidarity of the Jewish people is an important ideological step toward cognizance of the Jewish-Zionist entity.

MUTUAL JEWISH RESPONSIBILITY NOT PREDICATED ON ZIONISM

Having made this point, I should like to present a correlative factor. It is precisely in Israel that we should nurture the concept of *klal Yisrael*, the sense of mutual Jewish responsibility, even without the element of Zionism; in other words, we must exercise complete Jewish feeling even toward Jews who have not as yet seen the light and have been refusing to come to Israel. As an illustration, I want to mention here specific events relevant to the story of the Polish Jews who had been driven from their land of birth during the past two years. Some of the exiled Polish Jews reached the Scandinavian countries and were allowed to remain there; they were absorbed by the local Jewish communities. Understandably, the representatives of the Zionist movement in those countries attempted to persuade them to go to Israel. However, when it was found that several among them could not be moved by any argument in the world from their determination to remain in Europe, the emissaries of the Zionist movement often took part in making arrangements for their absorption in the locality. Another batch of deportees reached Italy, most of them intending to move on to the lands beyond the sea, and some did — to Canada, the United States and Latin American countries. Only a few went to Israel. The Italian authorities did not allow them to remain in the coun-

try, and Italy became no more than a way station, up to a year or a year and a half. In the meantime it was learned that a group of young Polish Jews had come together in Rome; these were several hundred sons and daughters of families which refused to go to Israel. We also learned that these youths had been neglected, without direction or any Jewish roots. We felt that it was our duty to extend to them a spiritual helping hand, unconditionally, and try to permeate them with some Jewish values so as to prevent their becoming lost to the Jewish people, even if there were no prospects of persuading them to go to Israel. The Youth Department of the Zionist movement accordingly dispatched two emissaries to handle the situation. For an entire year the two carried on educational activities among the young people from Poland — activities which contained no propaganda for *aliya*. At first the Israeli emissaries came up against an impenetrable wall of hostility and distrust. However, as the young people realized that the emissaries were seeking their good and welfare only, by implanting in them basic knowledge of Jewish history and values in order to restore to them the sense of belonging of which they had been bereft so cruelly, they began to show interest in Israel as well; the presence of the emissaries from Israel changed their attitude toward Israel for the better — and these were young people who didn't even know who was the Patriarch Abraham. Most of these young people went on to wander all over the globe, but the Jewish consciousness which they took with them no doubt guided them in their choice of their future. This is an example of mutual Jewish responsibility even without the Zionist postulate, since the State of Israel regards the entire Jewish people as its responsibility, even when it seemingly derives no direct benefit from it.

IN THE U.S.: JUDAISM TURNS RADICAL

The most dramatic events took place, last year, in the United States. As is the case with the national revival among the Jews of Soviet Russia, these developments sprouted earlier, but they came to the fore prominently in its course; some of the processes which began as an aftermath of the Six-Day War now reached their preliminary stages of crystallization. These processes can be defined as strong tendencies to return to the Jewish milieu. What has happened in the United States in the course of last year is tied in mainly with developments in the Negro sphere, on the one hand, and with those associated with the State of Israel, on the other. For many decades, the American ethos centered on the principle of social integration — the slogan of pluralism referred chiefly to pluralism of religions — but at the same time social demands and pressures were making themselves felt; processes of ethnic and cultural assimilation set in, but these did not take in the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans and included the Jews only partially. These processes pushed the white American in the direction of doing away with distinguishing national identities. Now the shoe is on the other foot. Now the Negroes themselves are making the demand for segregation and for the projection of the ethnic and cultural uniqueness of all categories of nationality groups. As a result of this tendency, many Jews — particularly young people — have come to an understandable desire not to blur their people's image, but quite on the contrary, to project it. For instance, just as the Negroes have been demanding that special departments be set up in universities for the study of "black culture", so have Jewish young people begun asking for Judaica studies. Whereas in the past attempts to found Jewish day-schools were criticized as "ghettoization" in many influential quarters, today even the Negroes are demanding specific curricula, and Jews are understandably encouraged by this trend, as witness the spread of Jewish day-schools in the Jewish communities.

During the past year we have witnessed the organization of Jewish youth groups

in cities throughout the United States for the purpose of achieving contact with Jewish values and engaging in Jewish studies. Whereas in the past there was a marked tendency on the part of young Jews to join general radical groups, the trend, this last year, has been to bring about radicalization within Judaism itself. There has been increasing demand for more intensive Jewish education, and the day-by-day search for Jewish identity has begun to engage thousands of young Jews. And it is against this backdrop that radical Jewish youth in the United States has come face to face with the issue of the State of Israel. Actually, this development can be seen as a dichotomy of two tendencies: one can be defined as a "Bundist" leaning, that is, the strengthening of Judaism from the diasporic viewpoint, on the assumption that the diaspora can still be maintained. On the other hand there are the groups of radical Zionists who do not believe that a diaspora of meaningful Judaism can be maintained for years on end, and they regard aliya as a radical solution to the situation.

Groups originally identified as purely Jewish aggregations are also undergoing processes of radicalization. This tendency is to be found in rightist quarters, as well. The outstanding example of this phenomenon is the Jewish Defense League, which recruits its members chiefly from among the rightists but is increasingly leaning toward Jewish activism and Jewish radicalism — in the sense of an uncompromising Judaism rather than of socialism.

Among leftist Zionist groups there has been considerable criticism of the policy of the Israel Government. This attitude found expression, for example, in the meeting which Mrs. Meir had with Jewish students when she visited the United States last October. This criticism stems from the fact that, when all is said and done, even young people of unimpeachable faith in the Zionist idea tend to measure us here in Israel by criteria drawn from the American yardstick. As you listen with Israeli ears to their arguments, the latter very often sound theoretical and abstract, at times even irritating. But the fact of their being critical of us should not make us overlook the more important fact, namely, that they bear genuine loyalty to the Zionist idea and to the State of Israel. In many respects they may be likened to Socialist Zionism in the early days of the Zionist movement, which drew its socialist views from the sources of revolutionary movements in Eastern Europe — and these often bore no relevancy to the Eretz-Yisrael reality, yet their loyalty to the Zionist idea overcame these other views; when they reached Eretz-Yisrael, the contact with reality also shaped their socialist thinking and fashioned them into a constructive implement which created, in its wake, commendable enterprises such as the kibbutz movement and the Histadrut.

IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN CONTINENT: BOLSTERING CREATIVE ZIONISM

If I am not mistaken, the claim that the continent of South America is on the brink of disaster and in the throes of impending revolution is more than a century old. However, social and political ferment on the continent became more actual last year; potential social upheaval in several South American countries became reality, and in others it appears to be gathering force. The assumption of rule by a group of progressive officers in Peru, the rise to power of leftist forces in Bolivia and the recent triumph of the leftist bloc in the Chile polls have added further to the feeling of upheaval that has been threatening the continent.

South American Jewry is economically predicated on the stability of existing regimes. Far-reaching changes inherent in a shift of regimes threaten the economic situation of the Jews with radical structural change and is likely to have a severe

effect on Jewish community life there. Still, Jewish youth in those countries, like young people all over the world, cannot abstain from identifying itself with revolutionary forces which are seeking to redress social wrongs. This internal conflict within Jewish youth in Latin America strengthens the cause of creative Zionism. Young people are coming to the conclusion that only by their *aliya* to Israel will they be able to bridge the gulf in their conscience between their Jewish identity, their humanitarian sensitivities and their moral values. Political and organizational Zionism on the continent is an ongoing phenomenon. The main conflict in the Jewish community, last year, was the struggle between the young people, demanding to have *aliya* become mandatory in Zionism, and the Establishment, which often views Zionism in the light of its own concern to continue with community life.

FRANCE: A PROCESS OF ZIONIZATION

In reviewing the European Jewish communities, we should pause briefly to evaluate the developments within Jewish youth in France, whose Jewish population is the largest in Europe (except in Soviet Russia). During recent years, Jews from North Africa took hold and root in the French Jewish community. Important positions in the middle-class sector, and in some instances in the upper brackets as well, have been taken over by Jews born in North Africa; members of these communities have attained high intellectual and public levels.

The North African communities brought with them to France a basic Judaism and a simple, self-understood and uninhibited attachment to Israel and Zionism. The Zionism of the Oriental communities in general often bears this positive character of unshaken attachment, which stems directly from full identification with the Jewish faith. As a result, the community youth organizations in France underwent a swift process of Zionization. This aspect is yet to find expression in a formal identification of the organization with the movement, but the young people regard themselves as Zionists, demand that they be recognized as Zionists and, under their pressure, the leadership is also drawing nearer to Zionism, while educational activities associated with the State of Israel are constantly increasing.

VISITING ISRAEL: A POSITIVE TURNING-POINT

In view of the blistering political issues in the Middle East and the reinforced propaganda effort on the part of the Arabs and other anti-Zionist elements in Western countries, Jewish young people have been finding it impossible to remain on the sidelines and not take a stand. This situation has brought about a polarization. In the past, Jewish youth in Western countries was divided into a Zionist minority and an anti-Zionist minority, with the large majority remaining indifferent. Today, on the other hand, in numbers as well as in scope of activity, both former minorities are prominent — the Zionist groups and the Jews active in anti-Zionist groupings, particularly in the New Left. The placid majority, on the other hand, is beginning to stir and to search. In most instances the young people are drawn to a Jewish stand, which today means a pro-Israel stand, for, despite its efforts, the anti-Zionist propaganda cannot manage to conceal the coarse antisemitic elements active within itself. Accordingly, there is a growing inclination among Jewish young people to see things in Israel at first hand. They want to get to Israel, see it as it is, and evaluate it on the basis of this direct contact. In 99% of the cases, experience shows that a visit to Israel and its complex of problems but is also a far-reaching young people's attitude to Israel and its complex of problems but is also a far-reaching crossroads in their attitude to Judaism itself.

YOUTH ALIYA TRIES NEW WAYS

by JOSEPH L. KLARMAN

Head of Youth Aliya Department

The scope and content of Youth Aliyah activities changed during 1970. The radical change in the cultural make-up of today's young olim, as compared with the make-up of children accepted by Youth Aliyah four or five years ago, increasingly influences Youth Aliyah's activities and necessitates the creation of new educational frameworks, new curricula and new methods.

The absorption process of new immigrants comprises four main spheres: employment, housing, education, and social integration. The fact that Western countries have become the principal source of aliyah has radically transformed the aspirations of the total community of new olim and has made education and educational standards a dominant factor in family considerations prior to aliyah or before children are sent to Israel by themselves.

Although in the past it was the adults rather than the youngsters who had to hurdle the more difficult obstacles in the absorption process, today, the young generation — those who come from both Eastern and Western parts of the world — faces serious difficulties in the emotional transfer from Diaspora to Israeli life. Consider, for instance, an adolescent coming from behind the Iron Curtain. In his country of origin, academic education is the requisite cornerstone of success. In Israel this is not so. There are many possibilities open for the young oleh, and we cannot offer all our young people academic education. The realization that they might not be admitted to the university and that they are advised to acquire a technical vocation instead, is a cultural shock for many of the children who immigrate to Israel from that part of the world.

The difference in the educational systems and goals among the multitudinous countries of origin and between them and Israel is another factor which makes the integration process very difficult. Youth Aliyah is therefore exercising a new approach towards the groups of children coming from different countries. Our present target is to offer special educational facilities, curricula and methods to each group whose members share the same mother tongue.

In addition to the change in our approach to the scholastic upbringing of our children, Youth Aliyah also began sometime ago to strengthen the social aspect of our new olim's education. In its early days, Youth Aliyah was, first and foremost, an ideological movement striving to create a self-assured Jewish individual to supplant the bewildered Jew who belonged to a persecuted and discriminated society. Now there is, once again, place for strengthened ideological education which aims towards the formation of young people who find life exciting and adhere to the goals of the Israeli society and the Zionist movement. This implies a change in our method of planning the encounters of newcomers with the younger Israeli generation, programmes for complementary activities, and organisation of our young wards' leisure time.

Youth Aliyah continues to focus its attention on the task of bringing to Israel children whose parents, for one reason or another, choose to remain abroad for the time being. Most of the candidates in this category are adolescents belonging to communities that cannot ensure the Jewish upbringing, nor the Jewish future, of their young ones. From this point of view, Youth Aliyah's job is rescue work: protecting these young people from spiritual annihilation in the Diaspora.

10,823 children were educated by Youth Aliyah during the last school year (1969/70): 8,439 in the various residential settings of the department and 2,384 in the Day Centres. In the residential settings 5,731 children were given boarding school education in youth villages, agricultural, vocational and academic residential schools, and yeshivot. 1,708 were educated in youth groups in the kibbutzim; 244 received special care in foster families and small family institutions; 98 culturally deprived children studied in Kiryat Yearim and 165 in the Ramat Hadassah-Szold preparatory classes, 242 new immigrant adolescents aged 16 upward studied in the ulpanim located in kibbutzim, and 95 in those located in youth villages. 133 graduates of previous ulpanim acquired a vocation in Youth Aliyah villages and 23 received other educational aid.

THE "FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSES"

Youth Aliyah constantly attempts to introduce changes in its educational methods. The aim of these changes is twofold: to facilitate and speed up the process of social and cultural integration of the immigrant child in the Israeli society, and to create new incentives to further aliyah of children from abroad. Our educators realise that the more our children and prospective candidates feel that our programmes and curricula meet their needs, the more attractive Youth Aliyah and its prospects become. In most cases, the students who come to Israel while their families remain abroad decide to settle in Israel at the end of their studies and thus bring about the aliyah of their parents who wish to join their children and live with them in their newly chosen country.

Our last innovation was the introduction of "Foreign Language Secondary School Classes". Some years ago, we felt that many Jewish families belonging to educated strata of affluent communities were reluctant to immigrate to Israel while their teen-age children were still in high school because they did not want to interrupt their schooling. At the same time, these families were aware of the advantages of aliyah as a means of keeping their children apart from an assimilative environment. From experience we have learned that new immigrants who have studied in high schools in Western countries need approximately three years in an Israeli educational framework in order to prepare themselves for the Israeli Matriculation Examinations. As compared with studying in their countries of origin, this means a loss of one year or more, a situation which discourages many would-be immigrants from coming to Israel.

In the beginning, this situation applied mostly to French-speaking candidates. Therefore, we decided, in liaison with the Students Authority of the Ministry of Absorption, to initiate a two-year high school programme for adolescents aged 16 who have finished 10 years of study in their previous countries. In these courses, the students prepare themselves for the Matriculation Examinations of the French Government, and thus their normal course of schooling is not interrupted. In addition to the French curriculum, they of course study Hebrew, Jewish and Israeli subjects which pave their way into the local culture.

With intermediate summings-up confirming the success of this experiment, we opened the third French course this year. The members of the first course have already graduated and many of them have begun their academic training in the

universities; the members of the second course have reached the second stage of their studies. At present, the first year of study is under the auspices of Youth Aliyah, while the second year is sponsored by the "Students Authority" of the Ministry of Absorption. It is hoped that these two separate projects will shortly be united under the joint sponsorship of both institutions. There are 105 new students in the third course, 65 of whom live in Israel without their parents. Like their predecessors, they are studying at their Youth Aliyah boarding school in Jerusalem.

A year ago, following the experiment with the French-speaking students, the "Students Authority" and Youth Aliyah opened a special secondary school course in Sde Boker, a kibbutz in the Negev well-known on account of its oldest member, Mr. David Ben-Gurion. 40 Youth Aliyah charges attend the two-year course. However, there is a distinct difference between the French course and the English one: the students in the French course take the French Matriculation Examinations as external students, while the students in the English course take the Israeli Matriculation Examinations. Certain subjects are still taught in English. Acquiring the Israeli Certificate of Matriculation intensifies our students' feelings of belonging to Israel, while the Certificate itself is fully recognised by most universities, including all universities in the U.S., as a "visa" to an academic career.

Another English course is held in a high school yeshiva in Beer-Sheva, where a group of Youth Aliyah students are working towards the Israeli Certificate of Matriculation while also taking thorough courses in post-Biblical Jewish literature. In Kfar Blum, a kibbutz founded by American settlers, some of our students from the U.S. attend a course similar to the one in Sde Boker.

We recently opened another "Foreign Language Course" — this time in the Persian language. Held in the Hadassim Youth Village, the course has 35 students whose parents remained in Iran. One of their subjects is Persian language and literature, and their two-year course will enable them to acquire the Israeli Matriculation Certificate.

The most recent course is the one for Spanish-speaking new immigrants who are being brought by us from Latin American countries. At first, only 25 Spanish-speaking children will enjoy the advantages of this course, which is to be held in the Gardening and Planting College in Petach Tiquah, but we have reason to believe that this particular framework will soon expand.

For Latin American immigrant children aged 13-15 we are also planning a secondary school ulpanim in one of the kibbutzim; those aged 15-16 will live in another kibbutz and will study in the district secondary school of the kibbutzim. A special ulpan will also be opened for adolescents aged 17-18 whose mother tongue is Spanish.

By establishing these varied language programmes, Youth Aliyah reaches a new, modern stage in its educational development. In our era, there is no reason whatsoever for not adapting all our facilities to the divergent needs of our wards.

THE HEBREW COURSES

A substantial number of young newcomers — mostly adolescents between 16 and 17 — did not have adequate secondary schooling in their countries of origin. It is virtually impossible to place these adolescents in our ordinary frameworks, which are based on well-structured secondary school curricula, in a country whose language and culture are completely alien to them.

Youth Aliyah therefore instituted a special framework called ulpanim, or Hebrew courses, for this kind of adolescent immigrants. In these ulpanim, some of which are located in kibbutzim and some in youth villages, the department

attempts to teach the students Hebrew and, in most cases, they are sent afterwards to one-year vocational courses so that they can also acquire a profession before being called to the army. 259 students were enrolled last September 1st in the 7 such ulpanim that we operate at present. During the present school year, we hope to establish another 6 ulpanim and to absorb 350 students in them.

One of Youth Aliyah's major educational problems is teaching the new immigrant pupils Hebrew. In most cases, they come without any prior knowledge of the language. Although their separation from their families and daily life in a Hebrew-speaking Israeli educational institution are perhaps the best educational aids for speeding up acquisition of the language, Youth Aliyah educators do not content themselves with this unstructured treatment and constantly attempt to improve their methods.

The Education Department of Youth Aliyah has established a permanent committee to review all the methods in practice and to study research data of specialists in this field. We have also opened a special seminar which is conducted in liaison with the Hebrew and Educational Department of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem for this purpose.

There are two methods used in all our teaching. First of all, we try to avoid as much as possible the "frontal" method — that is, lessons based on lectures by the teacher and student responses. Instead, we encourage the children to be active in speaking, reading and writing; their teachers assist them in small groups to cope with the questions that they themselves raise. Secondly, we have introduced audio-visual aids in many of the courses.

We often allow the newcomers to study only Hebrew during the first two or three months of their stay in the educational institutions, and only afterwards do they begin to study the ordinary curriculum.

If Youth Aliyah is to meet the new exigencies of the Jewish world both in and outside Israel, it must continue its efforts for increased aliyah — aliyah of families with children and, in particular, aliyah of children whose parents choose to remain in their countries of origin for the time being.

We shall have to send more emissaries to the Diaspora in order to encourage our young ones to come to Israel, and we shall have to offer each of them a well-defined curriculum in a set educational place.

We shall have to increase the number of courses designed for language groups and deepen our approach to their particular educational position.

We shall have to build many more dormitories, classrooms and workshops and equip them according to accepted Western standards.

We shall have to ensure far in advance sufficient places of education for potential candidates.

Some of these plans, which all deserve a dynamic approach, have already begun to materialise.

EDUCATION : FROM THE ROUTINE TO A NEW DRIVE

by H. FINKELSTEIN,

Head of the Department for Education and Culture in the Diaspora

These days, as all of us watch the important events taking place in the world — particularly on Israel's security front — we must not overlook a front of another kind, one without planes, tanks or cannon — one on which the struggle goes on quietly, to safeguard the existence of all the communities of Israel, scattered all over the globe.

The question has arisen more than once: how can we, who have learned and are learning every day how to maintain our positions along the various fronts of our land, also learn how to maintain the complex spiritual ramparts of our people in the diaspora?

Israel and the Zionist Organization have been investing resources and manpower into an effort to bolster Jewry abroad.

From the vantage point of my duties, as director of the Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora, I am fully cognizant of the effort that we are putting into the encouragement and maintenance of every spiritual position and every educational-cultural activity throughout the diaspora. I could relate — with considerable gratification — the marked progress and the note-worthy results of our work; on these I shall elaborate later. Yet, in the light of the new situation and of present conditions in World Jewry, these results are not enough! The same holds true for the activities in the area of education and culture, of the local factors in most of the Jewish communities, although I do not make light of their struggle for spiritual survival.

I have been studying the cultural and communal life of our people in the diaspora for the past forty years, and I am closely familiar with what it takes to maintain every school, every cultural center, every youth club, all the literature, and so forth. This is an extraordinary struggle, and it has many dramatic elements. But the drama itself is yet to be written. On the day that it is written, it will reveal the great deeds of devoted teachers, educators, men of the spirit and communal workers, who dedicate the best years of their lives to the preservation of every spark of Judaism's flame.

Yet what is the actual percentage of the individuals who are aware of the problems that face Jewish education and are engaged in the sacred task? And

what are the financial resources which the community has placed at their disposal, as compared with the resources available to other programs?

Obviously we cannot talk about the entire world in one breath. The Jewish world is extremely complicated. Every country, every community, and at times every city is a world unto itself. Still, there is a common denominator for all the Jewish communities in the diaspora, which I would define as the lack of the spiritual and cultural fortitude necessary to stand up to the confrontation with the outside world.

I am not referring only to the small communities, although their situation, from the standpoint of Jewish culture, is truly catastrophic. The small communities are disintegrating. Most of them are withering because of the lack of Jewish consciousness, of teachers and of spiritual and cultural activities. But even in the large communities we are witness to assimilation and self-effacement which daily swallow up large segments of Jewish youth.

Let it not be said that we do not have a good Jewish youth. Our young people possess unique traits which are in keeping with the character of our people. Their very concern with human problems and their desire to extend a helping hand to all, in answer to humanitarian challenge and aspirations, point to highly positive traits.

But most of our young people are still far removed from Jewish cultural life. They are distant from us because they are not acquainted with their people and its history, without values. They are not familiar with their lineage and they are strangers to themselves. This is both a national calamity and a personal tragedy.

Who is to blame? Can young people be expected to associate themselves with something unknown to them? How can we speak about Jewish ideologies and philosophies when there is no elementary knowledge of the rudiments of Judaism?

Even today we are witness to the fact that a million Jewish children of school age receive no Jewish education. This million comprises 60 percent of the Jewish children in the free world alone. From the national Jewish viewpoint these youngsters are speechless — and whoever has a keen ear for slight sounds knows that the cry of the dumb is stronger than the cry of the articulate. Next to the tragedy experienced by our people in the Holocaust, this, in my opinion, is the worst tragedy of our days. Of course, I am not speaking here about the Jews behind the Iron Curtain, which is a subject unto itself.

I do not believe that we have to carry on propaganda on behalf of Jewish education, which, in my considered opinion, is a major national asset; it is perhaps the sole element in the diaspora which still has a ray of light. And yet, the people who are engaged in Jewish education have to contend with a variety of difficult problems — quantitative, financial and qualitative in essence. On the one hand, there is a shortage of teachers, particularly young educators suited to the delicate subject of Jewish education. On the other, the Jewish school does not have a cultural Jewish milieu. Even the outstandingly good schools — and there are such — are like small islands in a sea of assimilation and of indifference to Jewish culture. The work of the teacher finds no echo in the home of the student and in the Jewish neighborhood.

Another, perhaps the focal problem is the fact that most teachers and others engaged in education do not have a clear picture of its most essential aspect, namely, the role which Jewish education must play today. Should this education serve to ease the student's spiritual tensions? Should Jewish education endow him with sufficient moral, spiritual and cultural equipment to enable him to contend with the ideological and cultural influence of the outside world?

And another question, "Something" has happened to the people of Israel with the birth of Israel. Has this found adequate expression in the form and content of Jewish education in the diaspora? These and other questions and problems demand clear answers.

I have attempted to sketch the scene with general strokes, for it is only against the background of present realities that we can understand the work of the Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora as well as appreciate the goals and tasks of the public advisory council which is about to be set up.

The work of the Department is highly varied — the daily tasks, the short-range projects and the long-range programs. At present, the Department is functioning in 28 countries. It is associated, directly and closely, with almost a thousand educational institutions, among them kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, seminars and institutes of all the currents. The Department is associated with a similar number of educational institutions indirectly. About a quarter of a million students presently enrolled in a variety of Jewish schools, together with their teachers, are benefiting from this association, which finds expression in a variety of activities. I shall not go into all the functions of the Department but shall limit myself to a few examples.

It has already been noted that one of the prime problems is the shortage of teachers. Today some 22,000 to 25,000 teachers are engaged in teaching Hebrew in the diaspora. This number does not fill the need. Moreover, not all teachers are equal to their task.

In attempting to solve this problem, at least to some extent, the Department is engaged in several aspects of the project:

a) It sends Israeli teachers abroad, most of them for vital posts: principals, supervisors or pedagogic advisers.

b) It trains young teachers from the diaspora in the Greenberg Teacher Training Institute, which was established on the initiative of the President of Israel while he was Director of the Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora. Each year 150 young teachers are graduated by the Institute and return to their countries to engage in Jewish education as a career.

c) It provides advanced courses for teachers from the diaspora. This activity is conducted in various seminars in Israel as well as abroad.

These functions of the Department are growing in scope, since we regard this area as the weak point in Jewish education. A school consists of several elements: the home, the classroom, the textbooks, the library, the laboratory and so on, but the basic element and the backbone of the school is the teacher. If this applies to teachers everywhere, it holds true even more for the Hebrew teacher in the diaspora. It is therefore obvious that as we succeed in raising the teaching standards and exerting influence on the teacher's identification with the school, we shall also elevate the standards of Jewish education itself.

The decision of the Jewish Agency Executive to award a "Shazar Educatory Prize" abroad also reflects the attention given to the Hebrew teacher. The prize was established in honor of the President on his eightieth birthday, and it is not by chance that the prize is intended for educators in the diaspora. It is the Jewish educator abroad whom we wish to encourage and uplift.

Along with the aforesaid, the Department is engaged in formulating study curricula for schools of all types and in preparing, publishing and distributing texts and reading books. In recent years the volume of texts and reading books published by the Department has grown to hundreds of thousands of copies. This combined action helps teachers in their daily tasks and also brings into the Jewish

school a maximum of Jewish and Israeli values. For it is clear that, in these days, the most important and effective aspect is the close personal bond between Jewish youth abroad and Israel; in the measure that this youth comes in personal contact with Israel, so does it identify itself with its people.

This aspect has given rise to the program which we have recently instituted, to bring groups of young people from abroad to Israel to study here for two or three months. We are now working on plans to bring here high school classes for a year's study in the country. One can study anywhere, but Israeli atmosphere can be found only in Israel.

Another project which we began to develop this year is the "Brotherhood Bridge" between youngsters studying in Jewish schools abroad and the school children in Israel. Space does not permit a description of the details of this project and of other enterprises, but these will be made public in due course.

We can also point to an expansion in scope of other projects, specifically adult education programs. This area has been neglected, and the implications of this neglect for Jewish education and mode of life in the diaspora are all too clear. For what is education without culture? I believe that we shall not succeed in solving the focal problems of education unless we understand that they are tied in with the problem of culture. Any serious approach to their solution must take both into account. This is the task of the Culture Division in the Department.

Strange as it may sound, most of our people are not familiar with our country. Every Jew, old or young, knows about Israel — but generally only one side of it. He is informed about the security front and about economic problems — and these are important. But he is ignorant of the second side — the moral and spiritual. And if one is not familiar with the creativeness of Jewish culture and with the singular traits of the people and is incapable of drawing from our mainsprings, he cannot grasp what is going on in Israel. Anywhere and everywhere, our goals, in the cultural program, are to form cultural ties with the diaspora, to disseminate Israeli cultural values, to encourage and deepen spiritual creativity.

Concretely, our efforts have been expressed in the establishment of cultural centers and study circles, in the work of the Language Teaching Division and in the extension of the Hebrew *ulpan* network. This project is growing from year to year. In France, for example, 4,000 persons are learning Hebrew, compared with 500 three years ago. This phenomenon exists in other countries, as well. We have also popularized the study of Bible among adults, young people and youngsters by a joint program with the Bible Study Association. We have also been publishing and disseminating books and pamphlets devoted to the best of Hebrew literature and thought, such as *Orot*, *Mekorot*, *El Ha-ayyin*, *Gesher*, *Hulyot*, *Leket* and other material.

Of late, we have gone into the establishment of chairs in Hebrew in universities abroad. We still do not have a comprehensive survey of the scope and essence of the existing chairs. Figures in our possession indicate that there are about 180 to 200 chairs in Hebrew and Judaica in universities in various countries. We have connections with only a few of them; most of them have been established on their own initiative and are functioning without being associated with us in any way. I believe that I do not have to stress the importance to us of every educational institution of this type. If we are interested in their development and wish to exert influence on their content, we should cooperate with them.

In this project, as in others, we have distinguished partners: the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Foreign Ministry, Israel's universities, the Jewish National Fund, the Brit Ivrit Olamit, and educational and cultural agencies abroad.

And it is noteworthy that the Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora is not alone in wanting to have the cooperation of various factors in the country. A positive development has recently come about in the Jewish world. Quite a large segment of the younger generation has begun groping its way to its people. Many young Jews are beginning to see that the social and spiritual foundations upon which they have established themselves are beginning to crumble. There are groups who, only recently, were completely indifferent toward Jewish spiritual life, yet they have come around to the conviction that, without Jewish education, they have no future as Jews. Among them are individuals who feel that, without the State of Israel, Jewish education and the Jewish child have neither challenge nor aspiration. True, this change has not as yet found concrete expression, but its signs are discernible by way of new thoughts and new ideas.

There is a fresh note here which anyone who studies Jewish life abroad can hear. I have heard it in many places — in various conventions, at meetings and in the course of private conversations : the uneasiness of serious-minded individuals who wish to change the situation. Obviously, this calls for a supreme effort on the part of the local elements, but I feel that any radical turn depends greatly on us — the Jewish Zionist community in Israel. It is not by chance that the advisory council for the Department has come about within the ramifications of the Israel Zionist Council. Zionism in Israel means, first and foremost, the encouragement of immigration and absorption, on the one hand, and the fostering of Jewish education in the diaspora, on the other. Both of these subjects are interdependent.

I believe that all the factors in Israel and abroad that are associated with Jewish education should proclaim the year 1971 as the World Jewish Education Year. In this year we should mobilize maximum manpower and financial resources in order to establish new enterprises, and, at the same time, expand and strengthen the existing undertakings. This must be a concentrated operation, accompanied with information, exhibits and other media which can pull education out of the routine and give it a new thrust forward.

Finally, it appears to me that history will judge every Jewish community and every individual Jew by the measure of his identification with Israel. History will also judge us in accordance with our attitude toward the dramatic struggle of survival on the part of Judaism in Israel and in the diaspora. It is my hope that we can respond adequately to the needs of the people and the State, in accord with our conscience as people of vision, as Jews and Zionists.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

by M. B. MEIRY

Comptroller of the World Zionist Organization — The Jewish Agency for Israel

INTRODUCTION

In every democratic society considerable importance is attached to public control of governmental, national and public institutions; today it is impossible to imagine any governmental or public administration without such control being in effect. As the state expands its economic and managerial activities, and as the task of governing becomes more complicated, so does the public-governmental control agencies develop in turn. The modern government administration has the say over huge government budgets; it intervenes actively in the economic sphere, and, directly or indirectly, it affects every one of its citizens. The legislative authority, which is designed to supervise the activities of the executive authority, becomes powerless in the face of the latter's extensive and complex activity. This has given rise to the need of having legislative authority appoint an individual or a group of people to exert constant and professional supervision of the administration's actions and to see whether the guidelines and instructions set by the legislator are carried out properly and whether the economy of the state is being managed efficiently and thriftily. Obviously the comptroller must be independent of the administration under his control; he must be responsible only to the legislator, on whose behalf he is functioning.

Public control in modern society is therefore based on two main principles: one says that any governmental or public organization which is intended to serve the public and which is maintained by funds provided by that public must be subject to scrutiny, and that control and supervision of what goes on within its confines should be carried out by an individual or a group independent of the organization and which does not derive any benefit from it or from its activities. The second principle holds that the public on whose behalf that organization functions and whose money it is using should receive reliable and independent reports on the expenditure of funds, on accumulated resources and on the methods of administration, be they good or bad.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONTROL OFFICE OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION, THE J.A. AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS

Public control, as set forth above, comes about either through legislation or voluntarily. The State Controller, who examines the activities of the entire governmental administration on behalf of the legislator, acts by virtue and on the strength of the State Controller Act and derives his authority from it. The accountant of a public corporation, who examines the financial reports and the accounts of the company on behalf of the shareholders — they being the interested public — also functions by virtue of the Corporations Act which stipulates his appointment, and so on. In contrast, control of the National Institutions is the result of chiefly voluntary action; it came about only because the Zionist Congress — the supreme legislative body of the Zionist Organization — saw the need for appointing a comptroller who, acting on its behalf, would keep his eye on matters transpiring in the Zionist Executive, in its departments and institutions.

The idea of setting up an independent control office within the Zionist organization germinated in the 14th Zionist Congress, held in 1925, but it did not come to any fruition. Subsequent Zionist Congresses repeatedly stressed the need for it, but for technical reasons nothing happened, and the establishment of the office was repeatedly postponed until the 22nd Zionist Congress, which met in 1946, finally charged the Zionist Executive with the task of setting up the office and electing its director.

At its session in May of 1947, the Zionist General Council decided to establish the control office. Public control of the Zionist movement and the Jewish Agency was set up that same year, so that the Zionist movement managed to establish its control office while the Jewish State was still in its evolutionary period, before the birth of Israel, and thereby proved its political maturity and public responsibility.

The initial control office was based on an extensive and thorough study, made in a number of European countries by the late Dr. A. Shmorak, the first Comptroller of the Jewish Agency. In this study he comprehensively analyzed the governmental control agencies in those countries, comparing them with the requirements of the Zionist movement, in the light of its unique character and important role. Dr. Smorak embodied his study in a detailed and interesting memorandum: "Establishment of the Central Control Office of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine," which he submitted to the Zionist General Council at its session in May of 1947.

When the control office was established, Dr. Shmorak was elected its Head, and he filled this post until 1952. He was followed in the office of Comptroller of the World Zionist Organization — The Jewish Agency for Israel by the late Samuel Rappoport, who served for 10 years and was succeeded by the present comptroller in 1962, who was re-elected for a further term in 1968.

STATUTES OF THE COMPTROLLER AND OF THE CONTROL OFFICE

The intent of the Congress to appoint a Comptroller for examining the activities of the Zionist Organization and its Institutions was officially formulated in the Constitution of the Zionist Organization in January 1960. Section 14 of the Constitution provides, among others, that the Congress elect a Comptroller; Section 60 states that the Comptroller is responsible only to the legislative bodies.

In the course of time it was found necessary to draw up detailed Statutes governing the work of the Comptroller and his Office; these would be approved by

the legislative bodies of the Zionist movement and would obligate all the controlled bodies. The Statutes of the Comptroller were amended periodically — according to the spirit of time and circumstance — until they were finalized in 1963, when they were approved by the Zionist General Council at its session in March of 1963. Except for a minor change in one of the Sections (adopted by the Zionist General Council session in January 1967), the Comptroller and his Office are functioning at present in accordance with the Statutes of 1963.

The two basic principles stated in the Introduction are fully formulated in these Statutes. First, the Statutes stipulate that the Comptroller be elected by the Congress (the supreme legislative body in the Zionist movement) for the purpose of maintaining control of the World Zionist Organization — The Jewish Agency for Israel. The Statutes also provide that, in his work, the Comptroller shall not be dependent on any body and shall be responsible solely to the Congress and the Zionist General Council only.

Secondly, the Statutes provide that the Comptroller's report, the observations of the Executive and the conclusions of the Finance Committee be published by the Comptroller. This Section therefore guarantees that the findings of the control be available to the public — and this is of extreme importance. Obviously, the intent is not to punish the controlled bodies by publicizing their flaws, shortcomings and administrative defects; the intent is to prevent errors beforehand and to stimulate careful thinking before action is taken, as well as to ingrain awareness of control among those charged with the various roles.

The Statutes of the Comptroller list the bodies which are subject to the control of the comptroller and define the scope and extent of the control.

THE BODIES SUBJECT TO CONTROL:

(a) All the departments, enterprises and institutions of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Israel, both in Israel and abroad.

(b) The National Funds and every other fund of the Zionist Organization, including their departments, enterprises and institutions, both in Israel and abroad.

(c) Every company, enterprise, fund or other body in whose capital or budget the World Zionist Organization or the Jewish Agency and/or the National Funds, together or separately, participate to an extent of 50 per cent or more, or in which they have at least 50 per cent of the voting rights.

(d) Every company, enterprise, fund or other body in whose capital or budget the World Zionist Organization or the Jewish Agency and/or the Funds mentioned in sub-section (b), together or separately, participate to an extent of less than 50 per cent, provided however that the right of examination was a prior condition agreed upon with such parties. The extent of such control shall be determined by agreement and to the extent that it was so agreed upon between the Executive and the Comptroller.

(e) Any subsidized body or other body, the examination of which is imposed upon the Comptroller by decision of the Congress, the General Council, the Finance Committee or the Executive. The extent of such control shall be determined by agreement and to the extent that it was so agreed upon between the Executive and the Comptroller.

FUNCTIONS OF THE CONTROL

The Comptroller shall control the administration of the controlled bodies, the state of their finances and the running thereof, their accounts and property, in respect of their legality, regularity, efficiency and economy, and integrity, and he shall examine:

(a) Whether the controlled body functions in accordance with the Constitution and the directions of the Central Zionist bodies;

(b) whether the expenditure of the examined bodies was made within the scope of their budget as approved by the competent institutions, and for the purpose for which it was intended;

(c) whether the procedure of the controlled body regarding receipts and payments is satisfactory;

(d) whether the methods of safeguarding monies and property and the state of cash and stock are satisfactory, and whether the accounts and balance sheets are accurate and prepared at the proper time;

(e) whether the controlled bodies act economically and efficiently in all aspects of their work, in accordance with legal and moral principles;

(f) whether the auditing of accounts, as far as this is conducted by an auditor, is carried out at the proper time, and whether the recommendations of the auditor are implemented by the controlled body.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE CONTROLLED TOWARD THE COMPTROLLER

The controlled body shall be bound to submit to the Comptroller its detailed budget as soon as it is approved by the competent institutions, and to inform the Comptroller of any changes made in its budget and submit to him all the authorization therefor.

Every controlled body shall be bound to submit to the Comptroller an interim report on its income and expenditure during its fiscal year, no later than four months after the expiration of such year, and, after six months but not later than nine months, a balance sheet showing assets and liabilities as at the end of the fiscal year.

Every controlled body should submit to the Comptroller a report and opinion submitted to it by an auditor, and a copy of its remarks on such report and opinion.

The controlled body shall be bound to render full assistance to the Comptroller and his staff in the fulfillment of their tasks and grant them free access to all books, files, accounts, documents, ledgers, card indices and all other material belonging to such controlled body. The controlled body shall likewise be bound to produce all such information, documents and explanations and other material as shall be required by the Comptroller or his staff for the purposes of control.

THE PRINCIPLES OF CONTROL

I believe that I would not be true to my purpose, in this article on public control of the National Institutions, if I would not cite here several important rules which guide us in the control; it is desirable that this information be known. In my address to the 26th Zionist Congress (Budget Finance and Funds Committee), I stated these basic rules which direct us in our work, as follows :

First — awareness of the importance of the tremendous work being done by the National Institutions in general and by the controlled bodies in particular — they being the executive arms in achieving the goals of the Zionist movement. I demand of the control staff that its members become thoroughly familiar with the tasks assigned to the controlled body, as a basic feature of the control operation.

Secondly — we function on the assumption that there is the divergence of neither difference nor distance that separates the comptroller and the controlled. Both are interested in the same thing: to provide better, faster and more efficient service for anyone in need of the services of the Agency — whether in aliya, absorp-

tion, settlement or any of the others. Both the Comptroller and the controlled want the budgets to be utilized and spent scrupulously and under maximum watchfulness; in certain instances the Comptroller acts to alert the controlled body to its having overlooked one defect or another, under the stress of the action and in the routine work.

Thirdly — it is not the sole intent of the control to render reports and publish its findings as such; rather it strives for immediate improvement. Where we discover defects in the course of ongoing work which, we think, might impair the efficiency of performance, we immediately undertake corrective measures, along with the control operation, and strive to impress the importance of our recommendations on the managers and staff. We do not issue instructions but we elucidate — and persuade.

In the introduction to the Ninth Report of the Comptroller and the control Office I set forth this thought as follows:

“The public control of the National Institutions is not meant only to prevent shortcomings and preclude deviations from the highest principles of conduct, important though this objective is. For the Control Office aspires also to become a positive and constructive factor, contributing to the improvement and efficiency of the services rendered by the controlled bodies. There is a special significance that attaches to this particular aspect, since the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, together with their various enterprises and institutions, function mainly for the benefit of new immigrants in Israel and for the establishment of closer ties between Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora.”

In the introduction to the Tenth Report I made it clear, that although control is mainly interested in past actions, the conclusions reached in the wake of its findings point the way to better performance, on the part of the controlled body, of its assigned duties. Control therefore scores important achievement in every instance where lessons are learned from errors in the past which were pointed out in its reports.

REPORTS OF THE COMPTROLLER AND THE CONTROL OFFICE

The aforementioned Statutes of the Comptroller and the Control Office provide as follows:

The Comptroller shall, within three months after the end of the fiscal year of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, submit his annual report to the Executive for its perusal. Such report shall include :

(a) a general summary of his activities and those of the Control Office during the year;

(b) a list of the main bodies and their units, controlled during the period of the report;

(c) details of defects found in the activities of controlled bodies and such recommendations for their rectification as the Comptroller considers ought to be included in the report.

The Executive shall make its observations within two months of its receipt of the report. The Comptroller's report shall then be submitted to the Chairman of the Finance Committee, together with the observations of the Executive. A copy of the report and the observations of the Executive shall be submitted to the Chairman of the General Council, and he will bring them to the notice of the Presidium, if he finds it necessary.

The Finance Committee shall consider the Comptroller's report, with the participation of the Comptroller and a representative of the Executive and shall

determine its conclusions not later than two months after receipt of the report. A copy of the conclusions of the Finance Committee shall be submitted to the Chairman of the General Council.

In the course of my tenure as Comptroller of the Jewish Agency, seven reports were published — five of them intended for the Zionist General Council and two submitted to the Zionist Congresses. These were comprehensive reports covering the period between one Congress and the next, as called for by Section 22 of the aforesaid Statutes.

Perusal of these reports identifies the subjects which engaged the Control Office every year and the cycle of the control program. The Seventh Report, issued in September 1963, dealt with control of budget implementation, with the activities of the Immigration Department and the handling of immigrant baggage, the marketing of farm produce raised by the younger settlements; it also dealt with several units of the Treasury Department, the Head Office of the Keren Hayesod in Israel and several of its Offices abroad, as well as with the Head Office of the Jewish National Fund and some of its branches abroad. There were also several companies in which the Jewish Agency is a partner.

The Eighth Report, submitted to the 26th Zionist Congress in July 1964, furnished a comprehensive survey of the activities of the Control Office during the period from one Congress to the next, plus the findings of the control in the Treasury Department, the Absorption Department (whose activity during that period was extremely important and engaged the attention of the Israeli populace) and other departments. The report placed special emphasis on the examination of the missions abroad; the findings of the examination were all-important in the reorganization of the project and of its administrative management. Examination was also made of several Jewish Agency companies and of the Jewish National Fund.

The Ninth Report, issued in September 1965, devoted much attention to the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency. The control operation in this Department encompassed almost the entire broad range of activities of the Settlement Department, and its conclusions gave much food for thought on the part of the Department itself as well as of Israeli public opinion. The report also gave its findings in the Treasury Department, the Organization and Youth Aliya Departments, and of several sections of other departments. This report, too, reviewed the findings of examinations conducted in several companies of the Jewish Agency.

The Tenth Report, issued in September 1966, emphasized the findings of the examination in the Social Services Division of the Absorption Department and the Afforestation Division of the Jewish National Fund. Also submitted were the findings relevant to companies engaged in improving land for agricultural cultivation and for paving roads for the J.N.F., as well as other companies of the Jewish Agency. The aforesaid report also dealt with findings concerning the activities of the Youth Aliya Department, the Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora, the Treasury Department, and the activities of the Settlement Department in mink-farming.

The Eleventh Report was also comprehensive in nature; it was submitted to the 27th Zionist Congress at its session in Jerusalem in January 1968. This report reviewed the control program during the period since the previous Congress, in accordance with Section 22 of the Statutes of the Comptroller and the Control Office.

The Twelfth Annual Report (June 1969) contained several highly important subjects, among them findings of examinations of several companies of the Jewish Agency. The report also dealt with other subjects, such as the Treasury Department, the Youth and Hechalutz Department, the Department for Education and Culture in the Diaspora, bodies subsidized by the Jewish Agency, as well as the Mechanical Equipment Unit of the Jewish National Fund.

The annual reports indicate a tendency to present one or more central themes of prime public significance, along with other, less important subjects, all of which engaged the attention of the Control Office in the course of its current work. The order of selecting the subjects to be examined from one year to the next is determined also by their importance and in consideration of the circumstances. Thus, for example, a department which undergoes reorganization in a certain year will not be examined that year but only after it has gone through a period of running-in and experimentation.

It should be noted here that the Control Office also handles complaints — a task which it performs in addition to its functions as specified by the Statutes. Quite often citizens appeal to the Comptroller for help and assistance, whenever they feel that they have not received their due from the institutions to which they had applied, or that they have not been given proper treatment. Generally this happens in the cases of immigrants or settlers or services suppliers. Since the controlled body must extend full cooperation to the Comptroller and his staff in their fulfillment of their duties — furnishing unlimited access to all books and files, accounts, documents, ledgers, card indices and any other material belonging to the controlled body — each complaint is examined comprehensively with those concerned. At times the examination shows that the complainant is right, whereupon pressure is exerted to remedy the situation. If it is found that the complainant is wrong, he is given to understand why and where he has erred. What is more, it sometimes happens that a complaint leads to the discovery of a faulty system of operations or of inadequate organization, in which case examination priority is given to that controlled unit or body, so as to get to the root of the matter and try to rectify that which needs rectification right then and there, in the early stages.

CONTROL PROGRAMS FOR THE FUTURE

As in the past, so in the future the control of National Institutions will strive to carry out its assignments according to the Statutes and in the spirit of the rules and principles which have guided it on its course heretofore. In the introduction to the Twelfth Report I stated my opinion in this matter as follows :

“Rather than wishing to disclose the shortcomings, the Control Office is anxious to prevent them by pointing them out, as well as by guidance and instruction, two ways which, the Control Office feels, are likely to do much towards achieving the necessary improvements and the desired efficiency.”

The subjects will also be chosen in consideration of public interest, and regard for the value of the work being done by the controlled body; emphasis will be placed on a swift and effective rectification of the shortcomings by delving into its source and essence.

When the plan for the expansion of the Jewish Agency and its separation from the Zionist Organization has materialized, the control system will have to adapt itself to the new conditions. Since the process of realization of the plan to expand the Jewish Agency is still going on, it is premature to discuss the goals and plans of the Control Office within the reorganization.

ABSORPTION: AN INCENTIVE TO ALIYA

by UZI NARKISS

Director-General, Aliya and Absorption Department

Immigration in 1971 will be distinguished by the high level of the immigrants entering the country — perhaps the highest which the history of *aliya* has ever known. I believe that this immigration will be blessed with many academicians, in addition to the numerous students whom we may expect. This forecast places on Israel a most difficult task of absorption, and we must prepare for it in time. Future years, which may be blessed with immigrants of even higher levels, will be able to learn from the experience garnered in 1971.

We are anticipating an *aliya* in 1971 of 50,000 souls; of these, 10,000 from the United States, 7,000 from France, 5,000 from South American countries and the rest from other lands in the diaspora.

When we speak of a high-level *aliya*, we have reference to the high rate of academicians among the immigrants, whom the Israeli economy will have to absorb, be the economy on wartime or peace footing. In either case the economy will have to organize and prepare itself for this absorption, which will be dictated by the addition of hundreds of doctors and engineers and scores of lawyers and members of other free professions.

Obviously, absorption of immigrants of this class can be feasible and implementable only in an affluent economy, without recession and without restrictions in the areas of production, development and services. In Israel, services must develop along with the pace of immigration, due to the specific demographic structure of Israel's populace and its relatively high percentage of academicians. Doctors can be absorbed only if there are sufficient hospitals and clinics; engineers can be absorbed only if the scope of construction and industrialization will be in a state of constant expansion. Members of other free professions which have reached a saturation point in the economy will have to switch occupations, but this will be possible only if there is a definite and adequate program for changing professions.

What holds true for academicians is also applicable to self-employed immigrants — merchants, small artisans of all kinds, agents and so on — who make up

the bulk of the Jewish people abroad and who, in Israel, can be absorbed only on condition that the economy is of sufficient scope for them; this is to say, that the livelihood of artisans and shopkeepers can be assured only in conjunction with the existence of large industrial plants and large-scale commerce alongside. Recession in this sphere will spell calamity, for it will not only shut off the sources of livelihood for this sector but will also force those among the immigrants already in Israel but who are as yet economically unabsorbed, to leave the country.

As for the students (as is known, Jewish students comprise a higher proportion of the enrollment in institutions of higher learning abroad than does the Jewish community in each of the countries involved), we shall not be able to accommodate them unless we develop the courses of higher learning in the country to a degree that will satisfy the requirements. Also, as far as students are concerned, we know that many Jewish families predicate their *aliya* on the assurance of enrollment for their children in one of Israel's universities. This must additionally be considered in the light of the fact that our institutions of higher learning do not have the room to accommodate all the young armed forces veterans who are clamoring to get in; Israel must cater to them in no lesser degree than to the recent arrivals.

The present *aliya* potential among Jews throughout the world consists of students, academicians and middle-class people. It won't be long before the remnant of the laboring class within world Jewry will vanish. The source of immigration from the depressed countries (with the exception of Soviet Russia, of course) has been drained almost completely with the liquidation of the diasporas in the Moslem countries and with the *aliya* of most of the Jewish communities in Asian countries, such as India, coming to an end.

The new situation will call on us to contend with shifting realities, for which we must think and plan right now. We must go beyond thinking and take practical steps to deal with the new realities which will come about in the late 'seventies. And, indeed, the Aliya and Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency has taken preliminary steps to handle the changes in the composition of the *aliya*. It has built a chain of absorption centers, immigrant living quarters and *ulpanim* which will be able to accommodate, in the near future, more than half of the annual immigrant crop. Still, these steps merely postpone the problem for half a year or a year, since every individual and family now being accommodated in an absorption center must have permanent living quarters and employment. In the case of housing, despite the fact that this is one of the difficult problems with which those responsible for immigrant absorption are struggling each day and every hour, we must nevertheless strive to achieve a situation wherein not only will every immigrant have living quarters awaiting him on arrival but also one in which we shall have a reservoir of homes for "an emergency" — that is, in case of a pleasant surprise in the pace of *aliya*. Moreover, with all the importance and urgency that we attach to the dispersal of population all over Israel's map, we must still bear in mind that we cannot readily force immigrants to settle down in localities not of their choice or in defiance of their volition.

Housing today also means the creating of livelihood sources within the ramification of new neighborhoods and towns—centers of trade, services, cafes and restaurants, hotels and spas, entertainment spots, and so on. This will make it mandatory for us, in the ensuing years, to graduate from the situation wherein absorption arrangements are merely a consequence of *aliya* to one in which we create an infrastructure of extensive and well-planned absorption, capable of becoming one of the incentives that would attract *olim* to Israel.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

by ZVI INFELD,

Adviser to the Chairman of the J. A. Executive

The significance and portent of social phenomena and issues are incomprehensible without a historic perspective. Detached from their historical relatedness, social trends and events are comparable to mixed up pieces of a jigsaw puzzle before they find their predesigned places and form a comprehensive meaningful picture.

It is only in the light of cyclical theory of history that the fate of nations may comprehensively be grasped. This theory rejects the straight-line conception of world history falling into three divisions — ancient, mediaeval and modern, and contends that history consists of biographies of self-contained cultures, each of which, though different in character, works out its own destiny and passes through phases of a life-cycle that are comparable to the ages of a human being — childhood, youth, maturity and old-age.

It is generally accepted that prophetic religion is the unique and most characteristic expression of Israel's culture. Its basic elements have remained essentially the same throughout all the phases of its life-cycle, but they have been differently experienced and expressed in each of its cultural ages. It is primarily in the concept of God as Lord of History that the cultural character of Israel has expressed itself. Israel's God reveals Himself first and foremost in the classless flux of human history and not in the fixed unchangeable forces of nature. It follows that the primary function of Israel's God has been to shape human destiny, and that His mercy may be invoked by deeds rather than sacrifices, deeds that are "good" in historical sense. No wonder therefore that indigenous Israel produced no plastic art, no works of science, but excelled herself in a striking abundance of prophets, storytellers, chroniclers, wise men and teachers.

THE CYCLICAL CONCEPTION OF JEWISH HISTORY

All the basic socio-economic, political and spiritual tendencies and phenomena in which the Western society has expressed itself in modern times are also observable in the history of the Jewish people in the era of the Second Temple. The reason for it is that Judaism of the latter days of the Second Temple had passed through a phase in history, in a life-cycle that coincides with one age of the Western civilisation of our days.

Hence it is not surprising that all the spiritual currents that are now sweeping Western society have their counterparts in the life of the Jewish people in those days.

In Judaism as well as in the declining world of Western civilisation, the intuitive creative forces declined and the analytical dissecting intellect gradually gained strength and became the dominant force of the age.

The excessive intellectualism, exaggerated egotism and materialism of an aging human society in process of disintegration and decline call forth forces of resistance and revolt. Spiritually frustrated and discontented people search for a new faith and a more meaningful way of life.

Nihilistic tendencies in Jewish intellectual life of the Second Temple reached its climax in the biblical book of Ecclesiastes. Pessimism, scepticism and hedonistic

permissiveness found striking expression in this small essay. Ecclesiastes sermonizes : *"Vanity of vanities, all is vain... One generation passeth, another generation cometh and the earth standeth forever..."*

How strikingly similar is the nihilistic spirit of the Western World of today!

REVOLTS AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT

Mystic non-violent flights from actualities of life into diverse worlds of fantasy belong to movements of resistance and revolt against the oppressive spiritual climate of the epoch. The mystic cults like those of Budha, Confucius, Mao Tse Tung, Ché Guevara and others that are flooding the Western world of today are morphologically no different from the cults of Jesus, Mitras, Isis and the rest that had flooded the decaying Graeco Roman world of old or from the Essenees, early Christian and the Qumran community of the Second Temple.

The mystic spirit of that age has manifested itself in violent outbursts of political zealots as well, so that sometimes it is difficult to make a clear distinction between the non-violent mystic movements and the violent bands of fanatic zealots. Some historians suggest that even Jesus himself was not only a non-conformist evangelist preacher, but also a political rebel, and that it was for this reason that Pontius Pilate had no hesitation in crucifying him.

In this context it is appropriate and relevant to make reference to the New Left. Since a large disproportionate number of young Jews are taking part in this movement it is of particular importance that its significance and nature be carefully examined. True, the New Left signifies a critical confrontation of rebellious youth of the Western World against the Establishment of their parents, but in this clash of ages the parents do not represent their personal advanced age, but rather the cultural old age of their society. It is therefore understandable why such a confrontation of ages does not occur among peoples of young cultures. In culturally young societies there is hardly any gap dividing young people from their parents. It follows that the older a society grows and the more hardened the establishment becomes in the process, the wider becomes the gulf that separates young people from their parents and the more acute and critical grows the clash of ages.

In the rebellious outbursts of these organisations the young zealots of the Western world give vent to their pent-up feelings of discontent and frustration engendered by a decaying human society into which they happen to have been born.

THE TIMELESSNESS OF GHETTO JUDAISM

By the time the Second Temple was destroyed a new pattern of Jewish life began to emerge, the spiritual and social self-contained life of the Ghetto centered around the synagogue and walled off from the outside world. In the preceding fourteen centuries of her existence ancient Israel underwent all the normal phases of her life-cycle and in each phase her culture actualised itself in distinct periodic non-recurrent human types, concepts and values, literary and linguistic styles and all other forms of expression of spiritual, social and political life. On the other hand in the subsequent nineteen centuries of Jewish Ghetto life no sequence of periodic styles and forms of expression of human creativity is discernible. Throughout these many centuries Ghetto Judaism has undergone no significant changes, except when it encountered progressive up-thrusting alien civilisations.

In this regard, too, the Jewish people do not constitute an exception. In fact, peoples of all old civilisations lead a kind of a Ghetto life. All of them are spiritually and socially isolated, and the pattern of their communal and religious life is rigidly set by traditional laws and customs : the Chinese, the Indians, the Arabs and many others, as well as Jews have for many generations lived a typical Ghetto

life. Devout religiousness, cohesion of family life, respect for the Book and the learned, charitableness and hospitality are virtues that characterise "Children of the Ghetto" of all civilisations. True, Diaspora Jewry has proved to be more vulnerable, both physically and spiritually, than peoples of other civilisations living in their own homelands, but the historic experience of all Ghetto peoples living in the diaspora, such as the Chinese of California, Indians of East Africa, or Parsees of India have shared essentially the same fate.

Throughout the nineteen centuries of their Ghetto existence the Jewish people have in all parts of the world prayed and served God in the same way, observed the same laws and customs, and their communal structure, educational system, and philanthropic institutions have essentially remained unchanged. The unique spiritual creativity of Ghetto Jews has primarily consisted of Talmudic studies, Kabbalistic speculations and messianic movements of the dreamers of the Ghetto. Also these unique forms of expression of Ghetto Judaism have not been limited either in space or time.

JUDAISM'S ENCOUNTERS WITH ALIEN CIVILISATIONS

With the entry of Jewish people into the worlds of young vigorously stimulating alien civilisations such as Hellenism and Islam as well as the West, Jewish intellectual creativity blossom forth, giving rise to an understandable impress of Judaism's renaissance. This initial phase of Judaism's symbiosis with an alien civilisation is generally regarded as the "Golden Age" in the history of the Jewish people. Actually, it is but an impressive beginning of Jewish assimilation. Attempts are made to reconcile the Jewish world outlook and religious values with the concepts of various philosophical schools of the foreign environment, and as a result, "Wissenschaft des Judentums" (Science of Judaism) flourishes.

At this stage the Jewish elements of the works of Jewish philosophers, poets and writers are still strong and creative. However, in the wake of an inherently inevitable process of assimilation the Jewish elements weaken, and eventually the literary works of Jews become indistinguishable from those of non-Jews. And yet, one is tempted to ask:

Are not the roots of Karl Marx's passion for justice, Bergson's "elan vital", Freud's psychoanalysis, or of Einstein's theory of relativity hidden, to some extent, in the recesses of Jewish "collective subconsciousness"? In other words: Do not the monumental works of these illustrious Jewish philosophers and scientists reflect in some ways and measure also the indigenous cultural character of Israel which had actualised itself primarily in the concept of God, Lord of History, acting as the supreme guide of human destiny and abhorring tangible forms in space and rigidly fixed concepts of time?

In the wake of this process of assimilation Jewish contributions to the economic, political and spiritual life of the non-Jewish environment have grown by leaps and bounds. In the Graeco-Roman and Arabic as well as in the Western world Jews have produced not only illustrious philosophers, poets and writers but also great statesmen, financiers and businessmen. For instance, Jewish statesmen of the Western world such as Benjamin D'Israeli have many counterparts in the Jewish Viziers of the Moorish Kingdoms of Spain such as Hasdai Ibn Shaprut, or in the Jewish political leaders of the Graeco Roman world such as Tiberius Alexander, a Roman Governor-General of Egypt.

MODERN ANTISEMITISM

The extraordinary success of Jews in almost every sphere of human endeavour has aroused the envy of the non-Jewish merchants, manufacturers, financiers,

politicians, writers and professionals and given rise to a mounting wave of modern antisemitism. Primitive antisemitism is activated primarily by religious motives, whereas in its modern image antisemitism is propelled chiefly by economic interests and personal ambitions.

It is generally assumed that the Nazi Holocaust was an event unprecedented in the history of the Jewish people. It was indeed so, but only with regard to its magnitude; in essence and spirit there is no difference between the manifestations of modern antisemitism of the Western world and those of the Graeco-Roman and Islamic worlds.

Take, for instance, the atrocious pogrom staged in Nero's time by Jew-baiters against the Jewish community of Alexandria. If we change the names and figures of Josephus' description of the pogrom it could apply in almost every detail to the atrocious anti-Jewish assaults of the fanatic Almohades of the decaying Islamic world or to the bestial Nazi Holocaust of the Western world in decline.

When the Graeco-Roman and Islamic worlds were in process of dissolution there was no human society in sight to offer Jewish fugitives a congenial haven of refuge.

In both intervening eras, the world consisted either of primitive illiterate peoples or of nations of old timeless civilisations whose communal and religious life was rigorously set by their age-old traditional laws and customs. The spiritual and social gulf that divided Jews, as sons of an old civilisation, from primitive peoples or peoples of old timeless civilisations was too deep to be bridged. Therefore, the "remnant of Israel" fleeing from the horrors of the decaying Graeco-Roman and Islamic civilisations had no alternative but to segregate themselves in their own spiritual and social home — the Jewish Ghetto.

PROSPECTS OF JUDAISM'S SYMBIOSIS WITH THE WEST

This leads us to a most critical and crucial question: are also Jews of the Western world exposed to the danger of sharing the tragic fate of their forefathers of the Graeco-Roman and Islamic worlds? In other words: are we to assume that Jews of the Western world too will fall victims to the social convulsions, political upheavals, spiritual chaos and moral degeneration of yet another decaying civilisation, and that the "remnant of Israel" also of the West will have to look for a haven of refuge? Most Jews reject such an assumption as a figment of an unbalanced mind, even though the bestial massacre of six million Jews occurred in our own lifetime and this satanic plan of genocide was conceived and executed by sons of one of the most outstanding nations of the West. We have seen that all the manifestations of Judaism's symbiosis with civilisations of the past have so far repeated themselves in the encounter of the Jewish people with the West as well. Hence, what right have we to assume that the repetition of the final scenes of this symbiosis was totally excluded from the potentialities of the future?

True, the fate of all nations of the world, including the Jewish people, is largely contingent on what turn Western civilisation will take, a turn towards life or death. Some modern thinkers contend that there are no grounds for an assumption that the West might escape the fatal denouement of all civilisations of the past. Others reject this deterministic outlook on life and ask: do not the fabulous achievements of Western science and technology open up brighter vistas for the future of the West and mankind as a whole? No other civilisation of the past had at its disposal technological gadgets capable of solving all economic problems of human society and of overcoming all difficulties of communication. True, if this unprecedented advantage is used primarily to make rich men and nations richer, then, those fabulous computerised machines would further social and political disintegration and moral degeneration of human society instead of promoting social

justice and peace, and raising the standard of living of all nations of the world. In other words: if Western civilisation is permitted to run its normal course without conscious and nationally planned effort to change its direction, then the tragic final scenes of the life-course of all past civilisations may be re-enacted in the as yet unfinished drama of the historic experience of Western civilisation as well.

Similarly — one may argue — if Judaism's encounter with the West is permitted to continue to proceed on lines running parallel to those of analogous encounters of the past, then also the tragic finale of the latter may be re-written in the last blank pages of the drama of Judaism's encounter with the West.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL OPENS UP NEW VISTAS

However, the Jewish people, too, has an accomplishment to its credit that has no parallel in its encounters with Hellenism and Islam. The tremendous potency of this achievement justifies one to assume that the Jewish people has now a very reasonable chance of ensuring that the tragic end of its past encounters with an alien civilisations will not be repeated in its current encounter with the West. The Zionist victory of our days is that extraordinary unparalleled accomplishment of the Jewish people. It is for the first time since the destruction of the Second Jewish Commonwealth that the Jewish people is no longer nationally homeless. A sovereign Jewish Commonwealth, the State of Israel, is again in existence.

At this juncture one may ask: Does not the fact that in its past encounters with alien civilisation the Jewish people did not bring into existence a Jewish State contradict the proposition that all significant forms of expression of life and creativity of the Jewish people living in the orbit of alien civilisations show striking correspondence? "Not at all" is the answer. Zionist movements of the same origin and character did appear in the Hellenistic and Islamic, as well as in the Western World, but for understandable objective reasons they failed to translate their aspirations into reality.

In all the three eras of Judaism's symbiosis with alien civilisations it was primarily external circumstances and particularly assaults of modern Jew-baiters that sparked off and fueled modern Zionist movements. On the other hand, messianic Zionism is one of the most significant manifestations of traditional Judaism. However, modern Zionism has hardly ever appeared in its pure form. In varying degrees of intensity it has always been impregnated with the traditional spirit of Messianic Zionism. Herzl's Zionism was primarily of modern character, but when Herzl appeared before masses of Ghetto Jews he was acclaimed with messianic fervor as the God-chosen redeemer of the people of Israel.

It was due to a particular constellation of external socio-economic, political and spiritual forces, both positive and negative, that, together with a tremendous upsurge of intellectual and emotional forces from within world Jewry, have combined to create an unparalleled opportunity for the fulfilment of Zionist aspirations.

In recent years the question of social and spiritual image of the State of Israel has been agitating the minds and hearts of rapidly growing number of Jewish intellectuals, and among them some completely assimilated Jews. For instance, Prof. George Friedmann of Sorbonne University, an entirely alienated French Jew, asks in his book "The End of the Jewish People?": "If the people of the Book should turn into efficient technicians and affluent consumers, instead of serving Israel's prophetic ideals of justice, equality and loving kindness, what will be left of Jewishness in the State of Israel?... Will Israel become a nation of priests and righteous men of whom this decadent technical world, in bondage to new idols, is in such need, or a nation of expert engineers and soldiers?" Prof. Friedmann, who wrote his book after two professional visits to Israel which turned out to be

voyages of self-exploration, as well as sociological field trips, expresses the truly Zionist hope that "Israel would become a nation of priests and righteous, as well as of expert engineers and soldiers".

THE REBELLIOUS JEWISH YOUTH OF THE WEST AND THE CHALLENGE OF ISRAEL

Some unique social trends and phenomena in the life of the nascent Jewish society in the Land of Israel indicate that this eventuality is not excluded from the potentialities of tomorrow. True, signs of a growing influence of the social, moral, political and spiritual tendencies of Western society in process of decline and disintegration, are discernible also in the State of Israel. However, a large section of the extremely heterogenous community of Israel is still deeply rooted in the age-old religious tradition of the Jewish people; the spiritual ideals and values of the preceding phase of Western civilisation are still embedded in the fabric of Israel society; the vigorous vitality of Jews of Eastern Europe and particularly of Russia is still felt in the spiritual, social and political life of the community, and the young Sabra whose image is being shaped by the new realities of the State of Israel as well as Jewish, Western, East European and oriental cultural influences has now begun to search for more meaningful and satisfying forms of Jewish group life and meaningful human values.

Under the impact of this rich variety of cultural influences, and in response to the overpowering tragedy of European Jewry and to the immense challenges presented by Israel's struggle for security and political and economic independence, a dynamic and creative society is evolving in Zion that may prove to be victorious in achieving its dual historic aspiration: to ensure the safety and continuity of the Jewish people and thereby to avert the danger of Judaism's encounter with the Western world, sharing the tragic end that befell Jewries of the Graeco-Roman and Islamic worlds; secondly, to create a model human society that by its living example and active participation as a national entity would play a prominent role in the struggles of nations of the world for their economic and social reconduction, spiritual regeneration and political freedom and international cooperation.

Young Jewish men and women of the Western world are now a source of great potential strength to the Jewish people and the State of Israel. True, they have not only acquired the great positive achievements of the Western world but are also playing a disproportionately prominent part in a variety of movements mirroring the decline and decay of Western society. However, a growing number of these young men and women have recently begun to realise that the aimless nihilistic revolts of the New Left, the exotic cults, the esoteric worship of gurus, and the psychedelic flights into worlds of fantasy are no satisfying and redeeming answers to their problems. In their search for meaningful and satisfying answers, more and more of them find their way back to their own ethnic group and its traditions and with growing intensity come to grips with the challenges confronting the state of Israel.

Among the Olim from countries of the West, including America, there is a growing number of young men and women who have realised that active personal involvement in the Zionist struggle of the Jewish people for reconstruction of its national life, and the creation of a model human society in the spirit of Israel's great prophets is a much more satisfying and constructive response to the challenges confronting young Jews of today than all the aimless, chaotic and nihilistic revolts of the young frustrated and discontented people of the Western world. It is in the realisation of these Zionist aspirations that the hope for the fulfilment of Israel's destiny is hidden.

THE IMPACT OF THE CULTURAL STANDARD OF THE SOCIETY ON DEVELOPMENT

The Difficulty of Developing a Theory of the Overall Development of Society

by Dr. L. BERGER *

Like all sciences based on experience, the theory of development has descriptive, explanatory and prognosticating functions. If the task of prognosis is put in the forefront, this seems to me to involve something more than anticipatory thought in fields such as "national income" "productivity" or "standard of life." Rather it is a matter of discovering links between the process of economic growth and socio-cultural development, and, in prognosticating, to trade them into account within the framework of a more comprehensive theory. In so doing, it is particularly fascinating and difficult to prognosticate contradictions between economic and cultural development.

Before investigating the consequences of this introduction to consideration of the problems of development theory, a number of conceptual problems must be discussed. We must primarily realize the implications of current definitions of the level of development of a national economy, or of a country. In my opinion, essential faults, especially in matters of national economic concern with development processes, are already inherent in these definitions.

The most widespread definition these days is: "Development is growth of per-capita income." It is admittedly customary to point out that this growth should go hand-in-hand with structural changes, said to be of a socio-cultural, quantitative and qualitative nature, but in practice the statistical, apparently objective figure of measurement is clearly in the forefront. True, its reputation was slightly tarnished when international comparisons showed that Kuwait had a higher per-capita income than the United States, and Venezuela or Puerto Rico higher ones than the Soviet Union. In other words, the two super-powers might be described as relatively under-developed in comparison with Kuwait, Venezuela or Puerto Rico.

The comparatively poor showing of the Soviet Union and also of the other socialist countries in international comparisons of incomes should be partly ascribed to the fact that according to Marxist economic theory only physical goods should be taken into account in computing per-capita income, and not invisibles such as services. Consequently, the production of a hat increased the national income, while a haircut was of no importance in calculating income.

The difficulties of subsequent correction of the distortions that appear as the upshot of this neglect of important economic fields have their counterpart in the problems of adequate evaluation of production for self-consumption in countries with a large subsistence sector. Already in 1953 Phyllis Deane remarked in her basic work on computation of the national income in such countries:

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"Where the bulk of goods in a given category are traded, it does not greatly strain the conceptual framework to impute a value to the remainder. Where the bulk are not traded, it is obviously a highly artificial process which bears no direct relation to the physical facts of the case. The figure for subsistence output can never be more than a token figure."⁽¹⁾

If one adds to the foregoing the well-known problems of fluctuating exchange rates, it may suffice, for the purpose of our discussion, to point out that the most widely accepted contemporary development index reveals shortcomings on statistical grounds alone.

A further widespread definition takes the extent of industrialization of a national economy as a measure. By this token, development means an increase in the industrial sector's share of the social product. Among the implications of this definition is the requirement of homogenization of development in all the countries of the world, since development calls for industrialization.

An interesting case-study for the consequences of this concept, of which the Soviet Union may be considered the protagonist, is provided by the development policy of the Chinese People's Republic in its first two five-year plans. In view of its importance for our further argumentation, we propose to consider this instance in somewhat fuller detail.

In 1953-57, i.e. during the period of the first five-year plan, China's development policy at first followed in the footsteps of what was considered the tried Soviet example. An extremely high proportion of the social product — the data for 1953 fluctuate between 17.2 and 22.4 per cent — was invested, whereby the investment quota even increased further during the plan period. As in the USSR the major proportion of investment was used for industrial purposes; in 1953-57 this proportion totalled some 52 p.c. of the invested means, and of this four-fifths went to heavy industry.

Heavy industry, in turn, was adapted primarily for its own growth and for military purposes, but not for the requirements of the agricultural sector. The role of agriculture, on the other hand, was limited in this respect to contributing the bulk of the volume of savings. As regards its own sectoral growth, attempts were made — at first with considerable success — to promote this by means of organizational changes.

Here certain dissimilarities with the Soviet example are already discernible. In China, the mechanization of agriculture and use of chemical fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides and similar means — i.e. substitution of capital for work and land — was largely absent. Moreover, Chinese development policy was also characterized by greater pragmatism in reorganizing the national economy. For instance certain forms of joint state-and-private enterprises were used and the "capitalists" were tolerated as a class.

The transition to an independent Chinese development strategy began in 1956, the year when the "transition to socialism" was considered to have been completed. There was realization that the demographic conditions as well as limited capital resources and the impossibility of raising the savings rate by re-distribution of the social product called for a strategy that differed from the Soviet model.

The core of this new strategy, on which the second (1958-63) five-year plan was based, took shape in the doctrine of "walking on two legs" that applied to sectoral and regional matters, to the size of enterprises and to technological and organizational matters. Attempts were now made, e.g. by concurrent development

1) Deane, P. : Colonial Social Accounting. Cambridge/New York 1953, p. 226.

of agriculture and industry, to avoid a tilting of the balance to the detriment of the agricultural sector of light industry. Likewise, by means of active reorganization, industry was to be brought to the countryside, for which purpose the popular commune was considered a suitable organizational form. Furthermore, concurrent development of large and small enterprises would counteract the mania for size during the first plan period, and utilize the advantages of both large and small enterprises in the interests of national development. Finally, the use of both modern and traditional techniques side by side was considered unavoidable, since otherwise it would be impossible to build up the small and medium industries on an extensive scale. The overall technical standard, however, would be raised continuously.

Generally speaking, the doctrine of simultaneous development involved a political principle of conscious guidance of economic life. It was not a matter of identifying the different aspects of social processes, but of their planned modification on a basis of experience.

Practical implementation of the doctrine soon met with such difficulties that by 1959 a new revision of development policy had begun. In this respect one must take into account that at this time China was beset by a series of natural disasters, and that for a time there was a real famine. Allowing for that, there were a multitude of examples of the difficulty of "walking on two legs" the best-known of which seem to have been the experiences with the popular blast-furnaces. The low quality of the products and high costs of production proved such a handicap that the experiment of providing every village with a blast-furnace had to be broken off. There was also a shortage of raw material due to faulty co-ordination and the inadequacy of the material infrastructure. For example it was learned from South China that on a number of occasions the peasants, in order to procure iron for their blast-furnaces, stole rails from the Chinese railways.

Moreover, the drift primarily of male labour towards non-agrarian employment led to a perceptible shortage of manpower in the agricultural sector, where efforts were also being made to introduce labour-intensive cultivation techniques. It was therefore ultimately decided that agriculture be recognized as the foundation of the Chinese national economy, and that the priority-scale of development planning be changed in its favour. Although the Chinese People's Republic has stopped publishing statistics since the early 1960's, there are certain indications that in the main this is still the case.

The conclusions that one might draw from this example obviously far exceed the framework of our remarks. It appears that development concepts which originated in early 19th century Europe are only conditionally applicable for use beyond that limited area. The economic costs that may arise from a neglect of important structural elements in planning a development policy also become apparent. We shall revert to these questions in another context later. We here wish to consider only the strategic components of a definition of the notion of "development." Where industrialization is used synonymously with development and the degree of development of an economy is measured by its degree of industrialization, this, as we have seen, may have far reaching consequences.

Our most serious objection to this and similar definitions of development is due to the lack of information on cultural structures and social processes that is inherent in highly-aggregated measurement figures such as per-capita income or the degree of industrialization. Such statistical data provide only information on superficial phenomena. Yet the theory of development, as set forth in our initially

formulated thesis, should spotlight precisely these less evident coherences between the manifold social phenomena.

The informative content of statistical measurement figures could perhaps be raised by investigating their correlation with other measurement figures that might in certain circumstances be relevant in determining the degree of development. It is conceivable that changes in per-capita income could thus be compared with alphabetization or with changes in the consumption of electricity. Admittedly this again raised the question of the fundamental concept of development theory. To put it in terms of a challenge: should national economies really be termed developed whose prosperous, literate population, adequately provided with newspapers and radios, allow their natural environment to be systematically destroyed and their cities to be covered by a pall of poisonous industrial exhaust gases? Are such economies really more developed than those in which all this cannot occur?

Apart from measurement problems of this kind, economic research ⁽¹⁾ has nevertheless already produced a series of interesting, albeit as yet static results. It has thus been shown, in a comparative study of the possible quantitative development indicators from more than 100 countries at a definite time — the year 1960 — that agricultural productivity, or more precisely, the value of the production of the adult male farmworker, was most closely correlated with all the other indicators. In other words this means that at least in 1960 agricultural productivity best represented the other development indicators as a whole, including per-capita income and the degree of industrialization.

The same research programme also showed that “economic” and “social” indicators were as closely correlated with each other as within their respective groups. Were such a quantitative-statistical pointer needed, it, too, would indicate the wholeness of the development process. Without reverting again at length to the numerous reservations that apply to such researches — we mention merely the quality of data, comparability of data and static interpretation — this initial investigation points in a direction that to us holds out prospects of extricating the theory of development from a state of a-priori speculation from the angle of this or that academic discipline.

On the other hand, it seems somewhat doubtful whether essential contributions to the concept of a genuine inter-disciplinary theory of development can be expected from the present, highly popular “mathematical” school of national economics. Problems of scientific theory, lack of data and especially the still scarcely-solved problem of communication of the eventual results of research more or less naturally relegate this branch of economic science — until further notice — to its ivory tower. Even if one holds that it is possible to correct the tendency of econometry empirically to tautologize substantive evidence and thus enable it to escape the criterion of possible falsification, and even if it were possible to procure the relevant data for an economic theory of development, a computer potential that will not be available in the foreseeable future would be required to process those data and present them in usable form. With so many excellently trained scholars working on what is, relatively speaking, so irrelevant an art as the construction of ever new and more intricate models, econometry seems a good instance of a “non-economic barrier to economic development” — to quote the title of a study by von Hoselitz. Admittedly this criticism does not apply only to national economics. For instance in a neighbouring discipline it was found that

1) Cf. e.g. the work of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva. In regard to our further remarks, cf. particularly that Institute's No. 1 and 2 Research Notes.

"the sociology of under-development often primarily proves the under-development of sociology".

In view of the pressing problems that are still unsolved, the demand for a new approach to the analysis of social development processes needs no further justification. It may even seem rather frivolous to bring up a further unsolved problem in addition to the existing ones. Nevertheless, in order to illustrate our demand for a new, integral theory of development, we propose to do just that, as follows hereunder.

The cause of economic under-development in widespread regions of the earth was only a few years ago believed to reside in lack of mineral wealth, lack of capital or lack of trained manpower, or in a combination of all those factors. Synonymous with under-development was under-employment. At least until 1967 it was an axiom of the school of economic development that an existing but unused manpower potential held the key for economic take-off. Then Myrdal dared to discover the heresy that in certain developing countries the workless are not at all willing to work. He drew this conclusion from the fact that in south-eastern Asia newly-created enterprises were short of manpower, while at the same time every kind of unemployment could be observed.

When one takes into account that the first Indian five-year plan included full employment in its aims, and that similarly the 1959 Ceylonese ten-year plan also involved a relatively complete utilization of manpower, the contradiction becomes evident. The government of a country should naturally have an idea of the sort of society that it wishes to create. But if it seriously intends to bring about a change, it must take into account the fundamental cultural structures. Just as in China, at the outset of the second five-year plan the fundamental facts of the economic structure began to be taken into account, responsible politicians in India and Ceylon — assuming that Myrdal's conclusions are correct — should likewise adapt their development policies to the cultural facts.

The discovery that there exists — to quote from René König — a cultural factor that determines how people work also has an impact on development theory. It would appear necessary to adjust the still-to-be-created theory to the fact that there are "hard-working" and "less hard-working" cultures, and that this state of things will have a considerable effect on other components of the theory. When one considers how little appraisals of values and psychodynamic processes have so far been taken into account in development theory, one realizes that adoption of this requirement would be tantamount to revolution in development theory.

Dr. P. Glikson — Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem — survey submitted to the Office for Economic and Social Research, the Jewish Agency.

GUIDE TO THE WORLD JEWISH COMMUNITIES

INTRODUCTION

Any sound and effective *aliya* policy must be based on familiarity with the basic demographic and socio-economic conditions of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. Unfortunately we have much too little information about the size, geographical distribution and the socio-economic, cultural and political characteristics of most of these communities and about their degrees of identification with Jewry, affinity to Zionism and the State of Israel.

Although considerable progress has been made in the number and quality of surveys and studies of Diaspora Jewry in recent years ⁽¹⁾, the data is still inconclusive and often unrelated in its parts. Some areas of study bearing directly on *aliya* have been overlooked. Moreover, the material obtained is widely scattered in a plethora of multilingual sources and publications, and therefore not easily given to ready reference and use.

To make the available data more accessible, an effort is made herewith to collate and evaluate the information on various diasporic centers of Jewish life, according to these categories:

- a) size and geographical location;
- b) age level structure;
- c) educational structure;
- d) occupational structure;
- e) Zionist and pro-Israel organizations and institutions;
- f) *aliya* propensity and *aliya* potential;
- g) current research and bibliography.

Work on this study began at the end of 1969. Research students and workers in various countries were contacted to obtain up-to-date information. The following pages contain brief surveys on Jewish communities in France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States. We are grateful to Dr. Doris Bensimon, Dr. Ernest Krausz and Dr. Eytan Franco Sabatello for supplying valuable information on the demographic situation and socio-economic conditions in the Jewish communities of France, Great Britain and Italy. The survey on the Jewish population of the United States was compiled by the author. Additional material, on the Jewish communities of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and a number of countries in Latin America and Europe, is being collected, compiled and evaluated. It is hoped that, in due course, it will be possible to produce a comprehensive guide to the demographic and socio-economic composition of World Jewry.

(1) Cf. *Jewish Population Studies: 1961-1968*, edited by U. O. Schmelz and Paul Glikson. Jerusalem-London, Institute of Contemporary Jewry and Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1970; also *Survey of Diaspora Jewry* by P. Glikson in *The Israel Year Book* 1970, pp. 181-184.

Dr. E. Kraus

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1. SIZE AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION:

Table I: Regional Distribution

Region	No:	Largest community in the region	No:
London	280,000	ditto	ditto
Scotland	15,000	Glasgow	13,000
North	6,000	Newcastle	3,000
North-West	49,000	Manchester	35,000
East and West Ridings	25,000	Liverpool	7,000
Midlands	10,000	Leeds	20,000
East and South-East	13,000	Birmingham	6,000
South	5,000	Brighton	7,500
South-West and South Wales	7,000	Bournemouth	2,500
		Cardiff	5,000
		Total for provincial communities listed above	99,000
Totals	410,000		

Table II: Jewish Communities in England and Wales by Size

	No. of communities
Under 500 souls	81
500 to under 1,000	5
1,000 to under 5,000	11
5,000 to under 10,000	2
10,000 souls and over	3
Total	102

It must be noted that Table I excludes the Jews in Northern Ireland where the Belfast community numbers some 1,300 Jews, and Table II also excludes Scotland.

Taking the U.K., i.e. including Scotland we find that 68% live in London and 88% in the six largest cities.

2. AGE STRUCTURE

Among the Jewish immigrants at the end of the last century the large majority were young people particularly men. Age distribution at that time was: 26% under 20; 63% between 21 and 40; 10% between 41 and 60.

Of all the Jewish immigrants at that time 55% were men, 25% women and 20% children. This shows that many of the immigrants did come with their families or were joined by the latter.

By the 1950s the age distribution became a more normal one and resembled rather more closely that of the general population. In the age-group 0-14 the

Jews had 20.4% and the total population of the country 22.8%; the percentage in group 15-34 was 25.8% for both populations; and the figures for those aged 35% and over were 53 and 51.4% respectively.

A study of fertility trends among Jews showed that the larger families of the first decades of this century sharply declined. According to one estimate the number of children per Jewish family changed from 3 in 1921 to 1.4 in 1950. But there is also some evidence that the baby boom of the late 1950s and early 1960s in the general population showed itself among Jews as well.

3. EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE*

Hebrew and religious instruction is provided by the main synagogal bodies. In London the Board of Jewish Religious Education of the United Synagogues, The Board of Orthodox Jewish Education of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, are the main bodies responsible. There are similar bodies of the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain, The Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation and of the other synagogal organizations. In the provincial towns the respective synagogues are the organizers of education and the majority are unified for inspection purposes by the Central Council for Jewish Religious Education.

In the 1960s it was estimated that 57% of Jewish children of school age were receiving Jewish instruction. But since Jewish education (after school hours) suffers from an early leaving age combined with an erratically floating starting age, educators have assumed that 75 to 80% of all children received Jewish instruction during some period of their school career. However an estimate put out in 1969 maintained that as many as 35% received no Jewish education whatever.

Figures for 1969: re: Jewish day-schools

There are 50 such schools (27 in London, 7 in Manchester, 2 in Dublin and one or two in some of the provincial communities).

These schools had 539 full-time and 215 part-time teachers.

The number of children attending the schools was 11,236, representing an increase of 5% over the previous two years. This compares with 7½% and 12% increases of previous two similar periods.

The total of school children in Jewish day-schools was about 14% of the total Jewish school population in Britain. The proportion of Catholic children attending Catholic schools in Britain was 68%.

Of the total in Jewish day-schools, 70% were primary school children.

Main bodies responsible: in London, The Jewish Secondary Schools Movement (Orthodox), Yesodei Hatorah Schools (ultra Orthodox), the Lubavitch Foundation (ultra-Orthodox), the Yavneh Association and the Zionist Federation in London and the provinces. A number of schools, especially in the provinces are not affiliated. An increasing number of schools are now state-aided.

* The estimate above of about a third of the Jewish children not receiving any Jewish instruction refers to the total of Jewish children, i.e. both those in day-schools and those in non-Jewish schools some of whom attend after-school Hebrew classes.

Higher Jewish education and Hebrew education can be obtained in the Yeshivot and Colleges with specialized departments in these fields. In 1962 all the eight Yeshivot in Britain had 392 full-time students (many of whom were from overseas). Jews' College, the main institution for training Rabbis and Ministers, had 31 students. There is also the Leo Baeck Institute training a handful of Ministers for the Reform movement.

Adult education is promoted primarily by The Zionist Federation, The United Synagogue and such smaller bodies as the Society for Jewish Study, Society for the Promotion of Jewish Learning, or the Society for the Study of Jewish Theology.

4. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Main entrepreneurial trends and industrial distribution:

1. Traditionally disproportionate weight of Jewish interest in finance was drastically reduced in second and third quarters of the 20th century, but interest in financing property development maintained.

2. Preoccupation with manufacturing substantially increased. On the whole industrial distribution shows remarkable similarities between Jews in Britain, the United States, Canada and continental Europe. In all cases there are large clusterings around the clothing and textile trades, distributive trades and light industries, and to an increasing degree around professional services and administration in general. It is also true that there is an under-representation of Jews in agriculture and heavy industries.

Main occupational trends:

1. Staple occupations, i.e., tailoring and furniture-making abandoned since Second World War.

2. Between 1945 and early 1960s continuous rise in Jews seeking occupations with opportunities for self-employment, e.g. taxi-driving and hairdressing. In the 1950s lowest estimate for self-employed given as 10% which was twice as high as the national figure.

3. Since 1960s a reversal had set in. Small Jewish businessman ousted by large-scale organizations with the spread of rationalization in production and distribution.

4. Smaller proportion of economically active among Jews: 45.6% against national figure of 58.4% for men, and 11.4% against 33.9% for women. Main explanation is the far greater number of Jews staying on at school after the statutory age of 15 and going on to university and other higher education. Whilst Jews account for less than 1% of the total population, Jewish students make up 3% of the total student population.

5. ZIONIST AND PRO-ISRAEL ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.

World Zionist Organization (incorporating the JPA, Keren Hayesod, Society of Friends of Jewish Refugees, Keren Kayemeth Jewish National Fund for Great Britain and Ireland).

Jewish Agency for Israel

Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland

Federation of Women Zionists of Great Britain and Ireland

Children and Youth Aliyah Committee for Great Britain

Bachad Fellowship

Bnei Akiva

Federation of Zionist Youth

Habonim

Hanoar Hatzioni

Hashomer Hatzair

Dror

Hakibutz Hameuhad Settlements

Hechalutz B'Anglia

Mizrach-Hapoel Hamizrachi Federation of Great Britain and Ireland
 Pioneer Women of Great Britain
 Poale Zion — Jewish Socialist Labour Party
 Socialist Zionist Party (Mapam) of Great Britain and Ireland
 Torah V'Avodah Organisation of Great Britain and Ireland
 Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society
 Anglo-Israel Association
 Anglo-Israel Bank Ltd.
 Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce
 Association of Israel Students in Great Britain and Eire
 Bank Leumi LeIsrael B.M.
 Bridge in Britain
 British Aid Committee for Bikur Holim Hospital, Jerusalem
 British Association of Palestine-Israel Philatelists
 British Committee for Chinuch Atzmai in Israel
 British Committee for the Orde Wingate Institute for Physical Education,
 Natanya
 British Committee of the Keren Yaldenu
 British Council of the Shaare Zedek Hospital, Jerusalem
 Citrus Marketing Board of Israel
 Committee for Exports to Israel
 Friend of the Anti-Tuberculosis League of Israel
 Friends of the Art Museums of Israel
 Friends of Bar-Ilan University
 Friends of Boys' Town Jerusalem
 Friends of the Hebrew Language Academy
 Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
 Friends of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra
 Friends of Magen David Adom in Great Britain
 Friends of the Midrashia
 Friends of Progressive Judaism in Israel
 General Israel Orphan Home for Girls-Jerusalem: British Committee
 Hamashbir Hamerkazi — Israel Cooperative Wholesale Society Ltd.
 Histadrut — General Federation of Labour in Israel: London Office
 Israel Government Tourist Office
 Jerusalem Mental Hospital: British Aid Committee
 Jewish Institute for the Blind, Jerusalem: British Aid Committee
 Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund
 Society for Animal Welfare in Israel
 Old Yishuv Fund
 Poale Agudat Israel
 British Technion Society
 Weizmann Institute Foundation
 Zebulun Israel Seafarers' Association

There are also many other organisations not exclusively connected with Israel but which have strong links with Israel. Examples: Agudas Israel World Organisation; Board of Deputies of British Jews which has its special Eretz Israel Committee, and the Federation of Synagogues whose Constitution includes as one of its principal objects: "to further the progress of Eretz Yisrael".

6. ALIYA PROPENSITY AND ALIYA POTENTIAL :

Jewish emigration to Israel from Gt. Britain in 1961/62 was in round figures around 300 every year. In 1963 there was a sharp increase to above 800, and it remained between the 700 and 800 mark for the years 1964, 1965 and 1966. In 1967 it reached 900. In 1968 it was over 1,500 and in 1969 over 1,800.

No prediction can safely be made as to the future, but it would not be surprising if the number between 1,500 and 2,000 will be retained for the next two or three years, and if there will be another increase in the latter half of the seventies.

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Ernest Krausz, *Leeds Jewry: Its History and Social Structure*, Heffers Cambridge, for the Jewish Historical Society, 1964.

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RECENTLY COMPLETED AND CURRENT RESEARCH:

See : Marlena Schmool, *Register of Social Research on the Anglo-Jewish Community* reprinted from the *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. X, No: 2, December, 1968.

RESEARCH INSTITUTES AND THEIR MAIN PUBLICATIONS:

Statistical and Demographic Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews (main publication: *Studies in Anglo-Jewish Statistics*).

Institute of Jewish Affairs and the World Jewish Congress (main publications: *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* and *Patterns of Prejudice*).

The Jewish Historical Society of England (main publications: *Transactions*; and *Miscellanies*).

Institute of Contemporary History and Wiener Library (*The Wiener Library Bulletin*)

Dr. DORIS BENSIMON

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF FRANCE

1. NUMERICAL IMPORTANCE AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

France is the only country in western Europe which has received a substantial Jewish immigration since the end of the Second World War; within 25 years its Jewish population has tripled. The number of Jews living in France in 1970 is estimated at 550,000 persons (about 1.1% of the total population ⁽¹⁾). Numerically, the Jewish community of France is the most important in all of western Europe, being fourth in size among the world's Jewish communities. About 60% of the Jewish populace lives in Paris and its environs; another 25% resides in the southern part of the country, and the rest is scattered all over France. There are important communities in five French cities: Marseille (65,000), Lyon (20,000), Toulouse (18,000), Nice (16,000) and Strasbourg (12,000). From 1957 to 1966 the number of localities with a Jewish population rose from 128 to 293. The diffusion of the returnees from North Africa to France, necessitated by the urgency to ease their economic absorption, has brought about the implantation of Jewish communities in all parts of the country. There are seven communities of less than 100 souls, attesting to their isolation. 174 communities number fewer than 1,000 souls; these are particularly numerous in the Paris region ⁽²⁾.

2. STRUCTURE ACCORDING TO AGE

There are no exact statistics about the general structure of the Jewish community of France according to age. At the same time, it is known that the immigration from North Africa has lowered the average age level. Recently-arrived families are still large; a survey made in 1967 ⁽³⁾ shows that 27% of the sampling interviewed had more than five children. The same survey indicates that immigration brings about a lower birth rate and encourages family planning, particularly among people with more than elementary schooling.

3. EDUCATION LEVEL

There are no exact statistics on the general education level of the Jewish population in France. Nevertheless, there are signs of rapid development toward raising the education level in all strata of the Jewish populace.

A sampling of the education level of "adults" among the Jewish immigrants from North Africa shows the following proportions:

- 3% — no schooling whatsoever;
- 1% — traditional Jewish schooling;
- 28% — elementary school education;
- 52% — secondary (high school or vocational school) education;
- 16% — higher or combined education.

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1. There is no official census of the Jewish population in France. This figure, as all other statistical data, is based either on information supplied by the Jewish community itself or on partial surveys.
 2. F.S.J.U. Service Communauté : Guide de Communautés juives en France, Communauté n. 20, 1966.
 3. BENSIMON, DORIS: *L'integration des Juifs nord-africains en France*. Scheduled for publication by MOUTON, LA HAYE at the end of 1970.

The education level among Ashkenazi Jews is even higher. It is reckoned that 70%-75% of the adult Jewish population has continued its schooling beyond the elementary level. In view of the strong ambitions entertained by this population to climb up the social ladder, it is predictable that an even larger proportion of the young Jews below the age of 20 will have more than elementary schooling.

Most of the young Jews attend compulsory public high schools. The network of regular Jewish schools is not extensive: two elementary schools (in Paris); five high schools (Paris and Strasbourg), of which two are directly affiliated to the Alliance Israelite Universelle. ORT maintains a network of seven schools in Paris and Provence. Currently schools with Orthodox leanings and *yeshivot* are being established.

4. SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Here, too, there are no conclusive statistics. At the same time, it is clear, from surveys conducted among both Ashkenazim and Sephardim, that social mobility is rapid and significant. Craftsmen who have immigrated from eastern Europe, like those who have come from North Africa, tend to drop traditional Jewish occupations (in the second generation, if not in the first) in order to switch to occupations connected with modern industry, which guarantees rapid social advancement. This development is stimulated by the instruction given in the seven ORT schools, which draw their students particularly from this stratum of society.

About 80% of the North African Jews were absorbed into occupations in which they engaged in the lands of the Maghreb. The flow of Jews from North Africa changed somewhat the socio/occupational structure of French Jewry. It is estimated that 15% of Algerian Jews were officials who worked on all levels of public administration, and these were taken into the metropolitan services. Despite the loans granted by the Government to returnees to France, for the purpose of their economic re-establishment, some merchants and craftsmen had to abandon their status of self-employed and become hired help.

Social advancement is rapid among North African Jews holding French citizenship; the racial barriers which obstructed their progress under the colonial regime no longer exist. Settlement in France have opened new opportunities: they are already numerous in the free professions and in commerce and industry. The economic progress of the Jews from Morocco or Tunis is more difficult. At the same time, even among the latter, their choice of France was determined largely by the degree of "Franconization" which they achieved in their lands of origin. The social-occupational structure of French Jewry thus displays the principal lines peculiar to the western diaspora — a preponderance of the free professions, white collar occupations, commerce and the crafts.

5. ZIONIST AND PRO-ISRAEL ORGANIZATIONS

a) *Pro-Israel Organizations*

— The Zionist Federation of France includes the various Zionist parties.

— All the Zionist youth movements in France are represented. They have groups in Paris as well as in the larger communities in the land.

— The Jewish Agency has one important office in Paris and another in Marseille, which is primarily charged with the transfer of North African immigrants to Israel.

Since 1967, all the bodies engaged in fund-raising are consolidated in the French United Jewish Appeal. At the same time, branch offices are being maintained in France by Keren Hayesod, the Jewish National Fund and WIZO; the latter two conduct their own fund-raising campaigns.

b) *French-Israeli Organizations*

- The "France-Israel League", French Committee.
- The France-Israel Economic Cooperation League.
- The France-Israel Chamber of Commerce.
- The Friends of Israel Association of Physicians, Dentists and Pharmacists.
- The France-Israel Women Pharmacists Committee.
- The French-Israeli Odontostomatological Friendship Committee.
- Friends of the Hebrew University.
- Friends of the Histadrut.

This list is probably incomplete. Since 1967 more and more French Jews have been showing their solidarity with Israel. The Six-Day War created a strong impact and caused generally sympathetic attitudes — but also hostile reactions, particularly among Jews who belong to extreme leftist groups. Invariably violent disputation on this theme finds its way into the French press. Israel and Al-Fatah are the subject of confrontations between pro-Israel and pro-Arab students in the universities.

In order to answer the need for disseminating information, the F.S.J.U. (the United Jewish Appeal in France) established, in 1969, the Middle East Documentation Center.

Following the Six-Day War, members of the French Left initiated several committees for peace in the Middle East.

France and Israel have cultural agreements, which provide specifically for:

- Student and research personnel exchange between the two countries.
- Dissemination of the French language in Israel and the Hebrew language in France. In this context, Hebrew is regarded as a foreign language for the purpose of matriculation. Hebrew is also taught in forty public high schools in Paris and other cities. It is also taught in the Universities in other cities.

6. TENDENCIES TOWARD ALIYA TO ISRAEL

The movement of immigration to Israel has increased markedly since June 1967. Prior to that date, between 300 and 400 immigrants registered in the course of any one year; subsequently the number has risen to 3,000-4,000 a year. This stream of *aliya* consists mostly of young people, single or married, who have completed their advanced studies or have acquired other trained skills. The trend toward *aliya* is also to be found among the leadership which has been active in Jewish communal affairs.

The aforementioned survey on North African Jews indicate that 39% of Moroccan Jews would consider possible immigration to Israel, under certain conditions (the survey was made prior to the Six-Day War). At any rate, the present immigration movement consists of both Ashkenazim and Sephardim.

7. SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND CURRENT RESEARCH

1. The Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University and the *Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques* (I.N.E.D.) are presently engaged in a comprehensive sample survey of the entire Jewish population of France. Mlle Claude Lévy is in charge of this project. A representative statistical sample is being prepared on the basis of the electoral registers by means of an onomastic analysis, and of a master list of Jewish organizations. A questionnaire has been worked out; it contains questions on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics, and also on some aspects of Jewish identity and religious observances.

2. A number of sociological and socio-psychological studies has been undertaken. Some arose from doctoral theses or individual research, others were carried out by research teams. The following is a brief survey of the more important ones:
- (a) D. Bensimon-Donath, "L'intégration des Juifs nord-africains en France", 650 Jews of Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian origin who immigrated to France after 1956 were interviewed in Paris and in the provinces. The evolution of the families and their socio-economic structure were systematically analysed and important data obtained on the migration of North African Jews since 1945. The study is now being prepared for publication.
 - (b) S. Korkacz, "L'attitude des Juifs de France vis-à-vis de l'Etat d'Israël", and R. Waiszman, "L'image d'Israël chez les Juifs de France". Contain, inter alia, information on the socio-occupational structure and migrations of the French Jewry. The first study has been completed, and the second is now being prepared for publication.
 - (c) C. Sitbon, "La communauté juive de Sarcelle". Sarcelle, a recently established settlement in the Parisian district, absorbed over one thousand North African and Egyptian immigrant families. A preliminary investigation is in progress.
 - (d) J. Giami, "La communauté juive de Toulouse". Project of an investigation.
 - (e) D. Bensimon-Donath, "Les Juifs de Provence". Plan of an investigation to be undertaken in cooperation with the *Centre d'Etudes Interéthniques* of the University of Nice.
3. The "Communauté" Service directed by M. Georges Levitte had undertaken a number of studies. The following which consider, inter alia, the demographic aspects should be mentioned:
- (a) G. Benguigi, "Les étudiants juifs de première année à l'Université de Paris" (1964).
Partial results of this investigation have been published.¹
 - (b) J. Biajaoui-Rosenfeld, "Quelques aspects de l'adaptation des juifs nord-africains en France" (1965).
Study conducted in 1963 among North-African Jewish immigrants who arrived in 1958 and 1959 and were receiving aid from Jewish welfare organizations (about 100 cases were investigated).
 - (c) A. A. Moles, "Immigration des Juifs nord-africains en France", 1955-1961 [197].
 - (d) M. Fischhoff and Hatab, "Les mariages juifs à Paris, 1955-1962" [193].
4. A. A. Memmi conducted a seminar at the VIth Section of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes on the Jewishness and social environment of French Jewry. Within the framework of this study, 1,000 persons were interviewed. The questionnaire included questions on age, sex, marital status, origin, socio-occupational status, etc.

¹ Benguigi, G. "Pratique religieuse et conscience juive chez les étudiants". In: *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, Vol. 18, Jul.-Dec. 1964, and "La participation socio-politique des étudiants juifs". In: *Revue Française de Sociologie*, Vol. VII, no. 1, Jan.-Mar. 1966.

5. Professor O. Klineberg is at present conducting an investigation within the framework of the *Centre International d'Etudes Interéthniques* (VIth Section of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes) into the identity problems of the minorities in France. The questionnaire contains some questions on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics. The study includes also the Jewish minority.
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Dr. Eytan Franco Sabatello

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ITALY

1. SIZE AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION:

According to a survey conducted in 1965, the number of Jews registered by requirement of the law with one of the twenty-three officially established communities⁽¹⁾ was estimated to be 30,644. To this figure some 2,000 persons had to be added: recent immigrants, or those who without adhering to another religion did not formally belong to the community.

⁽¹⁾ By the law promulgated on October 30, 1930, twenty-four communal seats were established: Rome, Torino, Venice, Trieste, Genoa, Florence, Leghorn, Bologna, Naples, Ancona, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua, Modena, Gorizia, Merano, Verona, Casale, Pisa, Alessandria, Vercelli, Parma and Fiume. The last one is now in Yugoslavia, and there were at the time of the survey twenty-three official communities.

More recently, the community of Gorizia, numbering nowadays only a few dozen Jews, was merged with the community of Trieste.

Since 1967, some 3 to 4 thousand Libyan Jews (most of them having Italian citizenship) joined the community, but according to unofficial estimate about half of them have already left Italy for Israel and other countries (U.S.A., Canada, etc.) Thus, in 1970, there are in all probability some 35,000 Jews in Italy.

By size, the twenty-three official communities, each one comprising a main town and a provincial or juridical territory, can be divided into four main groups:

1. The community of Rome with about 13,000 registered members in addition to some 1,000 unregistered Jews, and since 1967 some 1,500 Libyan Jews.

2. The community of Milan with some 9,000 registered members and about 1,000 non-registered Jews.

3. Medium-sized communities (Torino, Florence, Venice, Trieste, Genoa, Leghorn) each with 600-1,800 registered members, and about 1,000 non-registered Jews.

4. 15 smaller communities in North and Central Italy and in Naples with registered membership of less than 500.

Outside the twenty-three official communal centres, Jewish presence in Italy was recorded in more than three hundred localities, especially in northern and central regions, and only sparsely in the south.

The absolute and proportional numerical importance of the Roman community grew in time (it constituted but 10 per cent of the Italian Jewry in 1840, about 28 per cent before the outbreak of World War II, reaching at present 42 per cent) mainly because of the differentials in its demographic behaviour (higher birth-rate, and slightly lower death-rates), and strong migratory movement from the provincial centres. The Milanese community increased also (from 2 per cent in 1840 to 28 per cent in 1965) mainly as a result of the migratory movement from abroad, and also by internal migrations.

All the other communities decreased in number and percentage, following the internal migrations and the negative demographic balance (i.e. death-rates exceeding birth-rates).

Table 1

Geographical Distribution of the Jews in Italy by Community Groups (1840—1965) by %

Community Group	1840	1901	1931	1938	1965
Rome	10.2	18.2	27.2	27.6	42.2
Milan	0.6	7.6	14.5	13.6	27.7
6 Middle-size ¹	40.7	44.5	39.8	38.9	21.8
15 Small size ²	48.5	29.7	18.5	19.9	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Numbers	37,200	42,726	46,080	46,848	30,644 ³
Out of 1000 inhabitants	1.68	1.26	1.11	1.06	0.58 ³

¹ Turin, Florence, Venice, Genoa, Trieste, Leghorn.

² Naples, Ascona, Mantua, Pisa, Bologna, Padua, Modena, Verona, Alessandria, Ferrara, Parma, Vercelli, Gorizia, Merano, Casale Monferrato.

³ 32,000 (0.64) incl. an estimate of persons non-registered with the community.

Table 2

Geographical Distribution of the Jews in Italy by Size of Settlement (1840—1965)

Size of settlement (No. of inhabitants)	Out of 100 Jews in Italy				Out of 1,000,000 inhabitants in the settlements		
	1840	1901	1931	1965	1901	1931	1965
Up to 10,000	5.4	1.8	2.5	1.4	40	9	21
10,001—50,000	26.7	11.9	6.4	1.9	234	263	43
50,001—100,000	50.9	31.4	19.4	2.7	5,461	2,119	183
100,001—250,000	} 32.7	} 62.9	} 75.9	5.2	} 6,924	} 4,073	452
250,001—0,000,000				13.4			862
1,000,001 and more ¹				75.3			3,722
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,112	952	584

¹ Until 1933 no Italian town had 1,000,000 inhabitants or more.

Sources : Bach, 1965 survey, censuses of Italian population.

2. AGE STRUCTURE AND DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS:

Italian Jewry of today is characterised by and large by a very old age structure due to drastic lowering of the birth-rate in the course of the past two or three centuries. Only the Roman community does not differ significantly from the general population of the city, and shows some signs of demographic vitality.

During the period 1961-1965, the Jewish community as a whole suffered a yearly loss of 4 per thousand as a result of an excess of death-rates over birth-rates.

Another major cause-effect of the demographic weakening of the Italian Jewry's potential is the high rate of mixed marriages which results in an approximate loss to Judaism of 80 per cent of the children born of such unions.

The aging of the population is particularly acute in the medium and small-sized communities which also suffer losses due to strong out-migration to larger towns.

Table 3
1965-Age-Structure of the Jews in Italy by Sex and Community Group

Age Groups	Jewish population, 1965										Italian population 1961	
	Rome		Milan		6 Middle size		15 Small size		Total		Males	Females
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females		
0—9	15.8	12.4	9.2	6.6	6.8	6.0	10.4	9.4	11.8	9.3	16.9	15.6
10—19	14.4	16.4	14.8	16.8	12.1	9.4	11.4	10.6	13.9	14.6	16.5	15.3
20—29	15.4	12.0	8.0	11.8	10.8	6.2	5.8	5.6	12.0	11.8	14.9	15.0
30—59	39.7	39.6	44.8	37.4	41.0	39.5	44.0	38.7	41.7	39.0	38.0	38.6
60—69	8.9	9.5	10.1	16.4	15.9	14.1	11.5	13.8	10.9	12.6	7.2	8.6
70 and more	5.8	10.1	13.1	11.0	13.4	24.8	16.9	21.9	10.0	14.3	5.2	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Age	34.3	37.6	40.3	43.3	44.3	50.1	45.2	46.8	39.2	42.0	32.7	34.6

Sources : 1965 survey, census of population, 1961.

Table 4
Some Demographic Indices of the Jews in Italy, by Community Groups

		Period	Community Group					Total Jewish Population	Italian Population
			Rome	All the other Communities	Milan	6 Middle size	15 Small size		
Death Rate	Per 1,000 Persons	1901-10	16.4	17.5	—	—	—	17.1	21.6
Death Rate	Per 1,000 Persons	1931-35	15.2	17.3	—	—	—	16.7	14.1
Death Rate	Per 1,000 Persons	1951-55	10.9	17.2	14.2	16.8	25.1	14.8	9.8
Birth Rate	Per 1,000 Persons	1901-10	29.0	14.7	—	—	—	17.7	32.7
Birth Rate	Per 1,000 Persons	1931-35	20.7	7.7	—	—	—	11.4	23.8
Birth Rate	Per 1,000 Persons	1951-55	13.1	7.5	11.1	5.7	5.2	9.7	18.3
Growth Rate (=Birth Rate — Death Rate)	Per 1,000 Persons	1901-10	+12.4	—3.0	—	—	—	+0.9	+11.1
Growth Rate (=Birth Rate — Death Rate)	Per 1,000 Persons	1931-35	+ 5.5	—9.6	—	—	—	—5.3	+ 9.8
Growth Rate (=Birth Rate — Death Rate)	Per 1,000 Persons	1951-55	+ 2.2	—9.8	—3.1	—11.1	—19.9	—5.1	+ 8.5
Death Rate	Per 1,000 Persons	1961-65	12.9	18.2	12.3	22.2	26.3	16.1	9.7
Birth Rate	Per 1,000 Persons	1961-65	17.6	7.3	8.6	6.7	1.9	11.4	18.7
Growth Rate (=Birth Rate — Death Rate)	Per 1,000 Persons	1961-65	+ 4.7	—10.9	—3.8	—15.5	—21.4	—4.7	+ 9.4
Nuptiality Rate	Per 1,000 Persons	1961-65	6.6	3.4	4.1	2.9	2.4	4.6	7.9
Average Number of Children	For each Married Woman, 50 Years Old or more	1965	2.78	—	1.46	1.68	1.68	2.03	—
Average Number of Children	as above, and with at least one child	1965	3.39	—	1.91	2.28	2.21	2.60	—
Gross Reproduction Rate	(Female Children: their Mothers, 50 Years Old or more) × 1,000	1965	1,065	—	635	642	539	783	—
Persons in One-Person Household	Per 100 Persons	1965	5.9	—	8.0	13.2	12.7	7.8	—
Average Number of Jews in the Households		1965	3.10	—	2.45	2.10	2.25	2.56	3.60
Existing Mixed Marriages	Per 100 Jewish Couples	1965	15.5	—	29.0	44.5	41.9	28.6	—
Persons Living in Mixed Jewish Households	Per 100 Persons	1965	8.3	—	13.2	23.2	20.9	13.9	—

Sources : See table 2.

Table 5
Some Educational, Professional and Social Characteristics of the Jews in Italy, by Community Groups

	Period	Rome	Community Group			Total Jewish Population	Italian Population	
			Milan	6 Middle size	15 Small size			Elsewhere
Persons who never Learned at School								
Per 100 Persons 10 Years Old or more	1965	1.5	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.9	8.0 ¹	
Persons with an University Degree								
Per 100 Persons 10 Years Old or more	1965	8.2	18.6	19.4	22.6	15.0	1.5 ²	
Median Number of Years of Study								
Persons 10 Years Old and more	1965	8.7	14.7	13.8	14.4	12.0	6.7 ²	
Persons of "Ashkenazi" Origin (Ryte)	Per 100 Persons	1965	4.0	24.5	14.5	10.1	12.7	—
Persons of "Sefardi" Origin (Ryte)	Per 100 Persons	1965	9.6	46.8	25.1	22.7	24.8	—
Persons of "Italian" Origin (Ryte)	Per 100 Persons	1965	86.4	28.7	60.4	67.2	62.5	—
Heads of Faculty in Professional, Scientific, etc. Occupations								
Per 100 Persons	1931	—	—	—	—	13.4	1.1 ³	
Heads of Faculty in Professional, Scientific, etc. Occupations								
Per 100 Persons	1965	13.2	17.3	18.2	24.2	17.2	—	
Heads of Faculty in Shop-ownership and Peddling								
Per 100 Persons	1931	—	—	—	—	35.9	—	
Heads of Faculty in Shop-ownership and Peddling								
Per 100 Persons	1965	52.4	32.0	31.5	26.7	38.7	—	
Persons Engaged in Agriculture	Per 100 Working Persons	1965				0.6	29.1 ⁴	
Persons Engaged in Commerce	Per 100 Working Persons	1901				61.9	10.0	
Persons Engaged in Commerce	Per 100 Working Persons	1938				43.3	8.2 ³	
Persons Engaged in Commerce	Per 100 Working Persons	1965				56.9	10.0 ⁴	
Persons Engaged in Professional Services								
Per 100 Working Persons	1901					28.0	—	
Persons Engaged in Professional Services								
Per 100 Working Persons	1938					23.7	0.8 ³	
Persons Engaged in Professional Services								
Per 100 Working Persons	1965					22.8	6.2 ⁴	

¹ Illiterates per 100 persons 14 years old or more

² Persons 14 years old or more

³ These figures refer to the 1936 census

⁴ These figures refer to the 1961 census

Sources : For 1965, 1965 survey; for 1901, 1931, 1961, Census of Population; for 1938, Census of persons of "Jewish Race".

3. EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE:

The educational attainment of Italian Jewry reaches a median number of 13 years of study — ranging from 10 years for the Roman-born Jews to 15 for the other Italian-born Jews. It is about twice higher than for the whole Italian urban population.

Younger generation of Italian Jewry shows a tendency towards further increase of their educational attainment (in the universities and other institutions of higher learning), but it should be noted that the younger generations in 1938 to 1945 might have had their higher studies forcibly interrupted by the racial laws and the war.

4. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE:

Since the beginning of this century, Italian Jewry appears to have moved rapidly towards a higher socio-professional level. The initial advantage of the higher educational attainment was possibly the main reason for this. From 1901 to 1938, the traditional commercial professions (shopkeeping, salaried agents, salesmen) decreased substantially although Jews maintained a definite 'over-representation' in these categories; conversely, there was a marked increase in the number of Jews in the liberal professions, public administration, and in the army, a result of the rapid acculturation and identification of Italian Jewry with the Italian society.

After the period of the persecution and the war, this tendency seems to be clearly reversed due, on the one hand, to the industrial development within the Italian society (requiring a large number of qualified technicians, etc.), and on the other hand due to the crisis of the confidence and identification processes within the official institutions of the state. Thus, in the army, public administration and services the proportion of Jews is less than could be expected, while in the professions (including teaching) it is higher.

As a consequence of these trends and the increase of the numerical weight of the Roman-born Jewish population within the Italian Jewry, and because of the particular characteristics of this section of the community, the proportion of Jews in commerce, especially in shopkeeping and peddling increased after the war.

Immigration from abroad also contributed to the apparent stability of the occupational structure of Italian Jewry. A large proportion of the immigrant Jews (who settled mainly in Milan) is engaged in commerce, and to a smaller degree in liberal professions.

By and large it appears that the cumulative effects of the structural changes within two generations were not remarkable.

Table 6
Socio-Professional Structure of the Jewish Families with Head-of-Family Employed
by Place of Birth and Period of Immigration

Place of Birth and Period of Immigration	Professional, Scientific, Teachers, Managers, Academic Employees, Etc.	Shop-owners	Pedlars	Clerks, Salesmen, Blue-Collar Workers, Etc.	Total
Born in Italy	36.2	31.2	10.1	23.4	100.0
Of them: in Rome	21.1	40.0	17.5	21.4	100.0
outside Rome	48.8	22.4	3.8	28.0	100.0
Born in Europe, America, Oceania	48.7	30.0	—	21.3	100.0
Of them: in Western Europe, Germany	50.8	19.0	—	30.2	100.0
Austria, Americas, Oceania	47.8	34.8	—	17.4	100.0
in U.S.S.R., Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania	38.3	33.8	0.4	27.5	100.0
Born in Middle East and North Africa	43.4	14.7	—	41.9	100.0
Of them: in Egypt	33.8	51.3	0.7	14.2	100.0
in Other Countries	49.4	20.5	1.3	28.8	100.0
Immigrated Before 1944	46.4	29.6	—	24.0	100.0
Immigrated 1945-54	32.2	22.4	—	45.4	100.0
Immigrated 1955-65	37.8	31.3	7.2	23.7	100.0
Total					

Source : 1965 survey.

Table 7

1965 — Percentage of Heads of Family, who are in the same or in a different Occupational Status as their Fathers, by Occupational Status and Place of Birth

Place of Birth and Occupational Status Category of the Heads of Family	In the same Occupational Status	In a different Occupational Status	Total
Born in Rome			
Professionals, Administrators, Scientists, Teachers, etc.	47.0	53.0	100.0
Clerks	25.0	75.0	100.0
Shop-owners	74.4	25.6	100.0
Salesmen, Workers	14.8	82.2	100.0
Pedlars	66.2	33.8	100.0
Total	55.9	44.1	100.0
Born in Italy (not in Rome)			
Professionals, Administrators, Scientists, Teachers, etc.	52.5	47.5	100.0
Clerks	25.5	74.5	100.0
Shop-owners	77.4	22.6	100.0
Salesmen, Workers	42.1	57.9	100.0
Pedlars	68.7	31.3	100.0
Total	52.1	47.9	100.0
Born Abroad			
Professionals, Administrators, Scientists, Teachers, etc.	46.4	53.6	100.0
Clerks	29.8	70.2	100.0
Shop-owners	83.3	16.7	100.0
Salesmen, Workers	—	100.0	100.0
Pedlars	—	(100.0)	100.0
Total	51.6	48.4	100.0
Total			
Professionals, Administrators, Scientists, Teachers, etc.	49.5	50.5	100.0
Clerks	26.7	73.3	100.0
Shop-owners	77.1	22.9	100.0
Salesmen, Workers	23.0	77.0	100.0
Pedlars	65.9	34.1	100.0
Total	53.3	46.7	100.0

5. ZIONIST AND PRO-ISRAEL ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS:

The Italian Zionist Federation conducts cultural, pro-Zionist orientated activities among the young people. The most active centres are in Rome and in Milan, but in general the activities of these centres reach only a limited number of people. The Federation is also active in the Jewish schools, e.g. organizes annual trips to Israel.

The Adei-Wizo is the Italian section of WIZO. Local sections are active in many towns where there exist Jewish communities. It organizes fairs, sales, etc. — the income achieved being donated to Israel.

Keren Kayemet Le-Israel and Keren Hayesod are engaged in fund-raising activities by means of special campaigns and by routine ways (trees planting, inscriptions, etc.).

Quite recently "Left for Israel groups" were established in a number of towns by both Jewish and non-Jewish elements. Their aim is to counteract pro-Arab propaganda by some leftist movements (the communist party, PSIUP, as well as extraparliamentary pro-Chinese factions).

Although it does not describe itself as Zionist, the F.G.E.I. (Jewish Youth Federation of Italy) played until recent years a very active role in:

- spreading information about current problems of Israel;
- spreading information about absorption in Israel;
- organizing visits to Israel of university students;
- defining the meaning of Zionism as being actual aliya and contributing a number of olim from amongst its leaders and members.

Many of these activities have been carried out in cooperation with the Jewish Agency and the World Union of Jewish Students.

There exist also Ha-Shomer Ha-Zair and B'nai Akiva groups. Their programme is carried out within the framework of their respective world movements.

6. ALIYA PROPENSITY AND ALIYA POTENTIAL:

There was never a mass aliya from Italy. Even prior to World War II when thousands of Italian Jews lost their positions owing to the discriminatory laws of the fascist government, only a few hundred settled in Israel. Others went to the U.S.A., Latin America, or stayed home waiting for better times.

Immediately after World War II, there was a relatively strong aliya movement from Italy, consisting mainly of Central and East-European refugees, but also of some younger Italian-born Jews who wished to fulfil their Zionist ideals.

In 1966 the number of registered olim from Italy was 66. It increased to 114 by 1967, and 230 in 1968. In 1966 the number of students of Italian origin at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was 5. In the following years it increased to an average of 35-40.

The Italian aliya potential is estimated at some 8,000 (persons aged 15-29, or 25 per cent of the community), though, of course, actual aliya will depend on several factors, such as:

- a suitable organization of work periods in Israel for academic youth;
- encouragement and better information efforts relating to study opportunities in Israel;
- more adaptable information policies on the part of the Agency's shelichim and Israeli diplomatic personnel;
- more encouraging attitude of communal officers toward long staying periods in Israel (for the purpose of study);
- moral and financial support to Jewish youth organizations so that they could attract young people by creating an intellectually stimulating milieu.

Table 8
Jewish Immigrants from Italy to Israel, by Period of Immigration and Sex

Period of Immigration	No.	Period of Immigration	No.	
			Males	Females
1919-23	37	1948 (After May 5)	281	249
1924-31	111	1949	248	253
1932-38	327	1950	78	78
1939-45	784	1951	42	51
1946-48	365	1952	16	25
Total 1919-1948		1953	15	25
(till May 5, 1948)	1,624	1954	14	10
		1955	9	17
		Total 1948-1955	703	708
		Total 1948-1955, M + F		1411
1947-48:		Immigrants from Italy per 1,000 Jews in Italy		27.3
1955:		Immigrants from Italy per 1,000 Jews in Italy		46.9

7. CURRENT RESEARCH AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Current research:

There is no centrally controlled research unit in the community. The few studies which were carried out over the last twenty years were all privately undertaken (mainly university theses.). The most relevant are given here in a chronological order:

1. In 1959, Eugenio Sonnino made a sample study of the young Jews of Rome aged 17 to 25. He analysed their socio-demographic characteristics, attitudes and religious, political and ideological behaviour.

2. In 1963, Adriana Terracina undertook a study of the demographic characteristics of the Jews of Rome on the basis of the file system of the community. Demographic, occupational and geo-statistical cross-tabulations were obtained

3. In 1964 and 1965, a country-wide questionnaire survey was sponsored by the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University and the Jewish Agency under the auspices of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities. Sergio Della Pergola and the present author carried out a detailed study covering 2,983 households, or 25 per cent of Italian Jewry into the demographic, occupational, religious, communal and geographic characteristics of the Italian Jewry. Some of the findings have already been published, and some other are still being processed at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem within the framework of two Ph. D. theses.

4. In 1966 Annarosa Sabatello and Maurizio Piperno with the support of the Centre Communauté in Paris carried out a study on Jewish university students of Rome, analysing their Jewish identity and religious characteristics.

5. In 1967, Sergio Della Pergola and the present author made a questionnaire study of the former leaders of the Jewish Youth Federation of Italy (F.G.E.I.) who were in office from 1948 until 1967. The study analysed the demographic, occupational, attitudinal, religious and ideological characteristics and behaviour of the participants.

6. In 1969 an unpublished sample survey on the integration of the Libyan Jewish refugees in Rome was taken by Bruna Abbina for a university degree in sociology.

7. In 1969, the present author undertook a study on the economic and ecological characteristics of the Jewish firms in Rome in 1938 (just on the eve of the antisemitic enactments in Italy).

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The Unione delle Comunità, individual communities, Hebrew schools, youth movements and other Jewish institutions collect routine data on specific sub-populations (e.g. school enrollment, membership, tax-payers, donors, etc) and these could be considered as sources of information for research purposes.

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Paul Glikson

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. SIZE AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION:

The Jewish population of the United States is estimated at some 5,869,000. Tables No. 1 and No. 2 show respectively the distribution by state and by region:

Table 1
Jewish Population in the United States, 1968

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population	Estimated Jewish Per Cent of Total
Alabama	9,465	3,558,000	0.27
Alaska	190	274,000	0.07
Arizona	20,485	1,663,000	1.23
Arkansas	3,065	1,986,000	0.15
California	693,085	19,300,000	3.59
Colorado	25,140	2,043,000	1.23
Connecticut	103,730	2,963,000	3.50
Delaware	8,540	534,000	1.60
District of Columbia	15,000	809,000	1.85
Florida	182,280	6,151,000	3.08
Georgia	26,310	4,568,000	0.58
Hawaii	1,000	780,000	0.13
Idaho	500	703,000	0.07
Illinois	283,180	10,991,000	2.58
Indiana	24,385	5,061,000	0.48
Iowa	7,500	2,774,000	0.27
Kansas	3,515	2,293,000	0.15
Kentucky	11,200	3,220,000	0.35
Louisiana	15,630	3,726,000	0.42
Maine	8,185	976,000	0.84
Maryland	177,115	3,754,000	4.72
Massachusetts	259,635	5,469,000	4.75
Michigan	97,995	8,739,000	1.12
Minnesota	33,565	3,647,000	0.92
Mississippi	4,015	2,344,000	0.17
Missouri	80,685	4,625,000	1.74
Montana	615	693,000	0.09
Nebraska	8,100	1,439,000	0.56
Nevada	2,380	449,000	0.53
New Hampshire	4,260	702,000	0.61
New Jersey	387,220	7,093,000	5.46
New Mexico	3,645	1,006,000	0.36
New York	2,521,755	18,078,000	13.95

Continued on page 85

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population	Estimated Jewish Per Cent of Total
North Carolina	9,450	5,122,000	0.18
North Dakota	1,285	627,000	0.20
Ohio	160,715	10,588,000	1.52
Oklahoma	6,480	2,520,000	0.26
Oregon	9,045	2,008,000	0.45
Pennsylvania	443,595	11,728,000	3.78
Rhode Island	23,000	914,000	2.52
South Carolina	7,285	2,664,000	0.27
South Dakota	520	656,000	0.08
Tennessee	16,710	3,975,000	0.42
Texas	65,520	10,977,000	0.60
Utah	1,650	1,034,000	0.18
Vermont	2,330	425,000	0.55
Virginia	37,350	4,595,000	0.81
Washington	15,485	3,276,000	0.47
West Virginia	4,760	1,802,000	0.26
Wisconsin	32,295	4,225,000	0.77
Wyoming	710	315,000	0.23
Total United States	5,868,555	199,861,000	2.94

Table 2
Distribution of United States Jewish Population by Region, 1968

Region	Total Population	Per Cent Distribution	Jewish Population	Per Cent Distribution
Northeast	48,350,000	24.2	3,753,710	64.0
New England	11,450,000	5.7	401,140	6.8
Middle Atlantic	36,900,000	18.5	3,352,570	57.1
North Central	55,660,000	27.8	734,190	12.5
East North Central	39,599,000	19.8	599,020	10.2
West North Central	16,061,000	8.0	135,170	2.3
South	62,307,000	31.2	607,175	10.3
South Atlantic	30,001,000	15.0	475,090	8.1
East South Central	13,098,000	6.6	41,390	0.7
West South Central	19,208,000	9.6	90,695	1.5
West	33,545,000	16.8	773,930	13.2
Mountain	7,907,000	4.0	55,125	0.9
Pacific	25,638,000	12.8	718,805	12.2
United States	199,861,000	100.0	5,869,005	100.0

Jewish population in the States is predominantly urban: over 96 per cent of the Jews resides in urban or urbanized areas, and some 88 percent in urbanized areas with a population of 25,000 and over. Nearly half of it is concentrated in Greater New York and Los Angeles Metropolitan area.

2. AGE STRUCTURE:

The only reliable source of information on the age distribution of Jews in the U.S.A. is the 1957 census survey⁽¹⁾ from which the following Table No. 3 is derived:

Table 3
Age Distribution of Civilian Total, Total White, and Jewish Populations

Age	Total Population	Per Cent	White Population	Per Cent	Jewish Population	Per Cent
Under 14	48,931,000	29.1	43,177,000	28.3	1,132,000	22.6
14-19	13,960,000	8.3	12,476,000	8.2	350,000	7.0
20-24	9,743,000	5.8	8,699,000	5.7	233,000	4.7
25-34	23,437,000	13.9	21,165,000	13.9	660,000	13.2
35-44	23,113,000	13.7	21,093,000	13.9	729,000	14.6
45-64	34,399,000	20.4	31,673,000	20.8	1,393,000	27.8
65 and over	14,681,000	8.7	13,750,000	9.0	503,000	10.1
Total	168,264,000	100.0	152,033,000	100.0	5,000,000	100.0

The most marked differences in the age structure between the Jewish and total white population is in the groups under 14 years of age where Jewish population is relatively smaller, and in the 45-64 groups where it is proportionally greater. This aging structure reflects the past demographic processes. Communal surveys and studies conducted since these data were obtained indicate that the differences have been accentuated: Table No. 4 shows the age distribution of the Jews in eight cities: the proportion of Jewish population in several five-year age groups between 40 and 64 is consistently higher than that of the total white population. It also shows that while the 10-14 year age group is the largest in the five-year age groups, the 5 to 9 year group is smaller, and the youngest group, children aged 4 and under, is even smaller.

⁽¹⁾ See selected bibliography

Table 4
Age Distributions of Jewish Populations as Reported in Eight Community Studies

Age Group	Per Cent								1960	
	1961	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	Total	White
	Trenton	South Bend	Los Angeles	San Francisco	New Orleans	Minneapolis	Worcester	Urban		
0-4	5.8	7.2	10.0	6.3	11.1	11.7	8.1	10.8		
5-9	9.4	10.0	10.4	17.2	11.4		9.9	9.8		
10-14	12.6	12.8	8.7		7.9	29.9	9.1	8.7		
15-19	7.3	7.8	8.4	4.9	5.7		6.8	7.0		
20-24	3.8	3.8	3.5	5.9	3.1		4.3	6.1		
25-29	6.8	3.5	5.0		5.4		4.7	6.2		
30-34	5.0	4.9	8.0		7.5	19.6	5.7	6.8		
35-39	6.3	7.2	8.6	21.8	9.5		7.1	7.2		
40-44	8.1	8.1	8.1		7.8		7.9	6.7		
45-49	7.6	8.4	7.0	23.0	6.1	26.4	7.9	6.3		
50-54	7.5	6.1	6.5		5.5		6.8	5.6		
55-59	6.4	5.4	5.2		4.7		5.6	5.0		
60-64	4.8	4.6	4.4	5.7	4.4		4.6	4.2		
65-69	5.5	3.5	4.1		3.4		4.4	3.6		
70-74	3.6	2.5	2.1		2.4		2.6	2.7		
75-79	2.5		1.1	13.3		11.9	1.4			
80-84	1.1		0.2		4.0		0.9			3.1
85-89	0.1	2.2					0.2			
90-94	0.2						0.1			
95 and Over	—						—			
Unknown	1.0	1.4	0.6	1.8	0.1	0.5	1.6	—		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Median Age	38.2	34.7	33.6	40.2	34.6	31.2	35.4	31.0		

3. EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE:

American Jewry is characterised by a very high level of educational attainment. Table No. 5 based on special tabulations of survey material from the National Opinion Research Center shows the educational composition of household heads, by religious affiliation 1955-1956:

Table 5

Education: highest grade of school completed	Total population	Jewish population
Elementary school		
0-4 years	8.9	8.3
5-6 years	7.8	4.2
7-8 years	24.0	13.4
High School		
1-3 years	20.2	13.2
4 years	21.1	27.8
College		
1-3 years	9.6	10.9
4 or more years	8.4	22.3

A number of Jewish-sponsored communal studies carried out in recent years indicate also a very high educational level, e.g.:

Table 6

Educational Level attained by Jewish and total White Urban Populations

Educational level attained	Rochester		Trenton		Los Angeles	
	Jewish 1961	Total White 1960	Jewish 1961	Total White 1960	Jewish 1959	Total White 1960
Elementary school graduation or less	21.1	33.0	14.3	39.3	} 25.2	25.5
High school attendance	11.9	22.8	7.4	19.0		
High school graduation	29.8	25.3	32.1	22.9	} 51.4	29.2
College attendance	14.3	9.2	19.3	8.7		
College graduation or higher	22.8	9.7	26.8	10.1	23.4	10.1

Table No. 7 summarizes the occupational structure of six Jewish communities on the basis of recently conducted surveys:

Table 7

Occupation	New York City (1963-1965)		Providence (1963)		Boston (1965)		Milwaukee (1964-65)	Springfield (1965)		Los Angeles (1966) Household Heads
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	
Professionals	25.7	23.8	20.7	17.9	32.0	32.0	22.0	24.6	26.0	35.4
Managers & Proprietors	28.1	11.5	40.7	12.7	37.0	9.0	35.0	39.2	8.8	23.5
Clerical Workers	19.3	43.8	4.5	41.5	3.0	46.0	26.0	3.6	35.5	20.8
Sales Workers			20.9	18.3	12.0	7.0		23.3	16.1	
Craftsmen	12.9	2.3	6.8	0.4	14.0	6.0	15.0	4.1	1.9	11.8
Operatives	10.4	13.1	4.2	5.2				2.6	4.1	4.1
Service Workers	3.6	5.4	0.8	1.5				1.2	4.4	3.8
Labourers			0.3	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.7			
Not Reported			1.1	2.4			0.8	2.9		

4. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE:

The occupational structure of the Jewish population in the U.S.A. is characterised by a high percentage of 'white collar' employment, particularly managerial and proprietary. The following Table No. 8 based on special tabulations of survey data from National Opinion Research Centre, shows the occupational composition of household heads, by religious affiliation:

Table 8

Occupation	Total population	Jewish population
Professional and technical	10.0	17.6
Farmers and farm managers	10.8	1.3
Managers, officials and proprietors	12.6	36.0
Clerical workers	6.4	9.6
Sales workers	4.8	15.0
Craftsmen	19.4	7.2
Operatives	20.3	12.0
Service workers	7.6	—
Farm Labourers	2.0	—
Labourers	6.1	1.3

When these data are further analysed by age-groups and by generational status, considerable differences do emerge, but the general trend is unmistakable. However, it should be noted that the sample data available at present are much too small to permit a full control even of education as a general factor in explaining the broad occupational groups. It would seem that educational attainment is a much more powerful factor in determining occupation than religion. If we compare Jewish and non-Jewish populations similar with regard to the ecological and cultural characteristics, the differentials in the occupational structure are much less pronounced, and may even disappear altogether.

5. ZIONIST AND PRO-ISRAEL ORGANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS:

- America-Israel Cultural Foundation, Inc., New York
- American Committee for Boys Town Jerusalem, New York
- American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science, Inc., New York
- American Friends of the Tel-Aviv University, Inc., New York
- American Friends of Religious Freedom in Israel, New York
- American Israel Public Affairs Committee, New York
- American-Israel Lighthouse, Inc., New York
- American Jewish League for Israel, New York
- American Physicians Fellowship, Inc. for the Israel Medical Association, New York
- American Red Mogen David for Israel, Inc., New York
- American Society for Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Inc., New York
- American Zionist Council, New York
- American Zionist Youth Foundation, Inc., New York
- American Zionist Youth Council, New York
- American Student Zionist Organization, New York
- Americans for a Music Library in Israel, Chicago, Ill.

Ampal-American Israel Corporation, New York
Bar-Ilan University in Israel, New York
Brit Trumpeldor, Inc., Betar, New York
Dror Young Zionist Organization, Inc., New York
Federated Council of Jewish Institutions, New York
Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc., New York
— Hashachar, New York
Hagdud Haivri League (American Veterans of the Jewish Legion), New York
Hashomer Hatzair, Inc., New York
— Americans for Progressive Israel, New York
— Progressive Zionist League, New York
— Zionist Youth Movement, New York
Hatzaad Harishon, New York
Hebrew University-Technion Joint Maintenance Appeal, New York
Theodor Herzl Foundation, New York
— Theodor Herzl Institute, New York
— Herzl Press, New York
Israel Music Foundation, New York
Jewish Agency — American Section, New York
— Zionist Archives and Library
Jewish National Fund, Inc. — Keren Kayemet LeIsrael, New York
Keren-Or, Inc., New York
Mizrachi Women's Organization of America, New York
National Committee for Labor Israel (Israel Histadrut Campaign), New York
— American Trade Union Council for Israel, New York
National Young Judea, New York
PEC Israel Economic Corporation, New York
Palestine Symphonic Choir Project, Indianapolis, Ind.
Poale Agudath Israel of America, Inc., New York
— Ezra-Irgun Hanoar Hachareidi, New York
— League of Religious Settlements — Chever Hakibbutzim, New York
— Women's Division, New York
Poale Zion — United Labor Zionist Organization of America, New York
— Ichud Habonim Labor Zionist Youth, New York
— League for Labor Israel, New York
— Pioneer Women, the Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America, Inc.
Rassco Israel Corporation and Rassco Financial Corporation, New York
Religious Zionists of America, New York
— Bnei Akiva of North America, New York
— Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi, New York
— Mizrachi Hatzair, New York
— Mizrachi Palestine Fund, New York
— Women's Organization of Hapoel Hamizrachi, New York
Society of Israel Philatelists, New York
State of Israel Bonds Organization, New York
United Charity Institutions of Jerusalem, Inc., New York
United Jewish Appeal, Inc., New York
United Labor Zionist Party (Achdut Haavoda-Poale Zion), New York
United States Committee — Sports for Israel, Inc., New York
Women's League for Israel, Inc., New York
World Confederation of General Zionists, New York
Zebulun Israel Seafaring Society, Inc., New York
Zionist Organization of America, New York

6. ALIYA POTENTIAL AND ALIYA PROPENSITY:

There are no statistical data on which one could base even the roughest estimate of the aliya potential in the U.S.A. There seemed to have been a steep increase in the aliya after 1967, and many elaborate plans were evolved to attract active professional aliya, but the problem requires a thorough socio-psychological and politico-economic analysis which has not yet been undertaken, and it would be only misleading to quote merely conjectural and unreliable figures.

CURRENT RESEARCH

Professor Sidney Goldstein, a distinguished social scientist, examined recently the state of the current research into the socio-demographic problems of American Jewry. He writes⁽²⁾: "Increasing numbers of individual Jewish communities have come to recognize that sound social planning for the future must be based on careful evaluation of the size and characteristics of their Jewish populations. The period since 1960 has seen a sharp increase in the number of such community studies, a significant rise in the level of sophistication with which the data have been collected and analyzed, and a trend toward inclusion of larger communities among those for which data are available. Moreover, a strong tendency, in part resulting from the centralized leadership given by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, toward adoption of fairly standard interview schedules results in considerably greater comparability among the studies, thereby permitting more insights into the pervasiveness of certain demographic characteristics among communities of different size, location, and age." Among a much larger number of communities for which local surveys have been conducted in the 1960's are:

- South Bend, Indiana (1961)
- Trenton, New Jersey (1961)
- Rochester, New York (1961)
- Providence, Rhode Island (1963)
- Detroit, Michigan (1963)
- Camden, New Jersey (1964)
- Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1965)
- Los Angeles, California (1965)
- Boston, Massachusetts (1965) (67)
- Springfield, Massachusetts (1966) (85)

Among studies in process or authorized are ones for Flint, Michigan; Baltimore, Maryland; Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, California; and Columbus, Ohio.

Moreover, a number of the completed and current studies are not restricted to the specific cities mentioned but encompass the larger metropolitan areas, thereby providing comparative information on the size and structure of the

⁽²⁾ *Jewish Population Studies: 1961-1968*, edited by U. O. Schmeltz and P. Glikson, Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem and Institute of Jewish Affairs, London 1970.

Jewish populations living in the central cities and the suburbs, and permitting more refined analyses of the social, economic, and demographic differences between older and newer areas of settlement.

Although varying somewhat in specific information collected, most of the recent studies included analyses of the following: size and distribution, age and sex composition, generation studies, household size and composition, marriage patterns and fertility, educational and occupational composition, migration status, Jewish identification, synagogue membership and attendance, organization membership (Jewish and non-Jewish), use of Jewish community services, Jewish education, intermarriage, and religious practices in the home. Indicative of the greater sophistication in analysis, increasing attention is given to the explanatory rôle of age, generation status, and other key variables in accounting for differentials in behaviour, identification, and attitudes, thereby permitting greater insights into past and future trends.

The major development to date on the American Jewish demographic scene is the plan developed for a U.S. National Jewish Population Study. Sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, and directed by a Technical Advisory Committee, the study is estimated to cost approximately \$450,000, raised from a number of Jewish federations and a small number of private donors. It is designed in part to fill the vacuum created by the absence of a question on religion in the decennial census and in part to provide insights on a national level on important questions of Jewish identification. Study design and sample development are proceeding. The sample will be multi-stage, employing a variety of stratifications, including stratification by estimated Jewish community size, by intra-community Jewish population density, and by "likelihood of Jewishness". Guided by consistent attention to representativeness, it will draw on master lists prepared by local Jewish federations, particularly in Jewish low density areas, augmented as required, by area probability sampling procedures. It is expected that all Jewish communities of 50,000 or over will be represented in the sample, half of those with Jewish populations between 10,000 and 50,000 and lower ratios of those communities with under 10,000. The latter constitute in all only 11 percent of the total U.S. Jewish population.

Content of the interview schedule has not yet been set. It is agreed, however, that in addition to the basic data on demographic, social, and economic characteristics, considerable attention will be paid to the topic of Jewish identity and to attitudes relating to Jewishness.

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ABSORPTION POSSIBILITIES FOR SELF-EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS

Aliya is a function of information about Israel. A prospective immigrant visualizes the living conditions in the country to which he is about to immigrate prior to making a final decision in the matter. S.N. Eisenstadt discussed this theme in his "Absorption of Immigration": "Almost every immigrant arrives with a specific image for the country and with a list of expectations" (1).

The information which delineates Israel's image and hence influences the decision regarding aliya consists of ideological, political-social as well as economic parts. The economic delineation must provide data on the possibilities of absorption based on occupation, employment preferences or investment interests of the potential immigrants.

Information on absorption possibilities from the economic standpoint provided heretofore has been generally limited to a more or less up-to-date listings of employment opportunities and job vacancies, compiled by the Employment Authority (Labor Bureaus and Employment of Academicians Bureaus). This is a short-range medium of information intended solely for skilled employees, but it ignores the needs of the self-employed.

This indicates that the first condition toward the advancement of economic information is to extend it to a point where it can answer the needs of self-employed. However, even regarding absorption of skilled employees it is desirable to provide information for longer periods of time, in accordance with the time-table set by the immigrant for consummation of his aliya.

The Employment Authority, which serves the current needs of the labor market, is not geared to provide information about jobs open in the future. This task is also beyond the power of the Manpower Planning Authority set up by the Labour Ministry, which provides information on a macro-economic scale. The matter under discussion concerns specific detailed proposals relevant to each worker individually, in accordance with his skill in a specific enterprise at a specified time, his wage grading, housing conditions and environmental factors, from the standpoint of the social and cultural infra-structure (the character of the neighborhood vis-a-vis the adults and the level of schooling for the youngsters). It is imperative to set up an agency for the task of gathering information about job opportunities for immigrant employees at various times, aligned with the dates set for their aliya. This information would consist of data concerning actual plans

for expansion of enterprises, erection of new plants and programming courses of education for town-planning, establishing new settlements, development areas, kibbutzim, etc.

THE MEANING OF ABSORBING THE SELF-EMPLOYED

In contrast with information about jobs in the offing for employees (medium or long-range), necessarily based on authentic facts regarding the investment plans of specific enterprises, the information about the absorption possibilities for self-employed must rest on the recognition of trends regarding geographical regions, specific neighborhoods within the municipal boundaries of the large cities, and the various branches of industry. Economic absorption of the self-employed implies securing their needs from the standpoint of new services, the erection of new plants (chiefly in crafts and small industry), new commercial centers, etc. Obviously it is more difficult to obtain information regarding sources of livelihood for self-employed than for future sources of livelihood for employees. Future jobs for employees are but the result of the implementation of existing plans for new investments or expansion of previous investments. Sources of livelihood for the self-employed, on the other hand, emanate from the creation of new investment programs, necessarily based on data and forecasts which must also be in line with the promotion of the economy in general.

An example of what happens when no guidance is available to self-employed immigrants is found in a survey of immigrant absorption conducted in South Zahala — Neveh Sharett in June of 1968⁽²⁾. For the purpose of the survey a sampling was taken of 27 families of immigrants from East European countries, who had been given housing in South Zahala. Of the 27 bread-winners, 7 were without work at the time of the survey. All of these unemployed were self-employed in the following occupations: cooper, bakery owner, furrier, shoemaker, cutter, butcher, electrician and barber. For at least five of these occupations there was at that time a crying need in other parts of the country. Therefore, it was not the objective economic situation in the country but rather the absence of an authoritative counseling agency which caused the unemployment among the immigrants living in South Zahala.

At the same time, if we are dealing not only with current information (for example, that in a certain place there is an opportunity for another pharmacy or that an electrician is needed) but also with information about a small industrial plant about to be set up etc., there arises the question as to whether it is worthwhile in a modern economy to encourage retail trade or the erection of workshops and small manufacturing plants. Such questions are not restricted only to the case of self-employed immigrants, nor are they germane only to the Israeli brand of economics. These questions engage economists in many countries. The Brazilian Institute of Science "Prognos" conducted a study on this subject in Western European countries in 1968⁽³⁾. This study revealed that whereas production goes on in large series volumes in commodities - producing and similar plants, the chemical industry shows an opposite trend, based on investment calculations. Also, there are problems, especially in the final stages of production, which small plants can tackle with greater success than larger ones. In the commodities and spare parts branches the competition is between the small and the medium plants.

There is a new thesis regarding the vertical development of industry, rather than horizontal, as had been assumed previously, i.e., division of industrial production processes, with each part being carried out by another independent plant acting as sub-contractor. A whole literature has arisen about this subject in the U.S.A. of an empirical nature and, correspondingly, in theoretical articles publish-

ed by various agencies in Europe. Studies have revealed that of the income derived from industrial patents used after the Second World War, more than half was earned by small plants whose investments in research and development constitutes only 5% of American investments toward this end. This is explained by the fact that most of the big plants produce for safe markets and are therefore reluctant about using new inventions, while the small plants, on the other hand, are seeking ways of penetrating markets by means of new products. Mr. S. Freier, deputy-director of the Weizmann Institute of Science, lists a set of conditions *a priori* for the development of science-based industries in Israel, among them the assignment of authority to institutions of higher learning, sources of financing to extend the risk period, and dynamic management for these enterprises (6).

At any rate, thanks to the initiative taken by the Weizmann Institute, science-based industry has appeared on the map of industrial Israel as a new factor. Foreign industrial enterprises which have established subsidiaries in Israel will certainly contribute additional impetus to local industries in these branches, and their influence on Israeli industry in general is bound to show itself in the near future. The development of science-based industries in Israel will doubtlessly induce Israeli technicians and scientists, now regularly employed in the United States, to return home, knowing that in Israel they will find challenges similar to those offered by American industry. The science-based enterprises will easily be able to absorb the returning experts, as managers or consultants, and will at the same time gain the confidence of the foreign parent industries, where the Israeli experts, or some of them, had received their expertise and will now be working in Israeli subsidiaries.

As far as science-based industries are concerned, their future is envisioned even in industrialized countries, as small plants. The monthly *Analyse et Prevision*, published in Paris as part of the *Futuribles series*(7) a prognostication study was published under the title "Business 1985". It says: "This is exactly the situation in certain highly science-based industries, in which small and medium-size plants proved their worth... nothing reflects this phenomenon in more concrete form than the growth of *le demi cercle d'or* (the Golden Crescent), as the New York *Times* calls it—the broad avenue which forms an arc around the block of buildings in Boston (Cambridge), on the fringe of which are the buildings of no fewer than 700 enterprises, most of them erected over the past 15 years by private entrepreneurs, generally of limited means, the necessary capital having been provided by Boston banks."

WORKSHOPS AND SMALL INDUSTRY PLANTS

Of late, the growth and expansion of small industry and workshops in the developed countries of the West has become the subject of treatises in the scientific literature, which in principle distinguishes between the various types of small industry and the crafts. The first, the conventional and traditional, is based on manual labor, where the employees are chiefly the owners, and their families, resulting in patriarchal relationship between the owners and the hired hands. The other prototype of small industry and the crafts is based on the modern approaches to production problems; it is operated along industrial systems, with a good deal of mechanization and a minimum of manual labor. A third prototype of small industry and crafts is the plant which has begun to replace manual labor with machinery.

Despite the differences in the structure of the small industry and crafts prototypes, they have one factor in common—the expertise and active participation of the owner of the plant in its management, from the standpoint of both skill

and organization. The expertise factor has made a decisive contribution to the crystallization of new formats in the division of labor in the economy. Each prototype of small industry and crafts has its own sphere of operations. The modern type of small industry and crafts produces merchandise and services which are marketed via the accepted channels of big industry; the traditional type of small industry and crafts, on the other hand, produces luxury items intended for the discriminating, who are prepared to pay the price, or furnishes exclusive services.

"The workshops and small industrial plants in Israel," says a publication of the Planning Division of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry⁽⁸⁾, "play a vital and important role in the economic activity of the country. A modern, well-organized and mechanized economy cannot exist without small industry and workshops. If small industry and crafts are to be aided in streamlining organization and technical and financial operation, it is only because this sector must be assisted in playing its role in the economy to the fullest extent." It is estimated that small industry and crafts account for 90%-95% of the total production units operating in industry and artisanship; these plants employ close to 40% of all employees. In certain branches of production the small plants produce more than the general average of the larger industrial plants and shops (75% in the leather and leather products industry, 70% in the clothing industry, 60% in wood and carpentry, 50% in metals). The small plants are showing considerable activity even in production branches which call for substantial investment in mechanization and knowhow; they constitute 15% in the basic metals and pipes branch, a similar proportion in the chemicals branch, about 30% in electrical equipment and electronics, about 25% in mining and quarrying and the same percentage in non-ferrous minerals and rubber and plastics branches. The small plants are capable to compete with large ones in the home market and in foreign markets as well.

"Another characteristic of the artisan branches is the relationship between wages and the added value credited to the worker. Figures shown by the survey of industry indicate that, in the artisan branches, wages in small plants account for a lower percentage of the added value than they do in the added value in large plants. This fact can serve as an indicator (but not at all as decisive proof, in view of the limitations of the figures) to the effect that an IL 1 paid in wages is more effective in the small plant. This may stem from a more efficient policy in the small plant or from greater efficiency in production," adds the Planning Division report.

The economy of small industrial countries is characterized by a medium range expenditure for capital services and unskilled labor wages, and by relatively low expenditure on technological knowhow. This gives these countries a relative advantage in their ability to compete in foreign markets. In his research work on location of industry and its competitive capacity, Lee Hirsch⁽⁷⁾ refers to Holland and Israel as being countries likely to gain advantage from exportation. His reference is to the electronics industry and commodities for the high-level discriminating taste.

Israel's small industry and crafts plants are concentrated in the larger cities. A manpower survey in Tel-Aviv-Jaffa⁽⁸⁾ notes that 31% of all those working in the city are employed in the industrial and crafts branches, 30% in public and personal services, 20% in commerce and banking, and 19% in the other occupations. In the period of 1961-1968, the number employed in the three main branches in the city (industry, services, banking and commerce) grew by more than one-third.

The proportion of the self-owned enterprise in commerce and services is infinitely greater than in industry. Although lately there has been a trend toward the modernization of commerce by way of department stores and self-service chains, private wholesail and retail trade still accounts decisively for the activity in marketing channels. In farming, as well, the recent trend is toward the family operation, which is particularly effective in the growing of fresh farm produce for export (flowers, strawberries and other crops under plastic). The independent farmer has a substantial share in the development of economic branches which require considerable expertise and relatively high investment.

IMMIGRATION—A SPUR TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL INDUSTRY AND THE CRAFTS

The growth of the tiny, small and medium industrial plant in Israel is substantially affected by the immigration factor, hence its major role in the absorption planning for the new immigration. This fact is explained chiefly by the occupational disposition of the immigrants. Statistical data concerning the occupations of the new immigrants in their countries of origin reveal that, of the 18,087 immigrants and settling tourists in 1968, 172 were engineers and surveyors, 52 worked in the natural sciences, 36 were administrative managers, 625 were merchants, salesmen and agents, 151 worked in transport and communications, 100 were in construction, mining and quarrying, 52 worked in textiles, 572 in clothing, 137 in leather, 162 in wood, 35 in metals, 291 in machinery, 126 in precision tools, 190 in electrical fields and 85 in printing and book binding^(*).

It is not by chance that the aforesaid occupational disposition fits in general into the occupational structure which characterizes diaspora Jewry. According to Dr. P. Glikson ("The Occupational Structure of Diaspora Jewry")⁽²⁰⁾, 20.3% of American Jewish males engaged in occupations and 15.5% of the women were classified as technicians and members of the free professions. 8.9% of the men and 11.2% of the women as production workers. Moreover, 35.3% of the men and 8.9% of the women were classified as managers, supervisors and owners, meaning that the largest group of American Jews immigrating to Israel would have to be absorbed chiefly in the self-employed sector of the economy. A similar situation exists in Canada and South Africa. As for the Jewish community in the Latin American countries, some 10.7% of the Jewish population has been engaged in farming, forestry and fishing, 22.1% in industry and crafts, and the other 67.2% in commerce, banking, public administration and services.

The development program of the Israeli economy, as worked out by the Government, set for itself two prime targets: (1) a substantial increase in the economic output and in internal resources, so as to cover growing public demand and (2) an extension and variegation of production and its rise to a higher technological level so as to increase output in the export branches and thus improve the balance of payments. These goals also involve augmenting the labor force employed in the economy. This augmentation would be derived partly from natural population growth and partly from immigration.

The implementation of these goals calls for a substantial investment of money. The necessary financing would come partly from internal economic accumulation and partly from imported capital. In this, capital brought in by immigrants is of considerable importance, in that such capital transfers increase the inventory of free capital in the Israeli economy. We are therefore bound to utilize to the fullest the human and financial resources which are added to our national economy by virtue of immigration. Thus, the diversion of immigrants to economic activity which

is based on the expertise factor becomes a matter of prime importance. Small industry and crafts — the small enterprise in commerce, in services, the family farm unit, which derive a relatively higher added value from the knowhow and efficiency factor in the operation of their production — are likely to form a most desirable sphere of absorption.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRATION TO THE REALIZATION OF ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

The continued growth of the Israeli economy contains possibilities of economic absorption of new immigrants. As for the format of this economic growth, it is a matter of public record that we intend to expand it not only from the physical (quantitative) aspect but also to direct it toward higher qualitative levels. The new immigration can make a decisive contribution toward the implementation of these plans. In order to utilize the knowhow brought to us by the new immigration, we shall have to find the proper formats which would make it possible to activate those with the knowhow within the economic framework consisting chiefly of small plants which are not in the position to employ experts. The experts who come to us will therefore have to sell their knowhow on the open market, as self-employed functioning in the economy. They will offer knowhow and style as well in all branches of engineering, all types of product design, guidance in packaging, market surveys, production engineering, electronic computer programming, etc. — all of these being occupations which characterize modern expertise in a science-based economy. These offer possibilities for the absorption potential, to be realized through an absorption program which would be able to assess correctly the new facts now evolving in the Israeli economy, on the one hand, and from the impact of the time element on the process of immigration, on the other. We shall have to coordinate the readiness to immigrate with the demand for the establishment of independent enterprises, now on the rise in the developing Israeli economy.

This requires the establishment of means of information capable of directing the manpower derived from immigration, and the sources of capital in accordance with the development program. The study of the immigration of self-employed and the economy is intended to put together the desired economic model. In doing this, we shall have to examine carefully the methodology used in constructing and operating this model, out of the awareness that those engaged in aliya will have to use this model in their work for quite a long period of time. We shall have to compile information about short-range planning, on the one hand, and long-range planning, on the other, so as to furnish the model with a fixed format capable of receiving new data, from time to time, to conform with the changing circumstances which comprise the economic reality in Israel. This economic model must take into consideration Government planning (the national economic development program), the development plans of local authorities and those of the private sector.

It should be noted that this model, along with all the information which it will contain, will be able to help the absorption of employed immigrants as well. It is natural that employment services should relate only to help being sought by existing enterprises; still, information concerning plans for the erection of new enterprises will expand the knowledgeability about employment opportunities for job-holders as well.

CHAPTER I

GOALS SOUGHT BY ISRAEL'S ECONOMY DURING 1971-1975

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The absorption of self-employed in the Israeli economy, as a subject for study, is being approached from the pragmatic viewpoint. The purpose of the study is to describe the possibilities offered by the Israeli economy for the contributions which the self-employed are likely to make to its further development, in this age of the modernization of the world economy in its totality. Toward this end, there has been gathered material which discusses the goals toward which the Israeli economy is striving, as published in the Development Program for the National Economy 1971-1975 (General Planning Authority, November 1969).¹¹

The following are the main goals which the economy is attempting to attain:

1. Continuation of the growth progress of the Israeli economy, utilizing the means of production available to it.
2. Reduction of the dependence of the Israeli economy on the importation of capital from abroad.
3. Ensuring production capacity for the Israeli economy, for the next decade, to enable swift rate of growth for the second half of the 'seventies, as well.
4. Narrowing the social gap.
5. Continuation of the process of population dispersal.

These goals should be viewed against the background of the tough-to-crack problems with which the Israeli economy will have to wrestle in the coming years. Rising defense costs will affect the structure of the economy and the allocation of resources; exportation will have to be increased in order to improve the balance of payments; the structure of skilled manpower will have to be changed and adapted to the vicissitudes in the economy. It is clear that willingness to overcome these problems limits the capacity of increasing the economic well-being of the populace.

Fresh initiative within the economy will be required for the achievement of these goals. Increase in production volume and quality will be determined in no small measure by further expansion of existing enterprises and the establishment of new enterprises, founded by the self-employed in the economy. Establishment of these enterprises will come about by generating initiative within the long-established community as well as on the part of immigrants intending to come to Israel in the future.

The rate of growth of the national economy is determined by several interdependent factors:

1. Growth in the size of the means of production — labor and capital.
2. Growth in productivity.
3. Developed demand for the national product, in all of its components.

The size of the labor force in an economy depends mainly on the size of the population and its demographic structure, but it is markedly affected also by the level of economic activity and the security situation (the length of reserves and regular service).

The Economic Planning Authority selected a framework which set for itself the following goals:

1. Reduction of dependence on the importation of capital from abroad, by cutting down the excess of imports from \$ 940 million in 1970 to about \$ 680 million in 1975;

2. Accelerated growth, at an annual rate of 7.5%;
3. Full employment, to the extent of 96.5% of the total civilian labor force.

The Economic Planning Authority estimates the resources available to the economy and their utilization, during 1971-1975, as follows:

Sources and Uses During 1968-1975 (IL. Millions, at 1968 Prices)

	1968	1969	1970	1975
Gross national product	14,160	15,635	17,090	24,540
Excess of imports	2,435	3,065	3,290	2,380
Total sources for economy	16,585	18,700	20,380	26,920
Private demand	9,289	10,120	10,930	13,710
Public demand	4,351	5,000	5,700	7,625
Gross investment	2,945	3,580	3,750	5,585

Breakdown of Uses of Product and Product Increase During 1968-1975 (in %)

	1968	1969	1970	1975
The national product	100%	100%	100%	100%
Less imports excess, current account	-17.2	-19.6	-19.2	- 9.7
Private demand	65.6	64.7	64.0	55.9
Public Needs	30.7	32.0	33.4	31.1
Gross investment	20.7	22.9	21.9	22.8

MANPOWER

Israel's population is forecast to reach 3,362,000 by 1975, an addition of about 400,000 souls to the 1970 figure (average annual growth of 2.6%). The population growth forecast in these years is based on two assumptions:

1. The number of immigrants arriving during the years 1971-1975 will come to 175,000 persons.

2. Natural increase will amount to 16.4 per thousand in the Jewish population and 37.8 per thousand in the non-Jewish population.

The volume of immigration determines population growth and, thereby, the size of the manpower available and the amount of the local demand. Immigration has a major bearing on investments in housing and on the activity of the construction branch in the economy. Immigration also has a decisive effect on the quality of manpower. The heads of the immigrant families have occupations which they acquired abroad, at no expense to the Israeli economy. The economy must take into consideration the occupations and the training of the immigrants and, as the situation may demand, prepare a program of switching occupations in order to assure their positive functioning in the economy, as self-employed or as wage earners.

Population Forecast, 1970 and 1975 (In Thousands)

	1970	1975	+	Growth Rate in %
Total population	2,962	3,362	400	2.6
Jewish population	2,536	2,846	310	2.3
Non-Jewish population	426	516	90	3.9
Labor age population	2,032	2,300	268	2.5

The population of working age will grow somewhat more rapidly than will the general population, as the result of expected changes in the demographic structure. There will be a slight rise in the rate of overall participation in the

labor force, from 51% in 1970 to about 52% in 1975, as a result of the level of economic activity and the swift growth rate. Persons belonging to the civilian labor force will number 1,196,000, an addition of 160,000 workers, representing an average annual growth of 2.9%.

Production per worker will grow by 4.5%. The average rise in per-worker production reflects a growth of about 7% annually in per-worker production in industry, about 5% in agriculture and a more moderate rise in the services branches. This growth calls for greater efficiency in the utilization of sources by allocating them more adequately between the branches and sub-branches on the overall economic level, and by increasing production efficiency, management and marketing on the enterprise level.

IMPORTATION OF CAPITAL

The sum of imported capital during 1971-1975 is forecast at \$ 3,720 million, of which about \$ 2,510 million will be in unilateral transfers (\$ 900 million in private transfers, \$ 670 million in German reparations, and the balance in transfers by institutions).

Capital investments from abroad will come to \$ 585 million while Israeli investments abroad will total, in this period, \$ 245 million. Net foreign investment will therefore reach about \$ 340 million.

Unilateral transfers of capital on the part of immigrants are most important for our national economy. It constitutes an addition to the local supply of capital and can augment economic activity, once we know how to apply it properly.

Increasing economic activity at the optimal rate will help solve the problems created by the rising costs of defense. The Economic Planning Authority has arrived at the conclusion that the growth of the national product, on the one hand, and the curtailment of demand growth in the economy, on the other, are in the position to create a financial source for the payment of rising defense costs. Here, too, we note the importance of the immigration factor, from the standpoint of its contribution to the national product, even though absorption of immigration is an element which increases expenditure on public as well as private demand. We shall therefore have to establish a policy which will bring about a balance between the two.

Anticipated Importation of Capital for 1971-1975 (\$ millions)

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1971-5 Total
Unilateral transfers	520	525	515	510	490	470	2,510
Long- and medium time capital movement (net)	200	195	180	170	165	160	870
Net investments	50	60	70	70	70	70	340
Total anticipated import of capital for long- and medium time	770	780	765	750	725	700	3,720

THE NATIONAL PRODUCT

The rise in the number of employed (3% annually) and in the per-worker product (4.5%) will bring about a growth of some 7.6% a year in the local product. The national product will grow at a slightly lower rate than the local product, mainly because of the anticipated increase in the interest payments abroad.

The forecast for the number of employed and the gross local product, according to branches, is as follows:

The Employed During 1968-1975, By Economic Branches

Branch	1968	1970	1975	Added Employees between 1968/1975
T o t a l s	911,000	996,000	1,154,000	+ 243,000
Agriculture	102,032	101,592	96,936	— 5,096
Industry and Mining	236,860	264,936	336,968	+ 100,108
Construction	73,791	87,468	100,398	+ 26,607
Transport and Communications	66,503	70,716	79,626	+ 13,123
Services	431,814	471,108	540,072	+ 108,258

In Percentages :

Branch	1968	1970	1975	Added Employees between 1968/1975
T o t a l s	100%	100%	100%	+ 26.6
Agriculture	11.2	10.2	8.4	— 5.0
Industry and Mining	26.0	26.6	29.2	+ 42.2
Construction	8.1	8.8	8.7	+ 36.5
Transport and Communications	7.3	7.1	6.9	+ 19.7
Services	47.4	47.3	46.8	+ 25.0

Gross National Product By Economic Branches (in IL. Millions, at 1968 Prices)

Branch	1968	1970	1975	Added Product between 1968/1975
T o t a l s	14,150	17,090	24,540	10,390
Agriculture	1,146	1,264	1,595	449
Industry and Mining	3,452	4,614	8,220	4,768
Transport	1,417	1,709	2,380	909
Public Sector	6,197	7,143	9,398	3,201
Equipment Ownership	1,188	1,315	1,668	480
Construction	693	1,213	1,276	583

In Percentages:

Branch	1968	1970	1975	Added Product between 1968/1975
T o t a l s	100.0	100.0	100.0	73.5
Agriculture	8.1	7.4	6.5	38.3
Industry and Mining	24.4	27.0	33.5	138.1
Transport	10.4	10.0	9.7	61.8
Public Sector	43.8	41.8	38.3	51.6
Equipment Ownership	8.4	7.7	6.8	40.4
Construction	4.9	7.1	5.2	84.1

USE OF THE PRODUCT

Expenditure on gross investment is one of the components of the general demand and is one of the candidates for the limited economic resources at the disposal of the economy. On the other hand, investment in the economy will

enable it to increase its productive capacity and the rate of its growth in the future. Gross investment during the period of 1971-1975 is forecast at about IL 24,000 million, of which IL 5,000 million will be invested in housing and some IL 9,000 million in other branches of the economy.

The addition to the capital inventory of the economy, that is, the net investment, will come to IL 14,000 million, of which IL 10,000 million will be in the branches of the economy.

It is estimated that public consumption will grow at the rate of about 6% annually (assuming that the costs of defense will not increase). About 26% of the addition to the national product, in the years 1971-1975, will go for public consumption.

According to calculations, private consumption will be able to increase at the rate of not more than 5 percent annually, that is, an annual consumption increase of about 2% in per capita. This drop in the growth rate of private consumption is mandatory for two reasons:

- 1) maintenance of a reasonable growth rate;
- 2) curtailment of dependence on imported capital.

IMPROVING THE TRADE BALANCE

Summarizing the economic program in the light of the trends which characterize it, we should understand that the retardation in the growth rate of private consumption and the increase in the national savings rates is for the purpose of increasing internal accumulation on the part of the economy, in order to secure the financial means required for the investments which will accelerate its development. It is also intended to earmark a greater portion of the product for exportation, so as to improve our trade balance.

Under these circumstances, exportation is anticipated to grow at a faster rate. Exportation will grow by about 14% per year and will total \$ 2,910 million in 1975, compared with \$ 1,510 million in 1970 and \$ 1,180 million in 1968. This fast pace of exportation growth is attainable, with the main burden to be borne by industrial exports. It appears that in order to attain this objective, total industrial exports will have to grow by about 15.5% per year and to come to about \$ 1,400 million (compared with about \$ 670 million in 1970). Tourism and transport services will also grow by about 12%. It should be emphasized that growth in exportation will require special effort, in view of the limited production capacity in certain branches and of conditions in the international market, for other branches.

The following is a summary of the anticipated addition to the number of employed, the product volume and the scope of exportation, between the years 1968 and 1975:

	1968	1976	Addition
Population	2,806,000	3,362,000	556,000
Employed	911,000	1,154,000	243,000
National Product	IL. 14,150 mil.	IL. 24,540 mil.	IL. 10,390 mil.
Exportation	\$ 1,180 mil.	\$ 2,910 mil.	\$ 1,730 mil.

CHAPTER II

INDUSTRY, CRAFTS AND SERVICES

The program for the development of the national economy, as submitted by the Economic Planning Authority, outlines the objectives toward which the Israeli economy will be striving during the years 1971-1975. These objectives will be attained through the activation of additional production factors stemming, among others, from immigration. The new immigrant will be able to be absorbed in the economy as a wage earner or as self-employed. The programs for national development issued by the Economic Planning Authority do not take into consideration the status of the additional labor force in the economy. On the other hand, it should be noted that our statistical figures concerning the detailed output of the economic branches and their categories likewise do not note details referring to the economic status of those employed in these branches, as is customary in the statistics compiled by countries in the western world. This has led to certain methodological difficulties in gathering official material for the research conducted from the viewpoint of the self-employed in the economy.

Therefore, in describing the objectives toward which our national economy is striving, or in quoting figures referring to output by branches of the economy or to the labor force which they employ, these figures will appear as they do in the sources. Figures relevant to the demand for additional labor force in the economy are presented in similar fashion. At the same time, additional labor forces may be created by increasing the number of wage earners in existing plants, on the one hand, or by the organization of new enterprises, initiated by self-employed among the new immigrants and/or among local residents.

Our economic dynamism allows for entrepreneurship in all areas of production and services. We therefore show both a trend toward centralization of production and toward decentralization, by way of the establishment of small industrial plants, workshops or small and medium enterprises. The share of the immigrants in these enterprises is quite substantial. It is a commonplace that the skill and expertise of the owner of the enterprise are of comparatively major importance, and that relatively little capital is required for its optimal operation.

Industry and the crafts constitute the principal segment of the Israeli economy capable of solving the economy's central problem — how to close the gap in the balance of payments and maintain an adequate standard of living in the economy at one and the same time. Most of the items produced by industry are the very same items that go into the cycle of international trade and are therefore suited for the task of closing the gap in the trade balance.

In addition to the above, industry has two other tasks to perform:

- 1) absorb immigration;
- 2) disperse the population.

A marked percentage of the immigrants who came to Israel after the Six-Day War are factory and crafts workers who can be taken into various industrial branches either as wage earners or self-employed. As for the dispersal of the population, this is aided as a matter of course by the new enterprises being set up in development areas.

The scope of industry and the measure of its development, in various countries, is determined by many elements, but despite the objective differences between one country and another, economic researchers have come to the conclu-

sion that the expected composition of industry can be foreseen in the light of several economic variables (Table 1 shows the composition of Israel's industry).

Table 1
Structure of Israel's Industry

The Branch	No. Enterprises	No. Engaged	Employees
Total	23,032	219,919	193,171
Mines and Quarries	104	3,998	3,952
Foods (includes liquors and tobacco)	1,368	29,918	27,719
Textiles	955	25,986	24,948
Clothing	3,088	13,231	9,386
Wood, wood products and furniture	3,623	18,779	14,207
Paper, cardboard and products	241	3,569	3,294
Printing and Publishing	790	8,519	7,664
Leather and products	2,466	7,380	4,534
Rubber and plastic products	273	6,332	6,114
Chemicals	355	8,683	8,401
Non-ferrous minerals products	753	11,993	11,100
Diamonds industry	394	7,442	6,980
Basic metals industry	147	4,239	4,088
Metal products	2,093	18,941	16,553
Machinery	1,361	11,876	10,379
Electrical and electronic equipment	923	9,605	8,585
Transport vehicles	2,144	24,363	21,944
Miscellaneous industries	1,534	5,070	3,226

Source: Census of Industry and Crafts, 1965/66, Central Bureau of Statistics

The resemblance in the branch composition of countries with different economic conditions lies in the measure of coordination between supply and demand. Demand terms and the functional tie between the income level and the demand create the coordination formats between the development level of a given country and the branch composition of its industry. As the level of economic development rises, so does the demand for products which reflect greater income flexibility (as income rises, the amount of such desired items also goes up). One can therefore anticipate growth in the relative proportion of those branches which produce the items of greater income flexibility and the interim products required for their manufacture.

The branch structure of industry and the crafts differs in developing countries from that in developed countries. Countries in the initial stage of economic development lack an industrial base. Under such conditions, the government (or, more correctly, public entrepreneurship) endeavors to industrialize itself, despite the absence of the required administrative and technological forces, despite the absence of a marketing and transport network, and despite the relative shortage of capital investment. For this reason, public entrepreneurship in developing countries first develops the branches which can be operated technologically with relative ease and which do not require much capital for their operation. These are for the most part branches which manufacture consumer commodities, such as food, clothing and shoes. Branches which require greater skill for their operation — leather, paper, wood, fine chemicals and such — usually develop at a later stage. It is only when this development has been completed that it is possible to go on to the more advanced stage of economic development required for the operation of a metals industry or coarse chemicals.

Table 2

The Enterprises, the Employed and the Gross Output by size of Selected Groups and According to the Main Branch

	Enterprises				Employed				Thousands of Pounds (IL) Gross Output, in			
	1-4		50+		1-4		50+		1-4		50+	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
The entire industry	15,869	68.9	667	2.9	10,995	14.0	98,200	49.2	316,238	5.2	3,758,370	61.8
Mines and quarries	21	20.2	17	16.3	68	1.7	2,950	73.3	1,371	0.8	133,197	77.7
Foods (includes liquors and tobacco)	861	46.1	108	5.8	2,064	6.9	17,260	57.7	50,545	3.7	838,772	61.4
Textiles	396	41.5	94	9.9	938	3.6	18,034	69.4	10,968	1.6	509,319	74.3
Clothing	2,547	82.5	31	1.0	4,281	31.6	3,268	24.7	29,889	14.9	84,452	42.1
Wood, wood products and furniture	2,815	77.7	32	0.9	5,727	30.5	5,314	28.3	62,873	16.4	178,266	46.5
Paper, cardboard and products	117	48.5	8	3.3	318	8.9	1,820	51.0	4,640	3.6	84,294	65.4
Printing and publishing	427	54.1	28	3.5	997	11.7	3,442	40.4	12,685	7.1	91,472	31.2
Leather and products	2,165	87.8	12	0.5	3,254	44.1	989	13.4	23,961	23.0	22,815	21.9
Rubber and plastic products	77	28.2	19	7.0	215	3.4	3,457	54.6	2,487	1.2	132,009	63.7
Chemicals	151	42.8	28	7.9	408	4.7	5,479	63.1	7,181	2.0	222,984	62.1
Non-ferrous mineral products	396	52.6	45	6.0	875	7.3	7,136	59.5	12,481	3.3	240,923	63.7
Diamonds industry	106	26.9	36	9.1	201	2.7	2,776	37.3	1,769	0.6	171,060	58.0
Basic metals industry	73	49.7	3	1.8	195	4.6	3,200	75.5	4,218	2.3	154,048	84.0
Metal products	1,588	65.7	64	2.6	4,659	24.6	7,709	40.7	24,695	6.3	191,781	46.4
Machinery	136	73.0	35	2.6	2,149	18.1	5,451	45.9	—	8.0	—	—
Electrical and electronic equipment	642	69.6	32	3.5	1,316	13.7	4,966	51.7	14,250	5.9	152,887	63.3
Transport vehicles	1,462	68.2	60	2.8	3,070	12.6	14,398	59.1	25,137	5.7	318,847	72.3
Miscellaneous industries	1,310	85.4	9	0.6	2,028	40.0	608	12.0	14,435	20.7	12,483	17.9

Source: Census of Industry and the Crafts, 1965/66, Central Bureau of Statistics

Economic research has shown that branch composition of industry and the crafts depends on three main variables:

1. Per capita income;
2. Size of the population;
3. Importance of industry in the national economy.

Israeli industry is characterized by a large number of small and medium enterprises, with outstandingly large foods and textile branches within the industry (Table 2). On the other hand, the place of the metals and machinery branches is smaller in Israel than in developed countries.

According to research carried out on behalf of the U.N., the following branch composition of industry can be expected, considering the per capita income (Table 3):

Table 3
Expected Branch Structure Under Normal Conditions, As Against Actual Structure of Industry (in Percentage)

Branches	% Expected Under Normal Conditions, According to Per Capita Income in Israel	% Expected Under Normal Conditions, According to Per Capita Sources in Israel	Actual Division of Industrial Branches in Israel	
			Added Value 1965	Added Value 1966/67
Foods	23.6	22.9	17.5	19.3
Textiles	5.3	5.2	10.9	11.4
Clothing and leather	8.8	8.8	4.2	3.8
Wood and carpentry	7.1	7.5	6.3	5.6
Paper and cardboard	4.2	4.2	2.3	2.5
Printing and publishing	6.2	6.6	4.2	4.2
Rubber, plastics, chemicals and oil	9.6	10.4	11.8	11.5
Non-ferrous minerals	5.4	5.2	8.9	8.5
Basic metals and pipes	2.7	2.5	3.7	3.5
Metal products	24.8	24.4	25.9	24.8
Miscellaneous (diamonds included)	2.3	2.3	4.3	4.9

The foregoing figures indicate that the average industrial added value in Israel is lower by 15% than is the share of industry in general in the national income, considering per capita income and the size of the population.

This infers that in the Israeli economy there is expectation of an increase in the share of industry and the crafts in the national output. This increase will be furthermore endowed with certain formats as affected by the flexibility of the income.

At the same time, as national income rises, so does the percentage of the following branches: wood products, paper and paper products, printing and publishing, rubber and chemical products, basic metals, metal products and miscellaneous. The percentage of the clothing branch does not change, while the share of the foods, textiles, leather and non-ferrous minerals branches goes down.

As the population grows, there comes a rise in the relative share of the rubber and chemical branches, the basic metals industry, metal products, textiles

remain the same, while that of the following branches drops: leather products, printing, leather, non-ferrous metals, foods and clothing.

According to the forecast contained in the program for the development of the national economy, both the national product and the population will grow during this period of 1971-1975. The national product will go up from IL 17,090 million in 1970 to IL 24,540 million in 1975. The population will increase from 2,962,000 persons in 1970 to 3,362,000 in 1975. From these figures it may be gathered that the relative share in the industrial output of the following branches will also rise: rubber and plastics products, basic metals industry and metal products. On the other hand, there will be a drop in the relative share of the foods, textiles, clothing and non-ferrous metals branches.

The total number of employed, in 1970, stands at 996,000, of which 264,900 are in industry and mining. The forecast in the program for the development of the national economy for 1975 is for 1,154,000 workers, of whom 336,900 will be in industry and mining, i.e., an increase of 72,000 workers in the next five years.

According to the objectives of industrial development in Israel and the impact of the defense production which will eventually be diverted to civilian industry, the main development and advance will be in the metals branches as well as in the electronics and electrical branch, such as: basic metals, metal products, machinery, electrical and electronics, transport vehicles. The importance of these branches will grow and the composition of the manpower connected with them will grow and change⁽¹²⁾. In these branches, the Commission anticipates the following development in the number of the employed (Table 4):

Table 4

	Total in Industry	Basic Metals	Metal Products	Machinery	Electrical & Electronics	Transport Vehicles	Other
Total employed 1968	237,770	4,360	18,750	20,030	9,850	20,000	164,960
Estimated " 1973	327,415	5,980	25,830	27,960	16,230	36,000	215,415

The additional demand for manpower in industry in general and in the development branches in particular, will be for skilled manpower — engineers, technicians and workers in the technical branches. According to the forecast of skilled manpower available, there will be surplus of demand. The sources of skilled manpower in the economy are these:

1. Graduates of educational and vocational schools in Israel;
2. Skilled manpower coming as part of immigration.

The number of available engineers will come to 4,650 in this period of 1968-73; the number of immigrant engineers will approximate 2,650.

According to the demand for engineers it is clear that the economy will experience a shortage of more than 3,500 engineers, by the end of 1973, despite the expanded training afforded by the enlarged Haifa Technion, the Beer-Sheba School of Technology and the additional engineers from among the immigrants.

The other branches of the economy will likewise require additional workers and professionals. According to the plan for industrial development in Israel⁽¹³⁾ the following branches will require more manpower, especially skilled workers:

The *foods branch* will require 1,500 more workers, especially in milk products, chocolate and sweets, preserved fruits and vegetables, liquors.

The *textiles and clothing branch* will require 5,000 more workers, most of them for sewing and the rest for knitting and weaving.

Leather and shoes — an addition of about 800 workers, particularly in shoes and shoe styling; others in leather products, furs and tannery.

Wood and carpentry — an increase of 330 specialists (glazers, upholsterers, painters) in carpentry, (as a building trade) furniture and the plywood industry. Another 1,800 carpenters will also be needed.

Printing and publishing — here about 1,300 workers are required, all of them printing professionals.

Rubber and plastics, chemicals, non-ferrous chemicals, mining and quarrying will need about 1,950 specialists in auxiliary trades: construction workers, painters, glazers, as well as trainees and veteran workers in the specific operations of the branch.

Metals — the number of skilled workers will rise by 1,300, most of them in the transport vehicles branch.

Diamonds — most of the workers in this branch are classified as belonging to the category of skilled workers in specific areas. This branch will therefore need an impressive number of specialists — 4,000.

Miscellaneous branches — here the additional number — about 500 workers — will consist mostly of professionals in the jewelry and giftware branch (including smiths, graphic artists etc.); the others are scattered among a large number of sub-branches.

It should be noted that these figures refer only to the volume of the demand for additional labor forces in the economy, with no relevancy to the worker's economic status nor to the classification of enterprises according to size. Thus, for instance, the program's anticipated demand for 3,500 additional engineers in the economy does not define absolutely how these engineers will be employed, in the light of their economic status. Some of them may engage in technical consulting for enterprises on a fee basis, others may contract for employment by other enterprises. The additional 5,000 workers in the clothing branch will allow for the increase of the labor force in existing plants or for the establishment of a thousand new enterprises, each employing four wage-earners, affiliated with the large plants through sub-contracting agreements. If we consider the fact that Israeli industry consists for the most part of small enterprises (see Table 2) and that this structure is not likely to change at short intervals, it is obvious that in those production branches which now consist of a high percentage of small enterprises, a similar percentage will hold true for the future, as well. The economic dynamics of these branches will therefore express itself, on the one hand, in the expansion of existing enterprises which will absorb fresh workers, and in the establishment of new self-owned enterprises, each of which will employ a relative small number of wage earners.

The demand for a labor force in the various branches will direct the potential force to the employment desired, but not always in the most efficient manner and at the best time. Many branches cannot themselves train the professional and technical labor force that they need, both because they may not be large enough to undertake the task on their own and also because there may be outside advantages for the training of this manpower as regards the entire economy but not to the advantage of the branch. For this reason the Government is taking a hand in the matter, in the individual enterprises as well as in the branch as a

whole, by providing centers for vocational training. There are also several occupations which can be filled by immigrants as or more efficiently than by Israelis (particularly in the vocations and positions which require knowledge of foreign languages).

The issue of the economic absorption of new immigrants in branches of industry, the crafts and services, at times encounters problems posed by the process of their adaptation to conditions prevalent in the Israeli economy.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR ADULT IMMIGRANTS

The Israeli economy needs working hands plus personnel for newly established vocations. Immigration can fill an important role in the realization of this goal. At the same time, it happens that in the process of becoming integrated with the economy as a constructive force, the immigrant encounters difficulties in finding employment in his field because of the limited demand for it⁽⁴⁾. In such a case the immigrant has to train himself for a new vocation or for an occupation approximating the one in which he had been engaged abroad. In order to ease the transition from one vocation to another, the Government and several public agencies have instituted appropriate courses. These courses are given in a list of vocations according to a curriculum built on the semester system. Participants in the courses receive subsistence during their training period. The amount of the subsistence is determined by family status and the priority given to the vocation.

The foremost agency which maintains these courses is the Vocational Training Department in the Labor Ministry; among these are courses for metal workers, electricians, hotel employees, ready-made wear workers, laboratory technicians, draftsmen, garage workers and cosmeticians.

These courses are held in many localities: in the cities, at times in cooperation with future employers such as hotels, hospitals or factories. If necessary and on request, the courses are given in foreign languages. During the period of learning, the immigrants are entitled to grants, fluctuating in amount according to family status and the date of immigration. It should be noted that Nursing School students pay no tuition fees. They live in dormitory style and receive pocket money during the course of instruction. Courses in hotelling are usually held in special hotels, and residence during the course is on the premises.

Another agency which has vocational training courses for adult immigrants is "Ort", which, however, accepts only young students in all courses other than advanced courses for electronics and refrigeration technicians. Familiarity with Hebrew is required.

Because of the shortage in insurance agents, preparatory courses are given in this vocation. In certain cases, insurance companies employ the students at pay during the period of their training.

The Clerks Union, in cooperation with other agencies, gives various one or two-year courses among which are courses for office administration technicians, medical secretaries, bank tellers and stockbrokers' agents, efficiency experts, system installation and analysis and data processing personnel. Bookkeepers and accountants are also given opportunities to continue their studies. Familiarity with Hebrew is required.

These courses are given almost continuously. The following is a list of the names and addresses of the agencies which hold such courses:

ORT Israel — David Hamelech Boulevard 39, Tel-Aviv.

TADMOR Hotelling School — Hotel Tadmor, Herzliya (*ORT* also gives courses in hotelling).

Nursing Schools — mainly associated with hospitals (governmental, private and Histadrut).

Management Academy — 113 Allenby Road, Tel-Aviv.

The Insurance Institute (courses for insurance agents) — 113 Allenby Road, Tel-Aviv.

Ministry of Labor — Jerusalem; 44 Petach Tikva Highway, Tel-Aviv, and in its district offices.

Ministry of Tourism (tourism and travel agents school) — Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv.

WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization) — Tel-Aviv.

The Labor Ministry sponsors many courses in various vocations. Trainees taking these courses receive subsistence funds, graduated according to the subject that is being studied.

Courses are given in the following vocations:

1) **Metals Branch**: toolmakers, engravers, millers, honers, tinsmiths, mechanics.
2) **Machinery Branch**: mechanical equipment operators, machinists, automotive electricians, automotive body workers, etc.

3) **Electricity and Electronics**: electronics workers, construction and industrial electricians, etc.

4) **Hotel Branch**: chefs, waiters, chambermaids, receptionists, telephone operators.

5) **Woodworking Branch**: construction carpentry, cabinetmaking, mechanical carpentry.

6) **Clothing and shoes**: fashion couture, dressmaking, fashion styling, shoe-making, weaving, etc.

7) **Medical Branch**: pharmacists, laboratory technicians, nurses, etc.

8) **Courses in draftmanship, salesmanship, horticulture, photography, metal-smithing, upholstery, barbering, cosmetics, lifesaving, etc.**

The following is a list of the courses, given by ORT, of less than one year's duration:

1. Practical television — service, repair and maintenance. 20-40 weeks.

2. Automotive electricians — one year.

3. Tractor operators.

4. Plumbing — 1 year.

5. Interior decorating and display windows and store decorating — 90 sessions.

Courses offered by the Management Academy:

Stock brokerage — 1 semester.

Organization and methodology experts — 1 year.

Office management — 1 year.

Internal control — 1 year.

Automatic data processing system (basic) — two months.

Advanced course for data processing system programming — 4 months.

Electronic computer programming course — 1 year.

IBM operators — 2-3 months.

Public relations — 1 year.

Export and sales of knowhow — 1 year.

IBM key punchers — 2-3 months.

Executive secretaries — 1 year.

Medical secretaries — 1 year.

INDUSTRIALIZING DEVELOPMENT AREAS

One of the objectives of the National Economic Development program is population dispersal. Industrial and craft branch development which takes this objective into consideration, from the viewpoint of geographical location, can contribute a great deal to its realization. Indeed, industrial and craft branches provide a major source of employment for residents of development areas⁽¹⁵⁾ (Table 5):

Table 5

Changes in Branch Composition in Development Towns, December 1965-August 1968
(in %)

Period	Total employed in branches	Construction	Industry & the crafts	Agriculture	Services
December 1965	100.0	12.0	47.2	11.0	29.8
August 1966	100.0	9.5	47.8	10.8	31.9
December 1966	100.0	10.7	44.9	9.7	34.7
December 1967	100.0	11.2	45.8	9.0	34.0
August 1968	100.0	9.0	49.7	7.9	33.4

Israel's development areas are: Ofakim, Eilat, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Beer-Sheba, Bet She'an, Dimona, Hazor, Tiberias, Yavneh, Yokneam, Yeruham, Jerusalem, Acre, Afula, Arad, Safad, Kiryat Gat, Kiryat Malachi, Kiryat Shmoneh, Sderot, Shlomi.

In the course of the surveyed period, the industry and crafts branches employed 45%-50% of all the employed in the development towns. Progress in these branches in the development towns approximated those which took place in the entire economy, but the fluctuations were more extreme because of the importance of the industry and crafts branches in the development towns. Since change flexibility is greater in these towns than in other parts of the country, the economy of the towns will be hit harder at a time of low employment in industry and crafts, and recovery will be faster whenever the branch improves.

The principal source of population growth in the development towns lies in the immigrants diverted to these areas by the Jewish Agency. The rate of population growth in development towns and the increase in their labor force potential therefore depends on the pace of immigration.

For instance: during the 12 years of Dimona's existence, 12,627 persons were sent there (3,074 families); 2,444 families, comprising 62% of the population, are still there⁽¹⁶⁾. Since assignment of immigrants to these towns constitutes the main source of their population, the basic traits of the immigrants have had a strong effect on the demographic structure of Dimona's entire populace as well as on the structure of the various economic branches, the extent of the employment which they furnished, and the income level of the residents.

The composition of Dimona's labor force was determined by four elements:

1. The residents of Dimona are people who have been uprooted from their social and cultural milieu and transferred to new surroundings. As a result, some of the immigrants have not been able to adapt themselves to conditions in the locality and have been eliminated from the labor force.

2. The high rate (75%) of people from African and Asian countries in Dimona, being on a lower level of schooling than the national average, has raised the proportion of unskilled laborers.

3. The average low age in Dimona (families with many children) has reduced the size of the manpower. As a result, the proportion of participation in the labor force in Dimona was, in 1966, about 27.2%, in comparison with the national average of 37.8%.

Dimona specializes in industry, particularly textiles. Textile plants (*Kitan Dimona* and *Sibey Dimona*) were diverted to Dimona with the knowledge that the town has no "natural advantage" other than an unskilled labor force which could be absorbed by the industry.

The proportion of the employees in industry in Dimona had risen in the course of the years. In 1961, half of the employed were working in industry, while in 1966 this proportion rose to 66.4% (compared with 27% for the entire country). Of the 2,045 employed by industry and the crafts, 1,788 work in *Kitan Dimona* and *Sibey Dimona* — 91.8% of all the workers in industry (Table 6):

Table 6
Industrial Plants and Workshops in Dimona

Economic Branch	No. enterprises	No. employed
Textile and clothing industry	5	1,915
Food Industry	4	40
Wood and furniture industry	4	12
Leather and leather products industry	2	4
Building trades industry	2	10
Metal products industry	5	49
Transport vehicles industry	2	7
Other industry	3	8
Totals	27	2,045

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry — Development Areas Division

Ofakim, like Dimona, is populated mainly by immigrant families who came to Israel after the founding of the town. These immigrants constitute 86% of the town's inhabitants⁽¹⁷⁾. As were other development towns founded during the first years after the establishment of the State, *Ofakim* came about in the wake of the mass immigration of the early 'fifties, when the Government's policy of population dispersal was in force. The settlement of the people in the locality preceded the development of its economic foundations. At first the people engaged in farming in the area, in putting up the first buildings and chiefly in make-work projects. In the course of time two parallel processes became evident: the creation of employment opportunities and the ingrained settlement of people in the community. The proportion of make-work employment dropped and the employment situation improved, but the overall economic development still remained the focal problem. Along with the problem of creating more employment opportunities, there is also the problem of adapting the local labor force to the requirements of the enterprises, as well as the serious shortage of skilled manpower for the industrial plants and for public institutions and services.

Industry is the main source of employment for the inhabitants: 47.8% compared with the national average of 27%.

At the end of 1967 Ofakim and its vicinity had some 30 industrial plants and workshops, employing 960 workers. Of these, 775 work in Ofakim and 185 in the vicinity. The peripheral plants have to do with farm produce: grading machines, cold storage plants, etc. Ofakim also has a carding plant which employs 35 workers in season; its production is also tied in with agriculture. The other plants are mostly in the textile and ready-made clothing branches which were put up in Ofakim through Government incentive in order to make possible the development of the settlement.

Ofakim was established to serve as a regional center for the farming communities, but this goal has not as yet been realized. The people in charge of the study (Ministry of Housing) recommend the diversion of new settlers to Ofakim who would change the communal context. The population should be diversified by the infusion of native-born, old-timers and people from Europe and America. This step would improve the situation also from the standpoint of the skilled manpower that would be made available to economic development and services in the locality.

In April 1967, the Knesset passed an amendment to the Encouragement of Capital Investment Law (Journal of Ordinances 497), intended to augment the advantages enjoyed by approved enterprises in general and by those in development areas in particular. The amendment gives the approved enterprise a grant covering part of the investment in fixed assets, in addition to the tax betterments already in force. The amount of the grant is determined in accordance with the type of asset and the areas of investment, as set forth in Table 7:

Table 7
Amount of the Grant, in %

Type of Assets or Activity	Approved Enterprise Development Area A	Appr. Enterprise Dev. Area B	Appr. En. Dev. Area C
Machinery and other equipment	33-1/3	25	20
Buildings and land improvement	20	15	10

Enterprises moving to development areas from other areas also receive a grant for moving, in the amount of IL 500 to IL 1,000, for every working locality to which the move is made. Two industries, diamonds and ready-to-wear, being peculiarly suited to development areas from the standpoint of the low per worker investment and of the relatively short period of erection, receive additional incentive by way of an augmented grant for the transfer of equipment, lower interest rates on loans, reduced rent, etc.

SCIENCE-BASED INDUSTRIES

The Government of Israel and the other agencies involved in the promotion of industry in Israel are according top priority, within the framework of Israel's industrial development, to the fostering of science-based industries⁽¹⁸⁾. Such industries have the potential of employing immigrants, especially university graduates and skilled craftsmen.

There are several factors which make it possible for Israel to entertain good prospects for the establishment of science-based industries:

1. The large number of science and research institutes of an international level and the increasing number of scientists and engineers assure suitable manpower and extended research opportunities.

2. The cost of the product is bound to be less, thanks to the lower level of salaries and wages in Israel as compared with other countries.

3. The Israel Government is encouraging investment by financial easements and tax abatements for firms complying with the encouragement requirements.

4. Since science-based industries do not generally produce for mass production, the fact that the local market in Israel is not a major one does not constitute a drawback. On the other hand, there is a growing demand on the part of local consumers and industries for improved and more sophisticated instruments, and this adds importance to the local market.

5. In consequence of political developments in the world, a stand has been taken to encourage local defense industries, many of which are science-based or require such basis.

6. Israel's science circles are multi-lingual, which makes possible better integration of local and foreign scientists, technicians and entrepreneurs; this also eases communication between investors from abroad and the local experts and workers.

Israel now has more than 60 enterprises which are producing on a scientific basis. Most of these enterprises were founded within the past three years and most of these are in electronics, instrumentation, computerization, pharmaceuticals and fine chemicals. These enterprises are divided into three types:

- 1) enterprises manufacturing for the civilian market;
- 2) enterprises manufacturing for defense industries, exclusively or partially;
- 3) enterprises which have been organized by or in cooperation with Israel's scientific institutes, with the intent of utilizing the research results and the scientific manpower which exist in these institutes.

Enterprises of Type 1 and 2 were developed by private entrepreneurs, among them skilled immigrants who brought to Israel the practical know-how which they had acquired, as well as by local scientists and foreign firms.

Some of these industries specialize in making precision metal parts for various industries here and abroad. These enterprises have fine growth potential, especially as sub-contractors supplying industrialized countries.

Here are examples of science-based enterprises established in Israel:

1) **ELRON Electronic Industries Ltd.** was founded in 1962 by a group of Technion graduates in Haifa. They put up part of the required capital and obtained the rest from American investors and the investment firm of the Israel Discount Bank.

ELRON has subsidiaries which have evolved from its own department—**ALMADEX**, medical electronics; **ELCINT**, (produces and markets) physical and electronic instruments, **MONSEL**, electronic computers and electronic work systems.

ELRON and its subsidiaries are employing today more than 500 workers, among them 120 engineers and mathematicians and about 150 technicians.

2) **ALTA — ELECTRONIC INDUSTRIES LTD.** The company was founded in 1967 as a subsidiary of the aviation industry, and is now located in Ashdod. The company manufactures mainly marine communications instruments, items for civilian aviation and medical electronics instruments.

ALTA employs 750 workers, among them 120 engineers and 300 technicians. The personnel forecast for 1972 is 1,250 employees.

3) **SCIENTIFIC TECHNOLOGY LTD.** The company was established in 1968 by a group of eight Israeli engineers. Its aim is to develop and manufacture electro-optical systems and instruments for industrial control.

4) The **Rehovot Instruments Company Ltd.** was established by a Weizmann Institute scientist with the help of an American investor. At present the company

is turning out instruments for the Defense Ministry and is developing various items for the American market.

The principal purpose in the establishment of Type 3 enterprises — organized by or in cooperation with Israel's science institutes — was to supply the academic staff with various research projects, to make research agreements with academic institutes, to create an academic and scientific atmosphere in the enterprises and to guarantee employment opportunities for graduates of Israel's higher institutions of learning. Each such enterprise is an affiliate of the science institute; it engages in the sale or lease of patents developed by the institute or in establishing enterprises for the exploitation of such patents. The three institutes of higher learning — the Hebrew University, the Weizmann Institute of Science and the Haifa Technion — have set up these enterprises each on its own proximity. The first to operate in this fashion was the Weizmann Institute, which set up an industrial zone near the Institute specifically for science-based industries. The intent was to attract to this zone industries whose scientific basis approximates the research areas of the Institute, such as optics, fine chemicals, precision instruments, isotopes and compounds. The Weizmann Institute has placed at the disposal of the industries in the zone its laboratories, libraries, computers and especially scientific counseling. The plants erected in the vicinity of the campuses of these science institutes can utilize the existing workshops and transport systems in the zone, as well as such services as water and electricity. The plants can take advantage of the services of a know-how firm set up by the Weizmann Institute, which the latter uses as its practical research arm. There are already nine plants in the zone.

The Hebrew University in Jerusalem has set up a zone for science-based industries; the plants located there can take advantage of the University's laboratories and of scientific counseling through the YESHUM Research and Development Company Ltd., established by the University. YESHUM has two roles: it aids the plants by providing them with the use of laboratories and professional manpower for applied research, and it also engages in the sale or lease of patents, besides turning out items for which the required know-how is owned by the University. Additional efforts are being made by other scientific bodies, such as the University of Tel Aviv, to establish zones for science-based industries.

In addition to the foregoing, the following science-based industries are also functioning in Israel: A.E.L.-Israel Ltd.; Beta Ltd.; Aleph-Research and Development Ltd.; The Electro-Optical Industry of Israel Ltd.; Izmel Ltd.; Kulso Ltd.; M.G. Electronics Ltd.; Ormat Turbines Ltd.; Recor Ltd.; Tadiran; Theta-Medical Technology Ltd.; Vacuum Instruments and Products Ltd.; Vitai-Israel Ltd.; Information System Ltd.; Abik Ltd.; Agan Chemicals Ltd.; Assir Ltd.; Assia Ltd.; Zori Ltd.; Bromine Ltd.; Chemicals and Phosphates Ltd.; Electrochemical Industries Ltd.; Acaform Ltd.; Machteshim Ltd.; Petrochemical Industries Ltd.; Makor Chemicals Ltd.; Miles-Yeda Ltd.; Pazchem Ltd.; Plantex Ltd.; Teva Ltd.; "Zion" Chemical Products Ltd.; Elbit Ltd.; Elniv Industrial Development Co. Ltd.; M.A. Electronic Computers Ltd.; Or-Da Ltd.; Moffet Industrial Research and Development, etc.

BRANCH DEVELOPMENT: THE LATHE-WORKING BRANCH IN SMALL INDUSTRY⁽¹⁹⁾

Following are several examples of the expected development in industrial, craft and service branches.

The survey comprises about 270 workshops employing 3 to 49 workers, defined as producing non-finished items. In most of the workshops, 90% of the

production is put out on sub-contracted orders, and the products are mainly in the metals field.

The chief customers of these workshops are the Military Industry, which supplies 24% of the work in these shops, and the Aeronautics Industry, which supplies 15%. This fact is reflected notably on the technical level, the organizational structure and the quality of this industry, and stems from the level of administrative services, the technical guidance and the quality control which these two customers provide for the subcontractors.

About 50% of these shops employ 5-9 workers, including the owners, and only a few more than 10% employ 10-49 workers each (Table 8):

Table 8

Size of shop by number of workers	Workshops		Workers	
	Number	%	Number	%
3 — 4	120	44	380	22
5 — 9	115	42	707	42
10 — 49	37	14	608	36
Totals	272	100	1,695	100

Results of the study indicate that there is a possibility of raising the volume of production by 29% by greater use of existing equipment, i.e., the employment of 460 additional regular workers in the various vocations: engravers, millers, planers, sharpeners, drillers, etc. (Table 9):

Table 9

Opportunities for the Absorption of Workers, by Vocations

Vocation	Total
Engravers	223
Millers	62
Planers	29
Drillers	37
Sharpeners	22
Non-lathe workers	77
Total	460

The aspect which distinguishes the lathe-working branch is the existence of the "one-man operation", the individual who is also generally the owner of the shop, who doubles as the most skilled expert and as the administrative manager. Without this individual's presence, the shop cannot live up to its commitments and cannot supply certain types of work. This system necessarily reduces the value of the shop as an acceptable and dependable source of supply for the large industries.

In most of the workshops the equipment is obsolete, and there is no progress in the operation of automation systems. The technological level of these shops is mostly a direct function of the number of workers: the larger the number, the higher the level. On the other hand, the standards of quality control are still

in an underdeveloped stage in this industry: in 47% it doesn't exist at all, and only in 18% of the plants is there a satisfactory degree of quality control.

Only 25% of the workshops manufacture for exportation, but only 5% export directly.

About 88% of the shops have agreed to organize in a branch roof-organization which would engage in exportation. Most of the shops preferred to retain their production independence and were unwilling to become part of a body which would delve into the details of the production programming in their shops.

In conclusion: Even in the existing scope of the lathe-working branch, more workers can be absorbed. Moreover, with the expected growth of the economy and especially of the two main suppliers of this branch, the Military Industry and the Aeronautics Industry, the number of lathe-working shops will also grow, while the specific character of the branch will enable self-employed experts to be absorbed in the branch.

THE ARTCRAFTS BRANCH⁽²⁰⁾

This branch involves 176 enterprises employing 1,357 workers in the following sub-branches:

Ceramics and glass, metals — excluding fine smithing and ornaments; wood; leather, fabrics, mosaics, etc.

Table 10
Division of Population According to Sub-branches

Sub-branch	Individual Self-Emp'l'd	Enterprises Employing Help		Total Workers in Branch	
		Enterprises	Employees	Numbers	%
Ceramics & Glass	43	26	573	616	45.6
Metals	2	57	402	404	29.7
Wood	8	10	168	176	12.9
Miscellaneous	10	20	151	161	11.8
	63	113			
Branch totals	176		1,294	1,357	100.0%

Most of the enterprises in the branch are small; 35.8% of them are self-operated and 32.4% employ 1-4 workers. Only 5.7% employ more than 30 workers (Table 11):

Table 11

Sub-Branch	Self-Emp'l'd	% of Workers			Own Shop	% of Plants		
		1-4	5-29	30+		1-4	5-20	30+
Ceramics & Glass	6.9	5.6	14.0	73.5	62.3	16.0	13.0	8.7
Metals	0.5	21.1	61.6	16.8	3.4	55.9	37.3	3.4
Wood	4.8	4.8	60.3	30.1	44.5	16.7	33.3	5.5
Miscellaneous	6.2	16.8	51.5	25.5	33.3	33.3	30.0	3.4
Branch totals	4.7	11.4	38.4	45.4	35.8	32.4	62.0	5.7

These figures indicate that the largest concentration of workers employed in large plants employing more than 30 workers is in the sub-branch of ceramics (73.5%) and the lowest is in the sub-branch of metals (16.8%). 79% of the branch manpower are trained workers, 15% are skilled in specific subjects in the branch, and 6% are generally skilled. In the metals sub-branch the percentage of skilled workers is twice the average and amounts to 41% (Table 12):

Table 12

	Skilled Workers in the Branch Production Workers					Admin. and Marketing	Total
	Skilled		Trained	Limited	Total		
	General	Specific					
Ceramics & glass	2	46	301	29	378	79	457
Metals	25	59	80	42	206	25	231
Wood	17	7	86	7	117	22	139
Miscellaneous	8	8	57	16	89	8	97
Branch totals	52	120	524	94	790	134	924

The study divided the products of the branch into four groupings:

1. Souvenirs
2. Gifts
3. Religious items
4. Notions

The figures obtained indicate that 36.3% of the products are consumer items, while only 13.2% of the output of the branch is classified as religious articles (fine smithing excepted), as shown in Table 13:

Table 13

Sub-branch	% of the Turnover			
	Souvenirs	Gifts	Rel. Items	Consumer Goods
Ceramics and glass	6.7	41.4	0.9	51.0
Metals	16.2	37.9	30.0	15.9
Wood	23.7	23.9	6.3	46.1
Miscellaneous	7.5	43.8	16.2	32.5
	12.3	38.2	36.3	36.3

According to the manufacturers in this branch, output of the plants in present circumstances can be increased by an average of 63%, fluctuating between 30% and 200% (Table 14):

Table 14
Possibilities of Output Increase Under Existing Conditions

Size of Enterprise	Ceramics & glass	Metals	Wood	Misc.	Total
Individual self-employed	160%	200%	200%	—	170%
1-4 Employees	135%	100%	100%	—	120%
5-29 Employees	35%	64%	60%	90%	68%
30+ Employees	33%	150%	30%	50%	56%
Branch Total	39%	135%	50%	72%	63%

Many of the enterprises employ sub-contractors. The use of sub-contractors has become particularly prevalent in the sub-branches of metals and wood, of which a large portion is arranged between themselves. (Table 15):

Table 15
Use of Sub-Contractors (as a % of all the enterprises)

Description	Sub-branch: Ceramics & glass	Metals	Wood	Misc.	Total branch
Sub-contractors, operational	5	32	43	20	21
Sub-contractors, parts	5	50	57	20	30
Do-it-at-home (cottage industry)	—	—	14	30	6

Use of (piece) workers at home exists, to a very limited extent, in wood and miscellaneous sub-branches, even though technically it is possible to bring do-it-at-home workers into the metals sub-branch and others and to increase their use in the wood sub-branch.

Only 56 of the 176 enterprises in this branch participate in exportation. More of them export by means of export companies. On the average, 23.2% of the output in the branch is marked for export (45.8% in metals, 20.1% in wood, 19.0% in miscellaneous, and only 6.3% in glass and ceramics).

Many of the enterprises — 47% of them — are ready to become part of a roof organization that would handle exportation matters.

Summary: In the light of the findings, the production volume in the branch can be increased by 63%. The increase is most feasible in metals and wood (independent enterprises).

In view of the development of industries catering to good taste, this branch should be expanded.

FURNITURE BRANCH⁽²¹⁾

Carpentry shops are distinguished by the number of smaller units. The branch has 1,651 enterprises employing 6,758 workers (Table 16):

Table 16
Composition of Enterprises in Branch, By Size Groupings

Size	No. Enterprises	No. employed
Self-owned and operated	557	700
1-4 employees	738	2,082
5-9 "	253	1,569
10-29 "	80	1,203
30-49 "	15	535
50+ "	9	669
Totals	1,651	6,758

In most of these enterprises, the standards (management, organization, manpower, etc.) are quite low. The enterprises are managed in the manner of small workshops, where the managerial burden falls on the owner. Throughout the entire branch, particularly in the groups of small and medium shops, one finds

no technicians capable of handling the technological problems. Most of the workers in the branch (about 71%) are classified as carpenters, with no more than a sprinkling of better experts, but as the size of the enterprise increases so does the proportion of other skilled workers, as well as that of unskilled labor. This fact points to the existence of specialization in the large plants in certain vocations: warehousemen or mechanics, machine workers, requiring little training. The composition of the workers in this branch is given in Table 17:

Table 17
Composition of Vocations in the Furniture Branch

Vocation	Size of the Enterprise (by number of employed)			Total
	1-9	10-29	30+	
Carpenters	2,744	881	769	4,394
Trainees	666	182	9	857
Polishers	133	51	66	249
Drivers	—	7	14	21
Clerks	—	25	24	49
Painters	9	38	32	79
Warehousemen	—	7	59	66
Mechanics (Machinists)	27	—	24	51
Watchmen	—	—	14	14
Upholsterers	63	12	15	90
Unskilled	9	—	173	182
Fork-lift operators	—	—	5	5
Totals	3,651	1,203	1,204	6,058

Utilization of machinery in this branch is on the average 20% of capacity; in other words, as far as machinery goes, this branch has a great deal of unused production capacity. It can therefore be stated with certainty that in the expected expansion of production, no similar expansion should be expected in existing equipment or in that which will be acquired in the future.

With regard to physical conditions (crowdedness, illumination, air circulation, etc.) the situation in half the enterprises is unsatisfactory. As a result and as a contributing factor, there is a desire and readiness on the part of the enterprises to move their locations; about 30% of the enterprises have indicated their desire for it—mostly the medium-size plants with 19-30 workers (40% have strongly voiced their wish to expand the enterprise and move to development areas or industrial zones). This group includes more than 330 enterprises, and these should receive special attention. Of these, 220 are considering expansion, 80 are thinking of moving to development areas and another 80 want to move to an industrial zone of their branch (90% of them want to move to a branch zone situated outside the urban community, either on a rental basis or on outright purchase and ownership of the premises). About 67% of the plants that are interested in moving to a branch zone are also willing to maintain joint service facilities, the main ones being the use of specific machinery and joint purchasing of raw materials.

Most of the plants—47.2%—sell directly to the individual consumer and only a few—4.5%—sell through exclusive agents. The large plants concentrate on standard and seasonal items and do only a little custom work. Most of the plants have been doing no exportation at all. Only 13% of the total have been engaged in exportation, but about 50% of the large plants will be going into it.

The main reasons for the difficulties in selling abroad are the lack of knowledge of what is in demand abroad, unprofitability and the absence of governmental incentive. Of all the plants, only 40% are willing to organize for exportation. As far as incentive to exportation is concerned, the establishment of an agency which would catalogue the exportable items, in detail, and would assist the plants in managerial problems (market surveys, joint selling, tax refund problems, etc.) would lead to far greater exportation on the part of the branch.

Summary: The persons who made the study concluded that the branch will be able to meet the demands to be made of it in the coming decade, and that there is no need for concerted effort toward its progress. Most of the plants are not utilizing their full production capacity, and their output can be substantially increased.

On the other hand, the wood working shops do not have enough high-level professionals — technicians, mostly — capable of handling technological problems. Also needed are experts in guidance and product design.

COLLECTION, USE AND RE-PROCESSING OF WASTE MATERIALS

One of less developed yet important branches in Israel is the branch of re-processed industrial waste and its preparation for further use. Where waste is being collected, its classification does not meet the requirements of the customers; in other cases, collecting the waste material has become an item for philanthropic organizations or enterprises for the disabled. As a result, large quantities of valuable raw materials become trash and are lost forever. Manufacturing processes create large quantities and various kinds of waste materials or by-products which are generally unexploited. For instance, there is no utilization of the buttermilk which remains after the processing of butter or cheese, or the solution in the copper mines in the country after most of the copper has been extracted. Industrial waste follows domestic waste to the city dump. Treatment of the waste is not uniform and causes much bother and irritation to the residents. Some of the city waste is mostly organic and is processed into organic fertilizer. Separating the waste and extracting the metal and glass items is not being done on a high level.

Summary: Immigrants with knowledge in this field and initiative can find much room for activity. Prospects for success are particularly good in the collection and processing of 1) waste glass — as a result of the growing tendency toward single use of bottles, jars, etc.; 2) paper waste — properly organized, this can be of great value to the economy and can support a large number of families; 3) metal waste — in Israel there is a relatively big market for used tin cans and other metal waste, and further growth is expected, which will offer employment for a number of self-employed.

THE CHEMICALS BRANCH⁽²⁸⁾

The chemicals branch is one of the branches for which universal demand has been growing steadily. In this branch are mines and quarries, basic chemicals, light chemicals, rubber, plastics and non-ferrous minerals; the branch is relatively well-developed. Its overall importance in Israel's industrial sector approximates its place in developed countries. However, despite the mounting development, a situation developed in the international market in 1969 wherein the supply is lagging far behind the tremendous demand. This situation has brought higher prices to the producers for their output, and the profitability of the chemicals branch has gone up considerably.

Three sub-branches of the chemicals branch in particular have profited from its swift growth: pharmaceuticals, pesticides and fine chemicals. What sets these sub-branches apart from heavy chemicals is the fact that they do not demand large investment and, secondly, that a large measure of their success is due to their being science-based branches.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry foresees extensive expansion for these branches. Exportation by the three sub-branches is expected to come to \$85 million, by the early '80's, compared with their total exportation of \$15 million, today, and their output volume will grow almost threefold. Expansion of this size will call for an increase in the number of plants and of workers engaged in this branch. All the enterprises in the branch are carrying out expansion projects and improving production processes, with the intent of increasing output and, along with it, the volume of exports. Several international concerns have been showing interest in investing in existing Israeli plants for the purpose of expansion and the production of new items.

Summary: In the light of the forecast made by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, a substantial increase may be expected in the scope of the branch, necessitating the expansion of existing plants, erection of new plants (especially those based on research and the development of new products), and the employment of a considerable number of skilled workers.

THE LEASING BRANCH⁽²¹⁾

The relative part that services play in the Israeli economy is larger than in the United States, England and other countries; the relative part of personal services is smaller than the increasing part of public services (Ofer Gur: "The Service Industry in a Developing Country").

One of the as yet undeveloped branches of service is leasing, in all its forms. This branch takes in: leasing cars, trucks, factory equipment, linens for hotels and restaurants, work clothes, clothing and linens for individuals, household equipment and appliances (refrigerators, television sets), housewares and furniture for parties, deck chairs for beach use, etc.

The leasing branch can be of considerable importance for the development of the economy, employment and immigrant absorption. It can be a source of financing (replacing the need to purchase equipment) and of providing vital services (by leasing cars). For instance, in the matter of car rentals, the Government encouraged the entry of international concerns in order to provide the services required by tourists from abroad. Government encouragement was by way of income tax concessions and other privileges being given to approved enterprises, plus customs and/or purchase tax concessions for used cars that are sold after a specified period of use. Another branch to receive encouragement is machinery and industrial equipment leasing; in this case the encouragement is given on the express condition that the equipment will be used by approved enterprises only.

The current conditions in the money market and credit in Israel are favorable for the expansion and enlargement of the leasing branch, particularly where it affects cars, trucks and equipment, since any company using this service can list these payment on its expense account; this also reduces its need for capital.

Despite all this, the branch has not as yet experienced marked growth, due, in our opinion, to several causes:

- 1) Leasing concerns can exist only if they assume responsibility for maintaining high maintenance standards with regard to the leased equipment and for

checking its condition. Only an enterprise of large enough size can answer these requirements.

2) Except for cars, the fiscal terms for the leasing branch have not yet been fully formulated. It is therefore desirable that each instance of establishing a leasing firm, in any field, be first negotiated with the Income Tax Commission regarding the method of computing expenditure. The concessions may be in the form of approved accelerated depreciation or by use of the "basic inventory" system, according to which the initial inventory is regarded as an investment and every purchase replacing wornout equipment is regarded as an expense. The income tax authorities are inclined to give consideration to tangible proposals.

3) In the case of approved hotels or approved industrial concerns, fiscal concessions are granted for the acquisition of equipment. There is no precedent for any leasing firm enjoying these concessions.

Summary: This branch has recently begun to grow, but the opportunities for extensive development are there, and immigrants with initiative can do well in it. Development is necessary and desirable in the following sub-branches: leasing of office machines, home electrical appliances and computers (or computer service).

SELF-SERVICE LAUNDRIES⁽²⁸⁾

A market survey of self-service laundry systems indicates that 44% of the people polled expressed a desire to switch to self-service laundries. This percentage represents the opinion of 170,000 urban families. This demand is realistic if the laundry is located in the neighborhood, if prices are reasonable, if the wash comes out white, if the laundry is kept hygienically clean and if the machines are periodically disinfected.

In general it can be said that any self-service laundry established in Israel has good chances to succeed, if, in addition for wet and wrung-out laundry, it would also be able to provide mangle service. It should be noted that different types of population prefer laundries which will furnish different services; these can be divided into the following categories:

1) A self-service laundry which provides only wet and wrung-out wash is in demand chiefly in immigrant settlements, in housing projects as well as in the low-income suburban sections.

2) A self-service laundry which provides wet, wrung-out and dry wash has good prospects in the small and medium-size older urban communities, as well as in immigrant communities and, in smaller measure, in housing projects.

3) A self-service laundry combining wet, wrung-out, dry and ironed wash will cover, according to the surveyors, the entire populace, including the populations of the large cities (Table 18):

Table 18
Composition of the Demands for Self-Service Laundries (in %)

Type of Laundry	Communities:	Large Cities	Older Towns	Immigrant Communities	Housing Projects
Totals		66	7	11	16
Wet, wrung-out wash		14	18	39	27
Wrung-out, dry,		14	38	18	12
Wrung-out, dry, mangle (flat)		12	15	15	31
Wrung-out, dry, flat and pressed		45	22	13	20
Wrung-out, dry, pressed		14	7	15	10

The above figures indicate that the services requested by the cities and towns are more extended; their residents want, in addition to wet and wrung-out wash, also drying, flat mangle, and pressing services, while most of the residents in immigrant communities and housing projects are content with wet and wrung-out wash.

The price that people who want self-service laundries are ready to pay for the services is IL3.43 for a wash load of 5-6 kg. (11 to 13 lbs.), laundry powder included, or IL 3.02 without powder being supplied.

Summary: Research results indicate that there are good prospects for self-service laundries in almost all the regions in the country. Several such laundries should be put up, offering a variety of services. Experimentally, some 30 laundries should be set up:

Cities — greater Tel-Aviv, Ramat-Gan, Givatayim, Bnai-Brak, Haifa, Jerusalem, Beer-Sheba.

Older towns — Hedera, Rehovot, Netanya, Afula.

Immigrant communities — Lod, Acre, Ramle, Kiryat-Gat, Pardess-Katz.

Housing projects — Kiron, Holon, Ramat-Yosef, Sela Petach Tikva, Kiryat-Eliezer (Haifa), Kiryat Yovel (Jerusalem).

FILLING STATIONS AND CAR SERVICES⁽²⁸⁾

This field has had substantial development during the last decade. The number of stations rose from 160 in 1962 to 220 in 1966 and 306 in January of 1970; of these, 129 stations also provide lubrication service. This growth by some 40% in four years is smaller than the rate of growth in the number of cars during the same period. (In order to facilitate comparison, the above figures refer only to the areas within the "green line").

Some years ago, in the course of the recession, the Filling Station Owners Association objected to any increase in the number of stations, but the objection is not as strong now, and every gas company is adding stations. In the course of the years the stations have developed a new image. More and more stations are being built in the suburbs and along the roads leading into the suburbs, because of the prohibition of left-turning into a station from the right side of the highway. New filling stations are usually built to offer other services, as well — a lunch counter and, more recently, automatic and semi-automatic car wash installations. Some repair flat tires. One chain of stations maintains a section for the sale of automotive accessories.

Israel's filling stations are connected with the fuel gas companies; only 3% of them are privately owned. Ownership of the stations is vested in independent companies. There are some private stations that belong to enterprises, such as bus companies, and serve only their own vehicles.

Since the gas companies are interested in expanding their network of stations, they are prepared to lend assistance to people interested in operating them. The scope of this assistance depends on the location of the station. The principal condition for a tie-in with a gas company is the possession, leasehold or an option on a plot in a suitable spot, plus a permit from the local authorities to locate a station on that site. The gas companies help put up the building by giving a grant and a loan, over and above the investment on the part of the station owner. The overall equipment of pumps and tanks is provided on a rental basis. Where the company is particularly interested in building a station on a specific site, it may put it up at its own expense.

Plots of land for stations can be bought outright or leased. Where the land

is owned by the state, preference is given by the Israel Lands Authority to disabled Zahal veterans.

Israel does not permit the erection of pumps on the sidewalks, as is the case in other countries.

Conditions regarding service stations are different. Here the participation of the gas companies is more limited. Many service stations are not associated with any one gas company. Some stations service the cars manufactured by a specific company, others service all kinds of cars, and some service only one particular make.

Overall investment required to put up a filling station is IL 250,000 or thereabouts; for a service station, it is up to IL 500,000, not including the land. As aforesaid, the gas companies participate in the investment to a substantial extent. Typical turnover of a filling station fluctuates between half a million and 2.5 million liters per year. For each 100,000 liters of gas the station also sells about 1,000 kg. oil.

Summary: Despite the steep rise in the number of filling and service stations during recent years, there are still many localities throughout Israel where additional stations can be erected, with good prospects for providing a fine source of livelihood for immigrant investors.

DOMESTIC PLUMBING BRANCH⁽²⁷⁾

Some 2,000 plumbers engaged in the installation of facilities in new buildings are members of the "Herut" company; all are Histadrut members. Another 1,000 plumbers are employed by contractors and do not belong to "Herut".

The division of the wage-earners in accordance with their trade classification appears in Table 19:

Table 19

Classification	Percentage
Unskilled	6
Class A and C	30
Class A	50
Class AA	6
Superior	8

These figures indicate that most of the hired plumbers belong to Classes A, B, and C, and comparatively few are superior.

In addition to the 3,000 wage-earning plumbers, there are in Israel about 2,000 self-employed plumbers, some of whom work in new buildings and others who do repair work in old buildings.

In some districts, plumbers have formed groups of a few score skilled members and are working on contracted fees (in new buildings only). On the other hand, plumbers doing repair work in old buildings are not organized in any way whatever.

Some of the self-employed plumbers are not professionals, and the work they do is below required standards. Only a few plumbers maintain a workshop at home. A random survey of 105 plumbers in the Dan District showed that only 31 maintained workshops (Table 20):

Table 20

	Number	%
Maintain a workshop	31	29.6
Do not maintain a workshop	74	70.4
Totals	105	100.0

Recently new professionals have come into the branch; the repair work they do is generally of low standard and their profits are high. On the other hand, conditions are different in public buildings; maintenance is done by skilled workers, repairs are done according to high standards, and good materials and accessories are used.

Summary: This branch can absorb many more — about 400 — self-employed plumbers of good professional standing. They would have to settle in various population centers in order to supply the demand for local plumbing services. It should also be noted that the growing use of machinery for domestic work has created a large demand for installation and maintenance work. This type of service can be joined with the conventional installation and maintenance work already being done by the plumber.

SUB-CONTRACTING

The absorption of new immigrants into the economy, as self-employed in industrial and crafts branches of all kinds and as part of the sub-contracting branch, can be of substantial help to the growth of Israel's economy. The concept of sub-contracting refers to a new aspect of the division of labor which characterizes modern economy, and it stems from the desire to produce items more efficiently and cheaply. In the past all production stages of the finished products were performed by the craftsman; today production processes are separated into phases which can be mastered easily and conveniently.

In the course of time, as industry expanded, a trend arose toward a horizontal division of the production processes. Each time they were re-divided into shorter and simpler phases, capable of being performed by the individual workshop. Today, however, with the appearance of more complex items, the need has arisen to deepen the procedures of the division of labor by introducing a system of co-operation involving many enterprises and production branches. The tool and machinery industry, transport vehicles of all sorts and communications equipment are today manufactured as a combination of many finished parts manufactured by many plants. As an example, a television set consists of an external box, antenna and wiring and an electronic unit for receiving the telecast — all being finished items.

Since modern industry is to a large degree dependent on theoretical and applied research, its managers must maintain an ongoing check on developments in the field of technological progress. Sub-contracting — that is, placing orders for auxiliary manufacture with outside suppliers of an item, or for services for the company placing the order — can free the labor force employed by the main plant from the concern and the necessity of manufacturing these items. For this reason, such inter-enterprise cooperation has been growing even in the most developed countries. If this is the case in developed and affluent industrial countries, it holds true even more for Israel.

While Israel's industry does have skilled manpower and substantial knowhow, it nevertheless suffers from several bottlenecks — lack of capital and production assets of all kinds, due to the fact that each of the industrial production branches has developed at a different pace, resulting in a faulty inter-branch balance. In order to make up for the shortcomings, quite a few enterprises are finding it necessary to engage in marginal production of auxiliary items, instead of buying them on the local market. They invest money in equipment and maintain a skilled labor force. Since the volume of this auxiliary work is rather smaller, generally, than the output capacity of the production facilities engaged in

this work, the result is the creation of hidden unemployment of equipment and manpower alike.

Summary: Energetic expansion of sub-contracting can help eliminate these bottlenecks. Constructive aid extended to new immigrants for the purpose of establishing small or medium enterprises, specializing in various types of sub-contracting and located in various industrial regions, will increase the output volume of the economy with relatively little investment. The development of sub-contracting is particularly desirable in the electronics branch, machinery and equipment manufacture, metal constructions and vehicles. Sub-contracting is also important in the production of fashion wear and the manufacture of household appliances.

CHAPTER III

COMMERCE

The Israeli market is a small one, detached from the markets of the surrounding countries. On the other hand, the living standard of its inhabitants resembles that of the populations of west European countries, and is on an upward trend. The rise in the standard of living is accompanied by manifestations of a more refined demand. The consumers are in the market for special, expensive and high-quality products⁽²⁸⁾.

Consumer demand becomes more selective as consumer income and living standards rise. This selective demand limits the scope of production and mass marketing of the products. The trade and marketing network in Israel is as yet not as developed as it should be, and there is need for widening existing marketing channels and creating new channels, so as to supply the demand for staple goods and consumer commodities. These will be determined by two factors:

- 1) population increase; 2) rise in the standard of living.

Our research deals primarily with the problems attending the immigration and economic absorption of the self-employed. Their immigration is closely bound with their finding sources of livelihood. As things stand, commerce is an occupation tailored to the immigrant, particularly because a high percentage of the immigrants engaged in commerce in their land of origin.

The Planning Division of the Ministry of the Interior made a study of the number of businesses, according to branches, in a number of communities (Gedera, Pardess-Hanna, Nes-Ziona, Afula, Nahariya, Ramle, Rehovot and Holon)⁽²⁹⁾. Findings of this study plus national figures showed that the number of stores per 1,000 inhabitants was lower than the national average (Table 21).

We can see from the figures that the differences in the number of stores per 1,000 inhabitants in the various cities are not large; only three cities are divergent from the general average — for specific reasons.

In Nahariya the number of stores per 1,000 inhabitants is higher than the average — 15.12 — because of its being a resort town and a regional center for the surrounding (mostly farming) communities.

Rehovot also has a higher than average number of stores (18.45) per 1,000 residents. Rehovot is an important research center; its inhabitants have a relatively high income and their needs are greater, especially for specific items.

On the other hand, Holon has fewer stores per 1,000 inhabitants (9.15) than the national average, the reason being its proximity to Tel-Aviv. Many of Holon's residents do their shopping in Tel-Aviv, at the expense of the stores in Holon.

Assuming that the standard of living in the economy will not rise but remain static, while only the number of residents will change, it is likely that the proportion of the stores will also remain constant, their number growing only as the population does.

The development program for the national economy envisages a population increase, between 1970 and 1975, of 400,000 i.e., an Israeli population of 3,362,000 in 1975.

The national average of stores per 1,000 population is as follows:

Total stores	12.66
Foodstuffs	6.70
Greengrocers	3.08
Dairy	0.31
Meat, poultry and fish	0.95
Fruits and vegetables	1.54
Department stores	0.42
Clothing and shoes	1.90
Housewares	1.06
Building materials and paints	0.36
Pharmacies, opticians, cosmeticians	0.37

Assuming that the standard of living will not change, 400,000 additional inhabitants will bring about the following rise in the number of stores:

Total stores	5,064
Foodstuffs	2,680
Greengrocers	1,232
Dairy	124
Meat, poultry and fish	380
Fruits and vegetables	616
Department stores	168
Clothing and shoes	760
Housewares	424
Building materials and paints	144
Pharmacies, opticians, cosmeticians	148

Table 21
Number of Stores per 1,000 Inhabitants in 8 Communities (1964)

Business	Nat'l Av. 1962	Gedera	Pardess -Hanna	Nes Ziona	Afula	Nahariya	Ramle	Rehovot	Holon
Total stores	12.60	12.60	12.51	12.00	11.94	15.12	13.02	18.45	9.15
Total foods	6.70	6.80	6.99	7.50	6.27	6.71	6.88	9.99	4.85
Greengrocers	3.08	2.80	3.24	3.34	2.83	3.53	2.96	4.33	2.40
Dairy	0.31	2.80	0.21	0.08	0.18	3.53	2.96	0.16	2.40
Meet, Fowl, Fish	0.95	1.00	1.47	2.00	1.27	1.29	1.57	1.94	1.05
Fruits & vegetables	1.54	1.20	1.47	1.75	1.33	1.53	1.29	2.50	1.21
Liquors		1.20	0.21	0.08	1.33	1.53	0.47	0.34	1.21
Sweets, tea, coffee		1.20	0.21	0.17	0.30	0.36	0.55	0.66	0.19
Depart. stores	0.42	1.20	0.21	0.08	0.36	0.36	0.04	0.06	0.19
Clothing, shoes	1.90	1.60	1.38	1.18	2.30	1.87	2.03	2.60	1.47
Footwear	0.36	0.40	0.32	0.34	0.12	0.58	0.39	0.56	0.24
Fabrics		0.20	0.74	0.42	0.54		0.35	0.53	0.49
Dry goods, hats		1.00	0.32	0.42	1.64	1.29	1.29	1.42	0.68
Handbags, leather		1.00	0.32	0.42	1.64	1.29	1.29	9.0	0.06
Total housewares	1.06	1.40	1.05	1.01	0.78	1.29	1.13	1.31	0.68
House & kitchen		0.20	0.21	0.34	0.18	0.42	0.39	0.44	0.22
Furniture, upholstery		0.60	0.21	0.25	0.30	0.51	0.39	0.47	0.24
Electr. & radio		0.60	0.63	0.42	0.30	0.36	0.35	0.40	0.22
Farm needs, total	0.62	0.40	0.64	0.64	0.18	1.18	0.44	0.62	0.31
Building materials	0.36	0.40	0.32	0.32	0.12	0.88	0.16	0.31	0.22
Grain & fodder		0.40	0.32	0.24	0.06	0.18	0.16	0.22	0.03
Machine parts		0.40	0.32	0.08	0.06	0.12	0.12	0.09	0.06
Gen. commodities	1.08	1.20	1.49	0.92	1.20	2.19	1.23	2.17	1.11
Pharmacists, opticians, cosmeticians	0.37	0.40	0.22	0.25	0.30	0.36	0.35	0.47	0.24
Watches, jewelry		0.40	0.22	0.17	0.12	0.82*	0.24	0.16	0.06
Photo & developing		0.40	0.21	0.17	0.24	0.24	0.16	0.44	0.12
Toys			0.21	0.08		*incl. in above	0.08	0.16	0.09
Writing materials, books, newspapers		0.40	0.42	0.25	0.24	0.65	0.36	0.47	0.22

Our former assumption that the living standard in the economy will not rise is not realistic and is used only for the purposes of this analysis. Actually private consumption will grow by 5% annually and private consumption per capita will grow by about 2% annually, from IL 3,693 per capita in 1970 to about IL 4,077 per capita in 1975. This additional private per capita consumption will also increase the demand for consumer commodities and staples, and the number of stores will grow even higher. The division of the private consumption per capita and the forecast for 1975 is set forth in Table 22:

Table 22
Private Consumption

	in %	In IL. millions (1968 prices)		
		1968	1969	Expected Additional Consumption
Total private consumption	100.0	9,288.9	13,710.0	4,421.1
Food, liquor, tobacco	29.8	2,765.2	3,985.6	1,220.4
Shoes, clothes, personal	10.2	930.7	1,398.4	467.7
Living quarters	14.3	1,333.6	1,960.5	626.9
Fuel : home, lighting, refrigeration	1.8	172.8	246.8	74.0
Appointments, household	8.1	752.0	1,110.5	358.5
Household maintenance	3.6	331.0	493.6	162.6
Personal care & health	6.8	632.5	932.3	299.8
Transport & communications	8.3	776.4	1,137.9	361.5
Amusements & recreation	8.8	826.2	1,206.5	380.3
Various services	9.9	921.2	1,247.3	326.1
Miscellaneous	0.8	82.6	109.7	27.1
Less : inventory adjustment	0.4	45.9	54.8	8.9
Consumption by others-net	2.0	189.4	274.2	84.8

Table 23

Occupation	January		February	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Totals	2,865	100.0	2,621	100.0
With vocations	1,096	38.2	977	37.2
Members of free professions	408	14.2	370	14.1
Managers and clerks	252	8.8	226	8.6
Merchants, agents, salesmen	123	4.3	106	4.0
Farmers, fishermen, etc.	13	0.4	10	0.3
Transport & communications workers	35	1.2	18	0.7
Workers in construction, miners & quarrymen	11	0.3	13	0.5
Textile workers	11	0.3	15	0.5
Clothing workers	50	1.7	51	0.9
Leather workers	6	0.2	5	0.1
Wood workers	8	0.2	11	0.4
Metal workers	4	0.1	4	0.1
Machine workers	45	1.5	31	1.1
Precision mechanics	29	1.0	28	1.0
Electrical workers	20	0.7	22	0.8
Printing & bookbinding workers	13	0.4	5	0.1
Foods workers	8	0.2	10	0.3
Other workers in industry	8	0.2	7	0.2
Chefs and waiters	4	0.1	7	0.2
Cosmetics workers	22	0.8	21	0.8
Workers in other services	9	0.3	13	0.5
Unknown	17	0.6	6	0.2

Source: Immigration to Israel — Central Bureau of Statistics. Figures pertaining to 1968 were taken from Table Z/3 Statistics Annual No. 20.

It can be assumed that expenditure on foodstuffs will not change materially; on the other hand, expenditure will rise on clothes and shoes, delicacies of all kinds and luxury items. We can therefore expect an increase in the number of stores supplying these items, the number rising both in absolute terms and in their ratio to every 1,000 inhabitants.

The vocational composition of the immigrants changed after the Six-Day War. Most of the immigrants are members of the free professions, but there are many merchants, craftsmen and others engaged in providing services. A detailed delineation for January-February 1970, according to the vocations of the immigrants who arrived during those two months, is shown in Table 23. The table indicates that an average of 1,200 merchants, agents and salesmen arrive annually, and these can supply the additional manpower for the 5,000 stores required for supplying the consumer demand.

CHAPTER IV

THE AGRICULTURE BRANCH AND SELF-EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS

The National Economic Development program envisages an increase in the gross product of the agriculture branch as being 4.6%, for the period of 1971-5. At the same time, the program sees a drop in the proportion of workers engaged in agriculture in the total employed in the economy. At the end of this period, they will comprise 8.4% of the total employed, as against 11.2% at its beginning. According to the program, the estimated number of all the employed in the economy, in 1975, will reach 1,154,000, as against 911,000 actually employed in 1968. This indicates that the number of those engaged in farming, in 1975, will be about 97,000, compared with 102,000 in 1968. The increase in the gross product will be achieved, therefore, mainly because of the growth in the output volume of this branch.

The National Economic Development program foresees a population growth by 2.6%, during 1971-1975. Since the gross product of the farming branch will rise by 4.6%, only a substantially small portion of it will be absorbed by the local market. This indicates that, in the next five years, we should earmark at least half of this additional output for exportation. This assumption guided the Agriculture and Settlement Planning Centre in working out a program for the expansion of those branches which are producing farm items for exportation (Table 24):

Table 24

The General and the Farming Populations

	1968	1969	Difference
Total employed (in 000)	911	1,154	+ 243
Engaged in farming (%)	11.2	8.4	— 2.8
Engaged in farming (in 000)	102	97	— 5
Population total (in 000)	2,962	3,362	+ 400 (2.6%)

THE TREND IN AGRICULTURAL PLANNING

The Agricultural and Settlement Planning and Development Center of the Ministry of Agriculture has prepared a detailed plan for the development of the branches of the agricultural economy, considering the means of production and the manpower at its disposal. In this field it is noteworthy that the first plan for the development of the agricultural economy was drawn up in 1958 by the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, its purpose having been to outline the development of the agricultural economy during the second decade of the State of Israel (1958-1968). A second plan was drawn up in 1960 under the supervision of Prof. Yair Mundelek, of the Agriculture Faculty in Rehovot of the Hebrew University, for a five-year period: "Anticipated Supply and Demand for Farm Produce in Israel".

Later, the Government set up, jointly with the Jewish Agency, the Agricultural and Settlement Planning and Development Center, which approached the work from a new angle, which is still being followed, after the adjunction of the Center to the Ministry of Agriculture. The first production program worked out by the Center referred to the years 1964/5-1968/9. Another five year plan was later prepared for 1968/9-1972/3, which is now being carried out. The Center is now preparing another five year program for the more distant future—1972/3-1977/8. The programs do not include quantitative estimates relevant to every sub-branch in the agricultural economy.

Actually, however, the planning for the agricultural economy in Israel is accompanied by human-social factors of unique character. To a large extent, agricultural and settlement policy in Israel is dictated by social and security considerations, the fact being that these are the result of national imperatives—the imperative of settling Jews throughout the country. These considerations must take into account the immigration factor and the responsibility for grounding the immigrants in Israel's economy, bearing in mind the planning for the agricultural economy on the one hand and the policy of population dispersal, on the other.

This situation indicates that mutual relations between the rural and the urban take on special meaning, in our case, which has no precedent in the world economy. In other countries, the process of economic development takes in the mass movement from the village to the city. As the output of the agricultural economy increases, it releases a great deal of manpower which can find no employment on the farm. Villagers seek employment in non-farming vocations in the urban centers. We, on the other hand, must consider, in our plans for developing the agricultural economy, the objectives outlined by the policy of population dispersal. We therefore conduct development programs along two parallel lines. One is concerned with increasing efficiency, output volume and output per worker; this course necessarily leads to a reduction of the number directly engaged in farming. The other is concerned with creating sources of employment other than farming, in the rural districts, in order to prevent the migration of villagers to the urban centers. Since we are striving to increase population in rural districts, the development of agriculture in Israel is tied in with the development of varied sources of employment in these districts.

Adjustments of the demographic and economic structure of these districts are made in Israel chiefly through settlement programs which direct the new immigrants and the settlement nuclei of Israelis to populating various points throughout the land. The absorption of new immigrants into the agricultural economy has made it possible to establish new rural settlements, organized for the most part in the format of the family farm. At present, about half the agricultural output comes from these recently settled villages.

The family farm also has a substantial role to play in the new plans for increasing exportation of fresh farm produce. Implementation of the plans for increased farm exports involves the establishment of a well-funded agricultural economy, in which per-dunam ($\frac{1}{4}$ acre) investment comes to IL 50,000 and more. This provides extensive opportunity for the absorption of new immigrants who seek to invest their money in a well-funded farming setup capable of utilizing the most modern agrotechnology. Investments made in agriculture by immigrants represent an additional source of funds for financing agriculture. These investors will also constitute a positive element in promoting the development of the branches whose output is intended for exportation.

THE EXPORTATION PROGRAM

It should be noted that the matter of exporting fresh farm produce has gone into a new stage of development. Earlier, all our attention was devoted to solving problems engendered by agrotechnology in production; at present, our main concern is organization for exportation. This involves prolonged processes — training the growers, organizing the marketing services and finding markets for fresh farm produce, utilizing to the best advantage all the relative favorable elements found in our agriculture (climate conditions, agrotechnological knowhow and manpower). The instrumentalities which we shall be providing in the course of the next five years will therefore serve the ends of agriculture in a later period.

The program of exporting fresh farm produce, to go into effect with the termination of the present five-year span (ending 1972/3), is still to be worked out in detail. However, selection has already been made of the branches whose output is intended for exportation, so that their development will figure prominently (among these are grapefruit and new strains of oranges). In the field of industrial crops, cotton growing will probably be expanded. In the field of crops under plastic cover, an increase is foreseen in the growing strawberries, flowers and many vegetables (celery, eggplant, squash etc.). Further expansion is seen for avocados, which have already scored marked achievement. In the poultry branch, there will be an increase in breeding geese for the exportation of goose-liver. In livestock, the accent will be on primiparous cows for export. Now that the new planting in the fruit orchards is about to give fruit, we shall have to organize exportation in this branch as well.

In contrast with other branches of the economy, wherein there is room for free initiative, our agricultural economy must develop within a planning framework which must consider the following basic assumptions:

Most of the land in Israel belongs to the Government or the Jewish National Fund. Allocation of land for settlement purposes is done via plans acceptable to these agencies.

Allocation of water is also made in accordance with decisions taken in the light of the law. Use of water requires proper permit.

Credit for investment and working capital is given under terms agreed upon on an inter-agency level, which also determines the credit volume for each economic branch separately.

People engaged in agriculture are required to adhere to production norms, and must consider the intervention of the authorities in matters of pricing.

In these circumstances it is clear that the integration of new immigrants in farm production for exportation is a joint action which takes in the Government, the Jewish Agency, the settlements and the immigrant who wishes to become absorbed in the agricultural economy.

This absorption will therefore be conducted on two levels. One will strive toward the establishment of new farms which will engage in agricultural production, particularly for exportation purposes; the establishment will be done in the framework of a program approved by the Government, the Jewish Agency and the settlement agencies. The second will strive toward establishing rural centers, as part of the new social-economic planning to find employment for the rural population which is released from direct agricultural production, in the wake of increased per-worker production and of advanced production technology. These steps are to be taken on behalf of the population which settles in the rural districts.

The Rural and Urban Settlement Research Center is devoting much thought to this matter, in order to bolster the village and assure its stability in the more distant future, but without "emptying rural settlement of its social and economic content"⁽⁸⁰⁾. The Center recommends "further variegation of the branch structure in the village, so as to enable it to make progress in all the areas where the advantages of the city are to be found—a high standard of living and developed services." In this connection it should be noted that non-farming economic branches have already found their way into the Israeli village, and that quite a few inhabitants in rural districts are earning a livelihood from various occupations (Table 25):

Table 25
Division of Workers in the Jewish Village in Israel, By Economic Branches
and by Settlement Formats (1948-1969) in Percentages

Branch	Settlement Average		Village Settlements		Kibbutz Settlements	
	1948	1968	1948	1968	1948	1968
Industry	11.8	14.6	10.7	7.9	9.7	19.1
Electricity, water, etc.		0.6		1.0		0.1
Building and public works	3.0	2.6	3.1	1.5	1.9	1.9
Commerce, banking, insurance	2.2	2.8	3.6	3.0	0.5	0.4
Communications, transport, warehousing	3.2	3.1	2.4	2.3	2.6	3.6
Public & business services	8.2	15.9	14.5	12.3	9.6	14.4
Personal services, entertainment	14.7	13.4		2.7	20.3	24.4
Farming, forestry, fishing	56.9	47.0	65.7	69.3	55.4	36.1

Source: Based on "Planning and Development in Israeli Agriculture", by Shmuel Pohoriles, published by the Agriculture and Settlement Planning and Development Centre, Ministry of Agriculture.

These figures indicate that, of late, non-agricultural income sources have been created in the kibbutzim, while the villages still continue with working the farm as their main occupation. However, as the basic stabilization process of the village form of settlement reaches its end, the village will also experience the trend toward the development of new sources of livelihood, as it has been apparent in the kibbutzim.

This has been the approach adopted by the "Five-Year Plan for Agricultural Development for 1966/7-1970/1", now nearing its final implementation stages,

toward regional rural development. According to the plan, published in 1955, its authors intended attaining the following objectives:

The anticipated rural population growth during 1966/7-1970/1 was from 251,682 persons to 292,850 persons. Also envisaged were the establishment of 39 new settlements, the increase of manpower supply by 10,000 breadwinners, the erection of 47 new district enterprises, the establishment of two inter-regional centers, 5 regional and 7 district centers. The development program aimed toward absorbing the additional supply of manpower and creating for it new sources of income. This would indicate, that as the rural economy in the villages attains the development level of the kibbutz economy, it, too, will show a trend toward the evolution of new non-agricultural sources of livelihood. In order to fill the expected demand for manpower and in order to implement the plans for the development of rural regions, we shall have to direct a large number of immigrants toward settlement in these regions.

CHAPTER V

THE CONSTRUCTION BRANCH

The construction branch occupies quite an important place in the Israeli economy. As in the past, when it was a central pillar of the economy, so does this branch play a decisive role in our national economy today. Investments in building have until now accounted for about 60% of the gross investment, and the share of the branch in the national product has reached 10%. It employs 9% of the civilian labor force.

The activity of the construction branch, involving 4 million square meters and valued at IL 2 billion, is tied in with the acquisition of input by various branches of the economy ("building trades"). In 1955, the glass, ceramics and cement branches sold 83% of their output to the building industry; the basic metals and pipes branch sold to it 50% of the output; wood and carpentry—30%; equipment and electrical appliances—16%; transport—17%, etc. (See Israel Bank report for 1966). Increased activity in the construction branch will have to be maintained in coming years, as well. However, the Government has placed this branch under its supervision, in order that the rate of growing investment in construction should not bring about inflationary pressures.

The division of labor in the building industry has led to the organizing of sub-contracting, in all phases of construction. Even the large construction companies have recently begun utilizing sub-contracting groups specializing in the performance of various kinds of work, such as drillers for footings, skeleton construction crews, concrete parers, experts in putting on the finishing touches, electricians, expert plumbers and pipe-fitters, sanitary installation crews, glazers, etc. These jobs can be performed by relatively small contracting groups which can be successfully organized by new immigrants familiar with building who wish to work as independent operators in the economy. The country has been feeling the pinch in contractors willing to undertake relatively small jobs, such as building private homes, renovating stores and living quarters, and so on.

Further development of the branch will be generated against the background of the mechanization of the building industry, of the trend to standardize certain elements and building parts, the introduction of plastic materials into the building work, and the modernization of the branch, expected to take place in the 'seventies. These changes create a convenient opportunity for the new immigrants who wish to go in as independent constructors, sub-contracting for the construction branch or working in any of the building trades.

The construction branch has the following specific objectives:

- 1) Increasing the activity in the branch, while being careful not to allow the pace of investment in construction to cause speculative pressures.
- 2) Increasing the share of the construction for immigrants in the overall residential construction.
- 3) Improving housing conditions for immigrants and for those in the population now living in inferior housing quarters.
- 4) Dividing residential construction according to districts, in line with the policy of population dispersal.
- 5) Improvement in the standards of service, particularly in education and health, principally in development areas.

The construction branch will need sub-contractors in the following trades: pile drivers, skeleton builders, masons, concrete pourers, insulation workers, iron workers, earth moving crews, truckers.

In the finishing trades: painters, electricians and gas installation mechanics, plumbing (domestic plumbing included), canalization and sewerage, paving, carpentry, glazing, black top work, gardening, elevator installation and maintenance, air circulation and airconditioning.

CHAPTER VI

THE SELF-EMPLOYED IMMIGRANT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The plan for national economic development for 1971-1975 assumes that the gross national product will grow by more than 40%, private consumption by 25% and investment in the economy by about 50%. The number of employed will rise by about 20%. This points to the expected intensification in our national economy and the growth in per capita production in the course of the next five years. The plan envisages the arrival of some 175,000 immigrants, of whom many will join the employed labor force in Israel. We assume that their number will provide 40-45,000 additional employed. Some of the immigrants will come with some capital which they would like to invest in independent enterprises which would assure their livelihood. This economic entrepreneurship will substantially strengthen the national economy. We must therefore find the common denominator for the microeconomic interests of the new immigrants and the macroeconomic interests of the economy. This means that we shall have to point out economic opportunities of investment and initiative in branches and occupations most desirable for the assurance of economic progress. On the other hand, we

Table 26
Forecast for the Establishment of Small and Medium Enterprises in
Industry and the Crafts, during 1971—1975

Sub-Branch	Total No. Enterprises	Total Workers in plant (hired)	Total Investment Needed for Interp.* (IL 000)
Processing meat, beef, fowl items	40	0—15	15— 200
Processing fish	30—40	0—15	5— 100
Pastry	100	0—15	15— 100
Other foodstuffs	30	0—20	30— 300
Knitted fabrics and knitwear	20—50	5—80	50—2,000
Miscellaneous textile items	40	10—40	150— 500
Outer clothes (fabrics and knits)	300	5—50	30— 500
Misc. finished items (embroidery, bed linen, curtains, millinery)	150	5—20	30— 200
Wood products and carpentry	300	5—50	20— 500
Upholsteries	100	0—20	5— 250
Binderies	40	0—15	2— 100
Shoemakers and cobblers	200	0—10	2— 250
Misc. leather wear (shoes excepted)	30	0—30	15— 100
Plastic items (including packaging)	15	5—20	5— 500
Mirrors, flat glass items	5	5—10	5— 80
Laboratory glass items	20	3—50	5— 200
Ornamental ceramics	150	3—15	10— 250
Misc. cement products	50	5—50	50—1,000
Hewing and polishing marble & stone	20	5—30	50—1,000
Diamond cleavage	20	0—10	2— 5
Sawing diamonds	5	0—10	10— 150
Diamond polishing (large stones)	50	3—30	5— 300
Armature products	10	20—50	50— 500
Metal and tin stampings	200	2—50	10— 500
Wire products	30	5—20	108— 500
Structural metal products	100	10—50	10— 250
Machine making for industry, crafts, trade and services	100	10—100	50—1,000
Farm machinery industry	20	5—50	50—1,000
Equipment for electrical and lighting installation industry	30	10—50	50—1,000
Repair, renovating service machines	200	0—20	5— 100
Repairing motors & electrical generators	20	5—20	10— 300
Repair & installation of communication instruments (radio, TV)	150	0—15	2— 50
Car & motorcycle repair	100	5—20	10—1,000
Bicycle & cart repair	50	0—15	3— 100
Jewelry & watch repair	200	0—10	2— 50
Artercrafts	300	0—25	5— 200

* Estimated investment relates only to direct investment in the enterprise, and does not include investment in buildings.

shall have to consider the vocations of the new immigrants, so as not to waste the investment in their training and the experience they have garnered in their lands of origin. We shall also have to consider their personal approach to the problem of their employment in the economy.

Coordination between the microeconomic and the macroeconomic interests demands constant attention to all the matters relevant to the problems of the new immigrants who wish to become part of the economy. We can readily set up a quantitative and qualitative framework for the objectives we desire from the macroeconomic standpoint, but this will not be as easy in the case of the microeconomic objectives which are related to the immigrant's sphere of activity. For this reason, coordination between these two interests will have to be quite flexible.

The structure of the national economy of a country which accepts immigration and develops at an impressive rate is characteristically different from the economic structure of the developed industrial countries. The additional labor force provided by immigration is outstanding for its vocational training; however, this labor force has to be activated mainly by financial input drawn from public sources. Statistical figures dealing with the structure of industrial and crafts branches show that our economic development is characterized by a tendency toward centralization, growing out of the expansion of our existing enterprises; on the other hand, we are also looking toward the establishment of small businesses, because entrepreneurs tend to begin working on a relatively small scale. True, this tendency certainly has its place in the economy, which already has small enterprises such as the clothing industry (82% consisting of small enterprises), the furniture and woodworking industry (78%), leatherware and leather products (88%) and miscellaneous industries (84%). On the other hand, the share of the small enterprises in mining and quarrying, rubber and plastics, and diamonds does not exceed 30%. However, there is ample opportunity for smaller enterprises even in these industries, if their founders have abundant initiative and professional knowhow.

It is our opinion that any new immigrant who wishes to become integrated in the economy will be able to find employment and livelihood in the following vocations (Table 26):

Electronics, fine chemicals, cosmetics, working of semi-precious stones, etc. are not estimable, but it is desirable that enterprises be established in these branches.

Table 27
Forecast for the Establishment of Self-Owned Plants and Workshops
Supplying Technical Services, 1971—1975

Sub-branch	Total expected demand	Total workers in plant (hired)	Total investment including vehicles (IL 000)
Machinists & Mechanics, all industrial branches	150	3—10	10—30
Technicians to adjust knitting & weaving machines	30	0—2—5	10—30
Dies maintenance	20	3—10	15—50
Electrical installations maintenance	30	0—5	10—30
Water installations maintenance	20	0—5	10—30
Medical and dental instruments maintenance	10	0—3	10—30
Electrical & electronic instruments maintenance	20	0—3	10—30
Tool and machinery fitters	100	0—3	10—30

The intent here is to set up self-owned enterprises to provide technical services for small plants which cannot set up their own departments for taking care of tools and machinery. Considering the fact that Israeli industry has quite a number of small plants, the suppliers of technical services to these plants are likely to streamline their operations and to increase the volume of their output.

Table 28

**Forecast for the Establishment of Self-Owned Plants and Workshops
Supplying Personal Services, 1971—1975**

Sub-branch	Total expected demand	Total hired workers in plant	Total investment in enterprise (IL 000)
Laundries	10	5—25	50—400
Self-service laundries	30	0—4	150—250
Dry cleaners	100	0—5	30—100
Men's barbers	400	0—3	20—50
Women's hairdressers	300	5—10	50—200
Repair tailoring, men's and women's	200	0—2	2
Pedicure & foot treatment, manicure	100	0	
Cosmeticians, beauty salons	100—150	5—20	50—300

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF THE NEW ENTERPRISES

Locating new economic enterprises is currently the subject of study and research in many countries throughout the world⁽²¹⁾. Modern industrial society sees its future in the establishment of population centers of optimal size (the newest plans refer to communities of 50,000 persons). The planners seek to disperse the populations of the large cities all over the country, in a move to offset the attraction of the megalopolis.

If this is so in other countries, it is even more so in Israel. Populating the land with Jewish communities is the goal behind the population dispersal policy and the plans for urban-rural settlement. The policy of encouraging capital investment, the program of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, the plans of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry for the industrialization of development areas, and the activities of the central economic agencies are also guided by the desire to disperse the population.

These plans, however, involve foreign investors, capitalists or economic factors already functioning in the country. They have nothing to do with the new immigrant who wants to become part of the economy as an independent entity. The macroeconomic goals to which our economy will be striving for the next five-year period do indeed form a framework which promises a wide field of activity for the newcomers, but the matter of economic and social integration which actively concerns them must be considered in the light of a row of physical elements. The matter of where the new immigrants will be located, as independent workers in the economy, is therefore of utmost importance. However, more informative material is required before a more detailed economic plan can be formulated. The statistical figures that we possess have to do mostly with industrial and craft enterprises which employ workers. Under these circumstances the General Planning Authority says that "information sources about the branch

(the reference is to the services branch-including commercial, personal and public services) are meager, at present, and the detailing according to sub-branches is none too credible...there is need to complete the analytical work in the services branch so as to gain an overall picture of its activity in the economy, according to economic branches."

Our interim report does not note the geographical locations of the enterprises which the new immigrants will be wanting to set up, as independent workers in the economy. Material gathered on the subject is partial in nature and must be supplemented with field work that would garner more detailed information on the needs of the economy in relation to various geographic regions.

Since immigration on the one hand and economic absorption, on the other, are handled by us, on the practical level, by various administrative bodies, we shall have to gather information from quite a number of sources.

Figures compiled in our interim report show, that in the framework of further development of industry and the crafts, we shall need some 3,200 additional small and medium enterprises, which will be established at the initiative of newcomers or of Israeli old-timers. The need for expanding the supply of technical services also creates an opportunity for setting up another 300 new economic units. Further growth of the branches which provide personal services through workshops will call for another 1,500 new enterprises, considering the population growth. To these we should add another list of services (entertainment, sports, health, vacationing, etc.) plus tourism services, which also afford extensive opportunities for the newcomers who will want to become integrated in the economy as independents.

Commercial services call for the establishment of another 5,000 units in various branches. To these we should add banking, insurance, brokerage, commissions in various branches, engineering and technical services, consultation, etc.

If we consider that we can expect an immigration of 30-40 thousand newcomers a year, it means that the civilian labor force will be thereby augmented by 40,000 workers in the course of the five years. It can be assumed that 10%-15% of these workers will want to be integrated in the economy as independents.

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Dr. Paul Ritterband, Associate Director, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. The study reported is part of a larger study conducted under United States Office of Education. The author of this article is in course of preparing a monograph on the "non-returning Israeli student" in the U.S.A.

THE DETERMINANTS OF MOTIVES OF ISRAELI STUDENTS STUDYING IN THE UNITED STATES*

For Israelis in American colleges and universities, there are two avenues of arrival into the United States. Undergraduates tend to be students who either have been tracked out of the college preparatory system in Israel or have performed poorly. Graduate students tend to come to the United States because of the superior educational opportunities offered there in their areas of specialization. The filter mechanisms in the Israeli education and social system are traced. Occupationally differentiated motivational patterns are found to be functions of prior education in Israel. Some non-educational sources of motives for study abroad are analyzed.

In the years following the second World War the United States has shifted from being a sending country to a receiving country in international educational exchange.¹ Relative to the entire university population in the United States, the foreign student population still is rather small.² However, the absolute number of foreign students is very large and is growing.³ Until very recently, research on foreign students largely was focused on questions dealing with their adjustment to the United States, part of the more general problem of attitude change "towards members of racial, religious or national groups in situations of intergroup contact."⁴ Recent research has begun to deal more directly with educational exchange in terms of human capital formation, the formal educational functions it performs for the students, the brain drain, and related issues. This paper examines the motives for study abroad among the population of Israeli students in the United States.

PRIOR RESEARCH CONCERNING MOTIVES FOR STUDY ABROAD

Who studies abroad and why?

A host of factors has been proposed to explain why students go abroad to study. Some of those who study abroad, it has been suggested, are poor students at home; universities, however, often are not able to evaluate foreign records adequately and accept these students who, by reasonable standards, are not college material.⁵ In other cases, students' records should permit them to enter a good university at home, but sufficient facilities simply do not exist to take care of them; the quantitative inadequacy of their national universities forces them elsewhere for their education.⁶ For others, there is room to study at home, but the

level of instruction is inadequate in their field of special interest. Finally, some sons of the local aristocracy or upper class see study abroad as either a lark or as a kind of "finishing school."⁷ For them, the foreign diploma is a mark of social prestige rather than academic accomplishment.

Why do foreign students come to the United States?

Given the decision to study abroad, why does the student choose to come to the United States? The shift in the direction of the flow of foreign students to the United States is, in part, a function of America's having become the scientific center of the world.⁸ At the beginning of this decade, 40 per cent of the foreign students in the United States were in the natural sciences while in the rest of the OECD nations the average figure was only 20 per cent.⁹ The Israeli distribution in the United States is heavily skewed towards the sciences.

Other individuals have been told by their compatriots that students in the United States can support themselves by working part time, an option which is not as readily available elsewhere in the world. This factor is particularly important for the Israelis; in the United States a scarcity of skilled manpower in the field of Jewish education affords many Israelis opportunities for part-time employment so that they can subsist in the United States even without the aid of fellowships.¹⁰

There is another group who, in a sense, are not bona fide students at all but rather immigrants who see their student visa as the first step in acquiring either citizenship or permanent residence in the United States.¹¹ They often drift away from school, frequently one jump ahead of the immigration officials, until either they are compelled to leave the country, or through marriage or other legal devices they are able to remain in the United States.

Immigration, whether covert or overt, presents particularly agonizing moral dilemmas for Israelis. Israel sees itself as a country of immigration, not emigration. Despite some evidence of ambivalence towards immigrants, the dominant view of the emigrant is negative.¹² The young Israeli who wishes to leave the country permanently or for a long sojourn must legitimate his trip in terms of national needs if he is to avoid the negative sanctions which are applied to those whom the Israelis call by the pejorative term, "Yordim," literally "those who go down" with the clear implication of "defector." The student status supplies such legitimation for the Israeli who wishes to go abroad. In sum, one would expect to find patterns of motives as functions of academic achievement, aspirations, and more general social position in Israel.

METHOD

The Empirical Study of Reasons

The analysis of the reasons which Israelis give for coming to the United States as students has been restricted to a set of five dimensions. Why Israelis come to the United States as students is obviously related to other questions, e.g., their choice of occupation. Not all occupations require higher education. Why did an individual choose a given occupation that required higher education and that, in turn, brought him to the United States? The present inquiry will take the student's occupational choice and his being in the United States on student status as given; it will examine *motives* for being here in terms of Israeli educational and social structure.

In developing an accounting scheme to include the relevant dimensions of the analysis, it has been necessary to keep three related factors in mind. First, we

must distinguish between official motives and private reasons. The sponsors of educational exchange (if one takes the public statements of policy seriously) are motivated by one or more factors that have been found to be irrelevant for the students who actually participate in educational exchange. Some policy makers have talked of increasing international understanding; others of inhibiting the development of world communism; still others of developing human capital. It may well be that educational exchange does perform these and other functions which correspond to official motives. However, qualitative interviews with students have demonstrated that the official motives for promoting and supporting educational exchange are unrelated to their own expressed motives.

Second, it is crucial that we distinguish motives, either public or private, from consequences or functions. Function, either latent or manifest, need not be part of causality. This analysis is interested in the motives of which the actor is aware and which he feels have caused him to do what he has done. Last, the analysis is restricted to that class of motives which is best understood in terms of social structure and process. *The task is that of distinguishing types of motives that may be understood in the light of the facts of social life of Israel and the United States and the position of the actor in the two social structures.*

Reason analysis differs from most cross sectional analysis in only one way. In usual cross sectional survey analysis, the key dependent variable is the performance vs. non-performance of an act. The analyst's task is to lay bare the determinants of performance or non-performance. In a reason analysis the task is to distinguish among types of actors, *all of whom* have performed the act in question. All of the members of the population have come to the United States and have been students here some time during their sojourn in the United States. In reason analysis, the analyst examines the several paths that have led to the same act.

This study is based upon mail questionnaires sent to all of the Israelis who had studied or were currently studying in the United States as of the late spring of 1966. The population list for the study was developed out of lists made available to the author by the Institute of International Education, the Israel Government Bureau for Professionals in New York City, and the American Consulate in Tel Aviv, Israel. Cross checking the lists showed a very high degree of congruence among them. In all, 67 per cent of the known population responded to mail questionnaires. On matters of public record, e.g., *type of visa issued, adjustment of visa, etc.*, the data of the study and the public data are in complete agreement. Internal checks did not show any bias in non-response.

Respondents were presented with a list of twenty-four reasons for coming to the United States and were asked to indicate the extent to which each of these reasons was applicable to themselves. Persons who indicated that they came because *their parents migrated* to the United States were removed from the study population. Those who said they came because *their spouse decided* to study in the United States were removed from the reason analysis on the grounds that they themselves did not engage in the decision process.

The analysis proper then began with twenty-two reasons that were developed as *indicators of the five dimensions* of the accounting scheme. The dimensions of the accounting scheme, based upon qualitative interviews with Israeli students in the United States and Israeli and American officials who advise and deal with Israeli students, were as follows:

- A Perceived superiority of the American academic system,
- B Academic financial facilitation (stipends and scholarships),
- C Personal academic inadequacy,
- D Non-academic financial facilitation,
- E Ulterior, i.e., non-academic reasons.

If we were to handle each reason dichotomously and generate all of the logically possible patterns of reasons, we would arrive at 2^{22} or 4,194,304 distinct patterns of reason, a clearly unmanageable situation! If we were to operate with the five dimensions as variables and again define each of them dichotomously, we would generate a property space containing 2^5 or 32 possible cells, a considerable improvement over the 2^{22} situation, but still rather cumbersome. Further, by immediately moving from the twenty-two individual items to the five dimensions, we would be assuming that the items actually do fit the accounting scheme model. Thus, both for reasons of determining the fit between the model of the accounting scheme and the empirical relationship of the items, and to attempt further reduction of the property space, a correlation matrix of the items was developed. McQuitty's method was used, i.e., a pencil and paper "factor analysis" where the raw data are first presented in the form of a correlation matrix and then are rearranged so that clusters are developed where the intra-group correlation is maximized and the inter-group correlation is minimized.¹³ It was found that the five dimensions of the accounting scheme could be reduced to three primary clusters where six of the items were removed because they were not clearly classifiable into any cluster or dimension. The relationship among the items and the clusters that they form are presented in Figure 1.¹⁴

The relative distance of an item from any other item or set of items is determined by the correlation between or among those items. Those items which are connected by solid lines constitute a cluster of empirically related responses. *The Academic Star cluster indicates that the student came to the United States because of the inherent desirability of American education or training in his field. The Also Ran cluster indicates either outright failure or fear of failure in the Israeli educational system.* The emphasis in the Academic Star cluster is on American academic pull while the Also Ran cluster suggests Israeli academic push. These two clusters are treated as mutually exclusive in the analysis which follows. The third cluster, *Uterior or Non-Academics*, is not reflective of the academic situation either in Israel or the United States and this pattern of motives will be shown to be a function of largely non-academic elements in the student's life. In the course of the analysis, groups of students will be termed Academic Stars, Also Rans, and Non-Academics. These categories are based upon the reasons that they gave for coming to the United States as students; the categories reflect distinct paths to the United States and distinct types of students. The analysis tries to show the educational (and more generally social) processes and structures which generate types of motives for those who come to study in the United States.

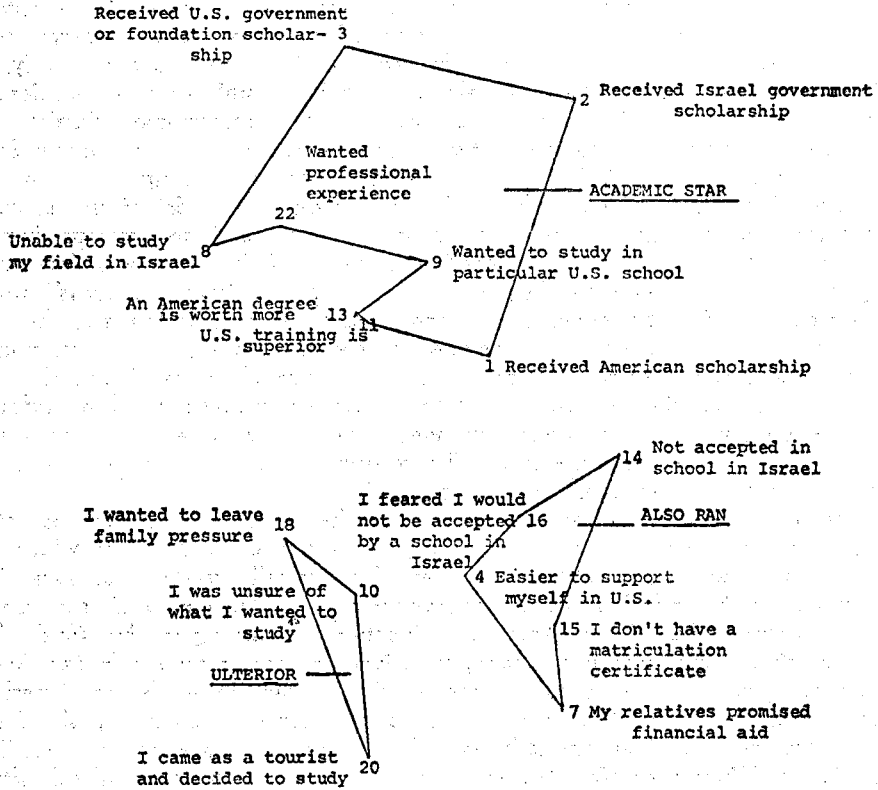
ACADEMIC DETERMINANTS OF REASONS

The Israeli educational system is based upon a mixture of public and private initiative and populist and elitist educational doctrine and practice. The basic pattern of education in Israel antedates the establishment of the State. Under the British mandate, the Jewish community of Palestine, with some limited help from the mandatory government, supported a system of education through high school. The university system was created and supported in partnership with the Jewish communities in the *diaspora*. With independence in 1948, the basic pattern of education was maintained. The Education Act of 1949 made the voluntary system of universal primary education both compulsory and free. High school education has been supported in part by the central government, in part by local government (municipalities), and is in part dependent on tuition fees.

The Israeli educational system offers little in the way of second chances. The winnowing out of the academically weaker students begins in the eighth grade and

FIGURE 1

MDSICAL PLOT OF REASONS FOR STUDYING IN THE UNITED STATES



* The items presented are English translations and abridgements of the questions presented to the respondents in the mailed questionnaire. The original Hebrew questions are available from the author.

continues throughout their term in the university. *Among those presenting some academic reason for being in the United States and who have not earned any degree in Israel, 52 per cent are "Also Rans;"* for those who hold a bachelor's degree the figure falls to 11 per cent; and for those who hold a graduate degree it is only 4 per cent.¹⁵ Some of the winnowing process continues into graduate education where the student's performance on the undergraduate level is a good predictor of his motives for coming to the United States.

Among those who have completed a BA in Israel, undergraduate grade point average is a good predictor of motive for coming to study in the United States.¹⁶ The major difference in patterns of motives, however, is between those who do and do not hold an Israeli BA. This difference in motives, in turn, can be traced to previous experience in the educational system, e.g., movement from the primary school to secondary school. The present analysis focuses on pre-collegiate educational experience as it shapes the decision to study abroad and gives rise to two major classes of academically determined motivational patterns.

At the elementary school level some form of education is available for the entire population. The elitist pattern shows itself most clearly on the level of secondary education. The comprehensive high school, characteristic of American secondary education, is unknown in Israel. In moving from the eighth grade to

high school, the student either chooses or is assigned to one of several secondary school options, among which the academic high school is the major road to higher education. Data analyzed for the period 1950-57 show the following pattern of tracking and drop-out from the first grade on to entrance into the system of higher education:

Of every 100 who entered the elementary school, no more than 84 completed the eighth grade.

Of every 100 who completed the eighth grade, 73 went on to some secondary education of whom 34 entered non-academic secondary schools and of whom 39 entered an academic secondary school.

Of every 100 who entered an academic secondary school, 51 reached the twelfth grade and 48 sat for the matriculation exam.

Of every 100 boys who passed the matriculation examination, 90 entered university.

Of every 100 girls who passed the matriculation examination, 80 entered university.¹⁷

More recent data on the proportion of the relevant population which entered the twelfth grade in an academic high school show an increase from 9.8 per cent in 1959 to 13.5 per cent in 1963.¹⁸ However, the "democratization" of high school education by no means has kept pace with the increase in university enrolments. There are those who suggest that the current high school structure in Israel is a major obstacle in the development of a rational manpower policy; vocational schools, it is asserted, teach industrial skills, quickly made obsolete by technological change. Moreover, they tend to be too practically oriented and do not give the student the "basics" for acquiring new skills.¹⁹ Whether this is true or not is open to question. What seems to be clear, however, is that the structure of secondary education can be a stumbling block for the individual seeking higher education. The type of high school attended is a key determinant of the motives of those who come to study in the United States.

The data in Table 1 demonstrate that having attended a non-academic high school limits access to higher education in Israel and motivates the student to seek education abroad as a second chance option. The major filter mechanism through which the high schools control access to higher education in Israel is the matriculation examination. During the academic year 1966-67, among students in the universities in Israel, 75 per cent held a standard Israeli matriculation certificate, 11 per cent had passed the examination as an external student, 10 per cent

Table 1
Reason for Studying in the United States and Type of High School Attended
(Percentages)

Reason	Type of High School Attended					
	Academic	Agricultural	Externe ^a	Vocational	Other ^b	Abroad
Academic star	71	62	53	40	56	65
Also ran	26	34	43	58	42	35
No academic reason	3	5	5	2	2	—
N	(734)	(110)	(89)	(134)	(273)	(109)

NA, for type of high attended or did not attend high school = 165.

^a Matriculation examination not taken in course.

^b Normal schools, Yeshivot, n.e.c.

held a foreign matriculation certificate, and 4 per cent held some other certificate.²⁰ Thus, excluding those who hold a foreign matriculation certificate, 95 per cent of the students in universities in Israel held an Israeli matriculation certificate, in the vast majority of cases earned in course; among those studying in the United States the comparable figure is 79 per cent. *Among those in the United States who hold a matriculation certificate, 26 per cent may be classified as having come to the United States because their way to further education was blocked in Israel as compared with 60 percent of those without a matriculation certificate.*

The matriculation examination is taken as a matter of course by the students in the twelfth grade in the academic high schools. Some of the agricultural high schools prepare students for the matriculation examinations, while in the vocational track the matriculation examination is a minor option. The effect of the matriculation certificate within the major secondary school options is shown in the data in Table 2.

Table 2

Reason for Studying in the United States, Matriculation Certificate, and Type of High School Attended (Percentages)

Reason for Studying in the United States	Type of High School					
	Academic		Agricultural		Vocational	
	Matriculation Certificate		Matriculation Certificate		Matriculation Certificate	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Academic star	74	43	76	40	52	29
Also ran	23	55	20	56	46	69
No academic reason	3	2	5	5	2	3
N	(671)	(58)	(66)	(43)	(48)	(80)

NA on matriculation examination = 12.

The difference in patterns of motives which was shown between those who had attended academic and agricultural schools is explained fully by the differential likelihood of having received a matriculation certificate in the two school types. In the case of the vocational schools, the difference in part is explained by the matriculation certificate, but a significant variance still remains. An additional explanation is found in the level of performance of the students in the two trends.

Holding a matriculation certificate is a necessary but not sufficient condition for entrance into the university in Israel. Since the demand for university places exceeds the supply, the candidate for admission to the university in Israel is competing with his fellow students for scarce places. Assuming that the student possesses a valid matriculation certificate, he is judged on his level of achievement on the matriculation examination; in certain faculties he must pass an entrance examination (termed a *concours*) in addition to the matriculation examination. The data in Table 3 show that the level of performance on the matriculation examination strongly affects the pattern of motives.

Table 3

Reason for Studying in the United States and Matriculation Examination Score among Respondents Holding an Israeli Matriculation Certificate (Percentages)

Reason for studying in the United States	Matriculation Examination Score			
	9-10	8-8.5	7-7.5	6-6.5
Academic Star	87	79	63	53
Also ran	12	18	33	42
No academic reason	1	3	4	5
N	(96)	(385)	(424)	(115)

NA on matriculation = 22; NA on matriculation score = 32.

The lower the student's grades on the matriculation examination, the more likely he is to indicate that he came to the United States because his way was blocked in Israel. There is some evidence that the matriculation examination is a less than adequate predictor of later academic achievement; however, the data show that academic achievement, as measured by the matriculation examination, does operate powerfully within the Israeli academic system.²¹ The educational system is intellectually meritocratic. This is a theme which we shall have occasion to return to further on in the analysis. The data in Table 3 also suggest that academic achievement is related positively to academic motives. The lower the level of achievement reported on the matriculation examination, the more likely is the student to report that he had no academic motive for coming to the United States and was motivated solely by ulterior factors.

Since the matriculation examination is geared largely to an academic curriculum, those who have taken the matriculation examination without adequate academic preparation on the secondary level show a lower level of performance on the examination. Among graduates of the academic high schools, 53 per cent report an average matriculation examination score of 8 or above; the comparable figure for vocational school graduates is only 32 per cent. Among those who have taken the examination as external students, that is, outside of the regular secondary school structure, the figure drops to only 19 per cent. Comparing the pattern of motives of academic and vocational school graduates with the distribution of matriculation examination scores standardized on the total population of the academic and vocational schools, we find that part of the differential pattern of motives which was not accounted for by the presence or absence of a matriculation certificate is accounted for by the level of accomplishment on the matriculation of students who are graduates of the two types of schools.

In sum, the effect of the high schools attended on the patterns of motives of Israeli students in the United States has appeared in Tables 1, 2, and 3. Taking the extreme cases, the difference in Table 1 was 32 percentage points between academic and vocational high school graduates on the proportion who have come to the United States because they could not meet Israeli academic standards (i.e., the difference in percentage "Also Ran"). In Table 2 the differential was reduced to 14 percentage points among those without a matriculation certificate, and 23 percentage points among those with a matriculation certificate. In Table 4, upon standardizing for the students' grades on the matriculation examination in the academic and vocational tracks, the difference in motivational patterns is reduced to only 18 percentage points.²²

Table 4

Reason for Studying in the United States and Type of High School, Standardized on Matriculation Examination Score* (Percentages)

Reason for studying in the United States	Type of High School	
	Academic	Vocational
Academic star	72	60
Also ran	21	39
No academic reason	4	1
N	(671)	(48)

* Respondents who attended agricultural high school not included.

SOCIAL CLASS EFFECTS ON EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN ISRAEL

It is a well established regularity that social class origin predicts level of academic achievement and success. Since it has been shown that study abroad is a forced choice for many Israelis based upon their inability to succeed in their home system, an examination of the social class determinants of educational opportunity and achievement becomes significant. *In comparing Israel with twelve other countries, Husén found that there was relatively little "social bias" in pre-university level enrollments.*²³ As a general formulation, the lower the age of tracking, the greater the degree of social bias. As had been noted earlier, the key tracking point for the Israelis is not until the eighth grade.

For the educational planner who is interested in maximizing the human capital resources of his country, a major problem is that of allocating the students to that track which will best exploit their talents both for the national welfare and for their own personal fulfillment. Free or subsidized education is one of the ways in which societies redistribute wealth through investment in human beings. If that investment is to have maximum payoff in terms of the productivity of the populace, then the tracking of students should not take into account invidious social class distinctions. However, the existence of social class differentials in both level and quality of education achieved is not adequate evidence of social class discrimination.

I.Q. as well as other intellectual attributes have been shown to be correlates of social class. It becomes extremely difficult to determine the extent to which functionally appropriate tracking standards that are correlates of social class are products of a necessary relationship between social class and the standards or are the products of social class discrimination. For example, the relationship between social class and I.Q. may be attributable to culture bound tests, to differential socialization, to pre-natal nutrition or to gene pool. At this point we have no answer to this problem.

As we would expect, social class predicts, albeit somewhat weakly, the students' motives for studying in the United States (see Table 5, part A). The relationship between social class and motives is a function of the relationship between social class and educational achievement. *The higher his social class origin, the more likely is the student to have earned a degree in Israel.* While the relationship between social class and having earned a degree in Israel holds for the population as a whole, it is reduced considerably for those who attended an academic high school in Israel (Table 5, part B). As has been noted above, tracking

into high school is a key determinant of college admissions in Israel and, thus, is a key determinant of motives for studying abroad. The social class effect on motives for studying abroad would seem to be largely a function of the type of high school attended. While attending an academic high school is a function of social class (Table 5, part C), among those who attended an academic high school, social class has little or no effect on their likelihood of having completed high school or on their matriculation examination scores (Table 5, part D).

Table 5
Social Class Effects on Educational Achievement

	Social Class as Measured by Father's Highest Level of Education		
	Primary School	High School	College or University
A. Reason for studying in the United States (per cent Alson Ran)	40 (451)	37 (649)	28 (465)
B. Highest degree earned in Israel:			
In total population (percent)			
No degree	72	67	59
Bachelors	17	18	23
Graduate	12 (451)	16 (649)	19 (465)
Among those who attended an academic high school in Israel (per cent)			
No degree	55	57	50
Bachelors	29	23	27
Graduate	17 (161)	20 (287)	23 (268)
C. Percent attended academic high school	36 (451)	44 (649)	58 (465)
D. Of those who attended academic high school:			
Per cent completed	96 (161)	93 (287)	96 (268)
Per cent earned grade of 8 or above on matriculation examination	49 (144)	50 (261)	53 (251)

The relationship between social class and educational opportunities and achievement in Israel and motives for studying in the United States in the population of Israelis studying in the United States seems to exist largely at the point of tracking from primary school to secondary school. If the student enters an

academic secondary school, social class effects largely disappear. The extent to which high school tracking is a function of educationally relevant or irrelevant social class factors must remain a question for us.

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND REASONS FOR STUDY IN THE UNITED STATES

From 1961 through 1964 the number of places in all Israeli institutions of higher learning increased at a rate of 20 per cent per annum compounded; however, the rate of increase in science and technology was only that of 10 per cent per annum compounded.²⁴ The much smaller rate of increase in the number of students admitted into the faculties of natural science and engineering is not a function of lack of interest in these fields on the part of students but rather is the result of administrative decisions on the part of the authorities which have resulted in restricted access to these faculties.²⁵ A far larger proportion of academically qualified (i.e., in terms of their matriculation examination) are rejected in the faculties of natural science and engineering than humanities or social sciences.²⁶ The situation in medicine has been most critical. It has been estimated that only one in six of the applicants to Israeli medical schools had been accepted prior to the opening of the new medical school associated with Tel Aviv University.²⁷

It is difficult to know exactly to what factor or factors the different patterns of development in the several faculties may be attributed. On the one hand, historically there has been a prejudice in favor of humanistic studies in Israeli higher education.²⁸ On the other hand, the costs per student vary considerably by faculty. A recent report of a government commission gave the following cost estimates per student by faculty:²⁹

Faculty	Annual Costs per Student (in Israeli pounds)
Humanities and social science	1,930
Law	1,240
Mathematics and natural sciences	6,880
Agriculture	9,300
Medicine	19,380
Engineering	5,641

If the goal has been to increase the number of places in universities, irrespective of manpower needs, it would make sense to make the greatest increase in those areas where the cost per additional student would be lowest. Again, however, it is impossible to know the extent to which the cultural tradition or economic calculations were the determining factors in the uneven expansion of the system of higher education.

It has been demonstrated that the structure of education in Israel is a prime determinant of motives of Israelis studying in the United States. Is it the case that those faculties in Israel which show the highest propensity to come to the United States do so because of limited opportunities in Israel? The data in Table 6 present the pattern of motives for each of the major areas of study.

Table 6
Reason for Studying in the United States and Field of Study (Percentages)

Reason for studying in the United States	Field of Study					
	Business	Medicine	Social Science	Nat. Sci. & Mathematics	Humanities Education & the Arts	Engineering
Academic star	71	76	68	68	65	50
Also ran	26	24	31	31	28	48
No academic reason	3	—	2	2	7	2
N	(180)	(86)	(225)	(271)	(220)	(527)

Other = 27.

AN on Field of Study = 78.

Of the three fields in which the demand for places far exceeds the supply, it is only engineering which shows a marked difference in the pattern of reasons among the students. This finding is striking. Although medicine also is a very crowded field in Israel, in recent years the United States has not been a center for doctoral studies for aliens. *The Israeli who is not able to enter a medical school in Israel is likely to turn to Switzerland, Austria, or Italy.* In the period from 1951 to 1963 there were only 1,200 foreign students in American medical schools (i.e., 1 per cent of the medical school population) 2 per cent of whom were Israelis.³⁰ It is not a matter simply of Israelis not being able to enter school in Israel which brings them here but rather, in addition, the realistic possibilities of entering school here. Although natural science and engineering faculties both are very circumscribed in Israel, only engineering demonstrates a pattern significantly different from that of the other professions. The problem of engineering does not lie in the discrepancy between supply and demand of places but may be understood in terms of some other characteristic of the engineering profession and/or would-be engineers.

The answer to the problem of the engineers largely lies in the early training of potential engineers. Those who have attended the academically weaker high schools strongly tend to select the field of engineering. While 29 per cent of those who attended academic high schools plan engineering careers, more than twice as many (69 per cent) of those who attended vocational high schools plan to be engineers. *Engineers are less likely to have the basic matriculation document without which entrance into the Technion (the Israel Institute of Technology) is impossible.* Beyond that, even among those who do hold a matriculation certificate, engineers tend to have a lower level of academic qualification than their colleagues in the natural sciences. Among those who attended an academic high school, 62 per cent of the natural scientists scored 8 or better on their matriculation examinations while the comparable figure for engineers is only 46 per cent. Taking into account the academic achievement of engineers and natural scientists, much of the variance in motivational patterns across the two fields is accounted for by their different level of accomplishment.

Table 7
Reason, Matriculation Grades, and Field of Study, Academic High School Graduates Only (Percentages)

Reason for studying in the United States	Field of Study			
	Engineer		Science	
	Matric. 8 and over	Exam Grades 7.5 and less	Matric. 8 and over	Exam Grades 7.5 and less
Academic star	80	51	83	64
Also ran	20	45	16	32
No academic reason	0	4	1	2
N	(89)	(103)	(81)	(50)

NA grades = 7.

The data in Table 7 show that, holding matriculation grades constant, the difference within fields is far greater than the difference across fields. The pattern of a greater difference within fields than across fields holds in the case of every occupational field except business administration; i.e., the pattern holds in every field in which there is a viable Israeli alternative, and where those who do not take the Israeli alternative choose the United States as their second-chance option. *In the case of business administration, the level of instruction in Israel has been rather primitive until very recently.* Business administration had its beginnings in Israel in 1957 as a non-degree granting program, organized by the United States Operations Mission. It is only since 1964 that a degree program has been developed, and the field still is struggling for academic respectability within the structure of the *Mittleuropa* conservative intellectualism of Israeli academic life. Thus it is that the pattern of motives in business administration shows little or no difference among academic high school graduates when stratified by matriculation score grades. Since business administration has been academically rather weak in Israel, we expect to see a rather different picture in a few years when business administration becomes a fully legitimate part of the Israeli university system.

One last part of the highly structured traditionalist academic system in Israel is that of the *high level of specialization which is characteristic of both Israeli high schools and universities.* On the university level, the student is required to study two majors. The broad-based liberal arts background which is characteristic of American education is unknown in Israel, though there are some who would want to move Israeli higher education in that direction. Specialization also is characteristic of the high school system. *At the end of the tenth grade in the academic high schools, the student must choose a megama, i.e., academic major.* The basic majors are *Réal* (i.e., physical science and mathematics), biological sciences (which is rather similar to the *Réal* option in terms of its emphasis on natural science and mathematics), humanities, and social science. In the main, the student's choice of university subject(s) is congruent with his high school major. However, what is the result of a shift in interest? Does the student who has emphasized the sciences in high school find himself at a loss if he later decides on the humanities or social sciences? To what measure, if any, does an incongruent pattern of choices on the high school and university levels lead to the student's being at a competitive disadvantage in going on with his education in Israel?

The data in Table 8 reveal that the student who moves from the humanities and social sciences to the natural sciences and engineering suffers only a very small disadvantage. The student who shifts in the opposite direction finds that his

chances actually have been improved. One would have to conclude that, at least in regard to the question of access to higher education, early specialization within the academic high school presents no particular problems.

Table 8
Field of Study and High School Major, Among Academic High School Graduates Only
(Per Cent Also Ran)

Field of Study	High school major	
	Humanities and Social Science	Realit and Bio. Science
Engineering and Natural Science	33 (48)	30 (279)
Humanities and Social Science	27 (128)	17 (63)

NON-ACADEMIC REASONS FOR STUDYING IN THE UNITED STATES

In several tables in the preceding section, we found that there were students who were motivated entirely by non-academic factors. Educational exchange served as a way of leaving an uncomfortable situation at home and/or offered the opportunity to see the world. Most of those who expressed non-academic reasons for coming to the United States expressed some academic motives as well, and their motives tend strongly to be located in the "also-ran category," as was shown in Figure 1.

In terms of the relationship of non-academic reasons with the academic-occupational sectors, we find that those who express non-academic reasons are less committed to their professions. Among those who indicate a marked preference for their current occupational choice, 19 per cent indicate that they were motivated, at least in part, by non-academic factors in contrast to 26 per cent of those who would consider another profession. This finding is congruent with the earlier findings which demonstrated that academic achievement was correlated with the presence of academic motives. *As a general rule, non-academic reasons motivate those students who have less in the way of responsibilities and commitments in Israel and who are more subject to discomfoting pressures in Israel.*

Table 9
Sources of Non-Academic Reasons for Coming to the United States

	Per Cent Non-Academic Reasons for Coming to the United States	
	25 or Under	26 and Over
Age at Arrival		
NA age = 38	27 (921)	14 (655)
Marital Status on Arrival	Not Married	Married
NA marital status on arrival = 32	27 (515)	9 (1067)
Sex	Female	Male
NA sex = 8	34 (266)	19 (1409)

Some of the demographic factors examined in Table 9 bear a strong relationship to one another so that in part the findings are further explicable in terms of these relationships. Those who were married at the time of their arrival in the United States tended to be somewhat older than those who were unmarried; marital status on arrival accounts for part of the differential pattern by age of arrival.²¹

In Table 9 the difference between the two age groups was 13 points; when stratified by marital status at time of arrival, the difference is reduced by about half. Thus, age generates responsibilities that, in turn, force one to offer hostages to fortune. Taking into account the three demographic characteristics simultaneously, we find that young unmarried females are the most likely to come to the United States for non-academic reasons (42 per cent); older married males are least likely (6 per cent). The pattern conforms to that which would be expected in the way of differential susceptibility to familial pressures at home and willingness or ability to take risks without clear promise of gain.

Table 10
Per Cent of Respondents Giving Non-Academic Reasons for Coming to the United States by Age and Marital Status on Arrival

Marital status on arrival	Per Cent Non-Academic Reason for Coming to the United States	
	Age at Arrival	
	25 or less	26 or more
Married	14 (160)	7 (340)
Not married	29 (746)	21 (302)

NA marital status on arrival and/or age at arrival = 66.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Since the Second World War, the United States has become a major center of international education. America's new educational role follows hard upon America's new position in world politics, economics, science, and technology. The relatively unique structure of the American system of higher education offers opportunities to aliens which they do not have in their own countries. The wide range of entrance requirements and academic standards in American colleges and universities offers second chances to students who have been tracked out of higher education in their countries of origin. For the superior student, particularly in science and engineering, America offers a high level of graduate education which may not be available at home. The very size of the United States permits a degree of subject matter specialization which smaller countries could not possibly afford to offer.

By following the earlier academic careers of Israeli students in the United States, we have been able to identify those mechanisms that generate motives for taking the high road and the low road into American higher education. *We have found that decisions which were made when the students were 14 to 15 years old controlled their motives some ten years later in their lives. Indeed, there*

is some evidence that the pattern of motives for coming to the United States were in part determined by their parents' life chances.

Educational exchange, in addition to having its intellectual component, offers some students the opportunity to have a fling, to try a new life. The student visa is the easiest long term visa to receive. The foreign student grapevine tells of schools which are quite cooperative in admitting foreign "students" for whom the student status legitimates their stay in the United States both in terms of normative demands of their home country and the legal demands of the United States.

REMARKS

¹ Full comparative statistics are not available for all countries in which Americans studied during the nineteenth century, but the data for Germany (the country that was probably America's chief intellectual creditor) indicate that the number of American students in German universities rose from four students during the academic year 1835-1836 to 925 during the winter semester of 1880-1881. For further details on the earlier period, see J. Conrad, *Das Universitatssudium in Deutschland*, Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1884, pp. 30-36. Data for the later period was supplied by the Statistisches Bundesamt, D.B.R., in a personal communication, August, 1966.

² In the NORC sample of American College Seniors (Class of 1961) 1.5 per cent of the sample were foreign students. In the sample of graduate students in science and engineering taken in 1963, foreign students were 15 per cent of the sample, rising to 27 per cent among graduate students in civil engineering. Seymour Warkov, *Subsidies for Graduate Students*, Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, March 1964, pp. 188-189.

³ During the academic year 1965-1966 there were about 94,000 foreign students in American universities and colleges as compared with 36,000 one decade earlier according to the annual census of the Institute of International Education. Given some of the problems of foreign student population enumeration, I calculate that the number of foreign students in the United States is under-estimated by between 10 per cent to 20 per cent. See Institute of International Education, *Open Doors*.

⁴ Claire Selltitz, et al., *Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the United States*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963, p. ix.

⁵ *The Foreign Student: Whom Shall We Welcome?*, New York: Education and World Affairs, New York, 1964.

⁶ William H. Sewell and Oluf M. Davidsen, *Scandinavian Students on an American Campus*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961, pp. 7-8.

⁷ Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, *Indian Students on an American Campus*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956, pp. 29-30. Iraj Valipour, "A Comparison of Returning and Non-Returning Iranian Students in the United States," unpublished Ed. D. thesis, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1961, p. 12.

⁸ Lambert and Bressler, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Sewell and Davidsen, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁹ Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education*, 1962; III: *The Challenge of Aid to Newly Developing Countries*; IV: *The Planning of Education in Relation to Economic Growth*; V: *International Flows of Students*.

¹⁰ In France during 1966-1967 there were 218 Israeli students; 241 Israelis were students in the United Kingdom during 1967-1968. During that same period there were at least 1,500 Israeli students in the United States, more than a third of whom reported having worked in the U.S. as teachers in Jewish schools.

¹¹ "Approximately 80 per cent of Jordanian students never return. The student visa is often a device for immigration." *Mid-East*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (January-February 1969), p. 8.

¹² Aharon Antonovsky, "Political and Social Positions in Israel," *Amox*, Tel Aviv (June-July 1965), pp. 11-12 (Hebrew).

¹³ Louis L. McQuitty, "Elementary Linkage Analysis for Isolating Orthogonal and Oblique Types and Typal Relevancies," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1957).

¹⁴ For a description of the graph technique, see J. B. Kruskal, "Multidimensional Scaling by Optimizing Goodness to Fit to a Nonmetric Hypothesis," *Psychometrika*, XXIX (March 1964), 1-27, and (June 1964), 115-129; and J. B. Kruskal, "Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling: A Numerical Method," *Psychometrika*, XXIX (March 1964).

¹⁵ Immediately following upon the opening of Japan, many Japanese undergraduate students went abroad with the blessings of their government. By 1910, *Japanese undergraduates abroad tended to be those who could not make the grade at home* while the graduate students were among Japan's most promising young scholars. The parallel to the contemporary Israeli situation is striking. John W. Bennet, Herbert Passin, and Robert K. McKnight, *In Search of Identity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958, pp. 40-42.

¹⁶ Of those respondents who had earned the BA, but no higher degree before coming to the U.S. and had high undergraduate grades 5 per cent (N=76) were "Also Rans." Of their counterparts with low undergraduate grades, the percentage was 13 (N=220) of those respondents who had earned at least the MA degree in Israel, the corresponding percentages were 1 (N=96) and 5 (N=111).

¹⁷ H. V. Muhsam *et al.*, *The Supply of Professional Manpower from Israel's Academic System*, Jerusalem: Falk Institute for Economic Research in Israel, March, 1959, pp. v-ix. (Hebrew with English summary).

¹⁸ Uri Hurwitz and Malkah Havneh, *The Development of Manpower in the Scientific and Technological Professions in Israel*, Jerusalem: The National Council for Research and Development, 1964, p. 29. (Mimeographed, Hebrew.)

¹⁹ Eli Ginzberg, *Manpower Surveys*, Fourth Report on Manpower in Israel, State of Israel: Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning Authority 1 December 1964, pp. 5-8. (Mimeographed.)

²⁰ The data on the matriculation examinations of students in Israeli universities is found in *Statistical Bulletin of Israel*, Supplements XVIII, No. 4, (Jerusalem: The Central Bureau of Statistics April 1967), p. 120. (Mimeographed, Hebrew.) The rate of matriculation examination passes and the relationship between having passed the matriculation examination and motives for studying in the United States both are based on analysis of the data in the study being reported.

²¹ Leah Orr, "The Reliability of Israeli Matriculation Examinations," *Megamot*, XIV, No. 4 (August, 1966) (Hebrew). Michael Hen, Rina Doran, and Gad Yatziv, "Do the Matriculation Examinations Predict Success in the Universities?," *Megamot*, XII, No. 5 (March, 1963) (Hebrew).

²² Because of the large number of cells which makes for both complexity of presentation and small base figures in some of the cells, the data have been presented in standardized form. Standardization is permitted where inter-action of variables does not occur. Standardization is a common procedure in demographic analysis and is beginning to be used in survey analysis as a way of isolating effects of a given variable or set of variables while controlling for one or more variables. For a discussion of the logic of standardization and its use with survey data see Morris Rosenberg, "Test Factor Standardization as a Method of Interpretation," *Social Forces*, XLI (October, 1962), 53-61.

²³ Torsten Husén, "School Structure and the Utilization of Talent," ed., George Bereday, *Essays in World Education*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 68-92. For comparative data on levels of educational achievement in Israel and other countries see Torsten Husén, ed., *International Study of Achievement in Education II*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967, pp. 21-35. An extensive discussion of the relationship between social class and educational opportunity may be found in Diana Crane, "Social Class Origin and Academic Success: The Influence of Two Stratification Systems," *Sociology of Education*, XLII, No. 1 (Winter 1969), pp. 1-17. For a discussion of the problem in a cross national perspective, see A. H. Halsey, (ed.), *Ability and Educational Opportunity*, Paris, OECD, 1961.

²⁴ Hurwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁵ *Report of the Committee for the Development of the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, February, 1965, p. 6. (Mimeographed, Hebrew.)

²⁶ Hurwitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-15; Muhsam, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

²⁷ On some of the issues in the Israeli medical "brain-drain" see M. Prywes, "Sojourns and Emigration of the Graduates of the Medical School to the United States," *Medicine LXXII*, No. 8 (Hebrew), p. 311.

²⁸ Norman Kaplan, *The Educational Exchange Program: A Pilot Study of Its Impact on Israeli Institutions of Higher Learning*, Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, December 1965, especially pp. 26-39. (Mimeographed.)

²⁹ *Report of the Committee on Higher Education*, Jerusalem: October, 1965, p. 20. (Mimeographed, Hebrew.) At the time of this writing, the government supplies over half of the operating budget of the institutions of higher learning. The extent to which government participation ought to give the government the right to oversee university expansion in terms of government-defined manpower needs currently is being debated both within government and university circles. For the basic factors in the argument, see the symposium published in the August 1967 issue of *The University*, pp. 46-57 (Hebrew).

³⁰ "Foreign Students in U.S. Medical Schools," V, No. 6 Association of American Medical Colleges, (December, 1963).

³¹ The sex differential is somewhat exaggerated since those who indicated that their spouse's decision to study in the United States was a factor for their coming to the United States were excluded from the reasons analysis as mentioned above. A disproportionate number of those removed were married females. However a significant sex differential remains even when controlling for age and marital status on arrival.

Research on the Volunteers for Israel, in the wake of the Six-Day War, conducted by the Henrietta Szold Institute at the request of the Jewish Agency. Project planned and interviews arranged by a research staff of the Henrietta Szold Institute headed by **Dr. Joseph Hodara** and **Meir Cialic**. Material analyzed, processed and summarized by a staff headed by **Tamar Herowitz**.

VOLUNTEERS FOR ISRAEL

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

The Jewish Agency, which was responsible for the organization and administration of the Volunteers for Israel project in the wake of the Six-Day War and later, asked the Henrietta Szold Institute — the National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences — to conduct research on the subject. In the framework of this research, the phenomenon of the volunteers for Israel in the wake of the Six Day War was looked upon as a social movement. The social movement was conceived as rooted in the social strains to which the volunteers were subjected in their country of origin. But it was assumed that a unique event such as the Six Day War was needed in order to evoke the potential strain and to transform it into the form of a semi-spontaneous movement. In our analysis of the volunteers movement and the forms of its institutionalization we were guided by a theoretical model suggested by sociologists who have studied the evolution and structure of social movements. In the course of the study this model was modified in order to adapt it to the particular conditions of the volunteers phenomenon. Thus the analysis of the data follows a theoretical model, which can also be traced in the structure of the study and its division into chapters. But since the study was not theory-oriented, the conclusions focused on the empirical findings rather than on their theoretical implications. Special attention was attached to the operational conclusions which can be drawn from the phenomenon of the volunteers for Israel and to the manner in which it was handled by the bodies concerned with directing it into institutionalized channels. The research team is aware of the differences between the volunteers movement and the Aliya (immigration) movement. Yet it is highly probable that some of the conclusions drawn from the study of the volunteers movement are applicable also to immigration from the West. The main conclusions which can be inferred from the study are:

a. The phenomenon of the volunteers for Israel reflected two main structural strains: one deriving from the status of the young Jew in his country of origin as a member of a minority group which is not fully integrated in the native society; the other from his position as a member of a young generation in the period of transition from adolescence to adult life. These strains created the necessary conditions for the evolvement of the volunteers movement.

b. The members of the volunteers movement did not join it in order to solve their long-run problems as members of a marginal group. Rather, they sought to relieve tensions and overcome a feeling of discomfort in the short-run by expressing their Jewish identity. Therefore the potential of the volunteer movement is not necessarily identical with that of the Aliya movement although there are certain similarities between them.

c. A central characteristic of the vast majority of the volunteers is a Jewish attachment, of one kind or another, which existed prior to their decision to volunteer. This attachment was either religious, cultural, or Zionist, though only a minority had religious ties, while the majority revealed either "cultural" or Zionist orientation.

The family background of the majority is secular although at one stage or another in their life most of them had some kind of Jewish education. The limited effect of the religious orientation is exemplified by the fact that a considerable number of volunteers had no objection to mixed marriages.

d. The attitudes of the volunteers reflect a conflict between their identity as members of the Jewish people and their identity as members of the nation to which they belong as citizens. It is typical that when confronted by alternatives they are inclined to prefer the Jewish identity as a basis for their decision. This Jewish identity is embodied in their commitment to the State of Israel. It is also characteristic that most of the volunteers stated that they would have sided with Israel even in the case of war between the State of Israel and their country of origin.

e. The volunteers were subjected to tensions characteristic of their age group in Western society. They are clearly aware of the generation gap between their parents and themselves, although they are not rebellious in their outlook. Their awareness of the generation gap is more a recognition of differences than a demonstration of nonconformity and they are often inclined to call for a return to the original values preached, but not adhered to, by their parents.

f. The volunteers' general outlook is emotional rather than rational so that they are vulnerable to influences and can be easily mobilized into a social movement. Many of them are also readily inclined to accept the authority of a charismatic leadership.

g. It was neither Zionist propaganda nor the organized work of Israeli institutions that paved the way for the volunteers' decision to join the movement. Rather, in most cases the decisive factor was Jewish attachment inherited from their family or their immediate social environment.

h. The contact of the volunteers with the Israeli society was quite smooth and did not lead them to adopt a critical position. On the contrary, most of them expressed a rather favourable view about the manner in which they were treated by the Israeli society in general and the Jewish Agency and the Kibbutzim in which they stayed in particular.

i. Volunteering for Israel was not conceived by the volunteers as demanding a radical change in their life or outlook. There were signs of a change in their attitudes towards Israel, which became more favourable, but this change took the form of a reinforcement of their predispositions rather than the acquisition of new attitudes. There was also no alteration in their basic Jewish commitment.

j. There were considerable differences between the attitudes of volunteers from different countries of origin. The group whose motivation to volunteer was rooted in a particularly intensive conflict was that of the Latin Americans.

The impact of the two strains, that of a member of a marginal minority group and that of a member of the young age group, was most emphatic within this group. Consequently, their Zionist consciousness was also stronger than that of the other groups and they were inclined to attach more importance to their decision to volunteer. From this point of view they, more than any other group of volunteers, could be regarded as candidates for immigration to Israel.

On the other hand, both the "Jewish" and the "young age group" strains were least conspicuous among volunteers from the U.S.A. For them volunteering for Israel played the role of short-run tension relieving activity. The long-run solution of their problems was conceived by them as identification with the Jewish minority culture in the American pluralistic society. An exception among the U.S.A. volunteers was a group of volunteers from orthodox families. This group, like that of the Latin American volunteers, included a considerable number of candidates for immigration. The volunteers from England and South Africa resembled those from the U.S.A. more than those from Latin America, while the volunteers from Western Europe had many features in common with the Latin Americans.

k. The findings of the study did not reveal considerable differences between first, second and third generations in the volunteers' country of origin. Nevertheless, there were some signs that the strains deriving from a minority group status are less conspicuous among the third generation.

Although the variance between the generations was rather small, the slight difference can be interpreted as an indication that the third generation is to a certain extent less alienated from the non-Jewish society than the first and the second generation. It is nevertheless noteworthy that even those who belonged to the third generation retained their Jewish affinity, together with their affinity for their country of origin.

l. The social status of the parents had only limited impact on the attitudes of the volunteers. The only exception was those whose parents were in the professions. This group appeared to be less alienated from the non-Jewish environment in their country of origin than other groups. A similar phenomenon was found among volunteers who themselves held academic degrees. This finding can be interpreted as indicating that professional groups are more integrated in their non-Jewish environment than other social groups among the Jews.

m. There were very few differences between boys and girls among the volunteers. Yet there were some traces of more "conservative" and conformist attitudes among the girls.

The foregoing findings are essentially consistent with the hypothesis which guided the researchers in the design of the study. The findings are also compatible with the sociological theories concerning the processes by which social movements are formed and institutionalized. Moreover, there are indications that the factors which account for the evolvement of the volunteers movement are linked with the personal motivation of the volunteers as individuals responding to the challenge provided by the Six Day War. The institutionalization of the volunteer movement expressed itself in the processes through which the volunteers were cared for. The findings indicate that these processes matched the expectations of the volunteers. Since the motivations of the volunteers were connected with short-run release of tensions, the volunteer movement did not have an institutionalized continuation. Nevertheless, its experience can serve as a model for activity among Jewish youth in Western countries, both within the framework of the Aliya

movement and in that of Jewish education in the diaspora. Since the volunteers movement was a unique phenomenon, its experience cannot lead us to actual recommendations, but it is possible to draw certain operational conclusions:

a. Investment in Jewish education bears results in the long run even if not immediately, while direct propaganda aimed at mobilization for immediate action has only limited impact on the Jewish youth in the diaspora.

b. The atmosphere within the family has a stronger impact on the commitment to Israel than the activity of formal Zionist organizations and political parties.

c. A particularly strong precipitant factor is necessary in order to transform Jewish identity and sympathy for Israel into a personal decision, entailing far-reaching personal consequences, such as the departure to Israel for a period longer than a tourist visit.

d. It is necessary to distinguish between various degrees of potential identification with Israel. The highest degree ends in Aliya, the lowest is pro-Israel activities in the country of origin and contributions to Israel. The volunteers movement holds a middle position in the scale of identification with Israel.

e. Different groups vary in their readiness to mobilize aid for Israel in emergency situations and in their inclination to immigrate to Israel. Particularly important from this point of view are groups with partially blocked channels of mobility in their country of origin and hence less integrated in their non-Jewish environment.

Zionist and Israeli institutions, therefore, should concentrate their efforts on these groups in particular.

An Empirical study on Handicapped Persons in Israel in Need of Vocational Rehabilitation
by Mrs. Hanna Avidor, M.S.W., Head of Social Services Department, The Jewish Agency,
and Arye Nizan, Ph.D., the Office of National Insurance

HANDICAPPED PERSONS IN ISRAEL AND THEIR VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VOCATIONALLY HANDICAPPED

1. Demographic characteristics

Scope

The vocationally handicapped comprise 45,000 persons who constitute 2.9% of the total population in Israel in the respective age and sex groups (men aged 14-64 and women 14-59). This estimate is probably somewhat low because vocationally handicapped women are under-represented in this sample and persons in hospitals and resident institutions for one year or more were excluded altogether.

It was also evident from the findings that the scope of the youth population who are not performing their principal activity, namely, studying or working, is far wider than the number mentioned. However, because they did not claim they had a handicap, they were excluded by definition from the study population.

Age

Contrary to the public image of the vocationally handicapped as a predominantly old population, it was found that 55% of the vocationally handicapped are of the central working age of 18-54 years, and only 29% of the vocationally handicapped are 55 years or older. However, in the general population the 55 and older group constitute only 10% of the total. Sixteen percent, or 7,200 of the vocationally handicapped are young people aged 14-17 of whom 2,700 claim that due to a handicap they neither study nor work. The remaining 4,500 study in special educational frameworks for the handicapped, most of which are on an elementary school level, in the framework of the Compulsory Education Law. Studies are oriented towards general basic and not vocational education.

Sex and marital status

The majority of the vocationally handicapped (72%) are men — most of them married. The majority of the vocationally handicapped women are unmarried (64%). The women in the sample are considerably more handicapped than the men.

Level of education

The level of education of the vocationally handicapped is extremely low: 57% had no education at all or had completed less than the third grade; only 10% had achieved any level beyond the eighth grade. In terms of the number of years of schooling, we found that about a third of the vocationally handicapped compared to 11% of the general comparable population, had no formal education whatsoever and only 16% of the vocationally handicapped compared to 46% of the general comparable population had attended school for nine years or more. No significant difference was found between the level of education of men and women.

Year of immigration and continent of origin

The majority of the vocationally handicapped are not new immigrants: 70% of them have resided in Israel for 13 years and more and only 8% of them have resided in Israel less than three years. Nevertheless, it is significant that the majority of the vocationally handicapped (70%) immigrated to Israel after the founding of the State in 1948.

Fifty-five percent of the vocationally handicapped originate from Asia-Africa as against 35% of the general comparable population. Ten percent of the vocationally handicapped are non-Jews, mainly Arabs, born in Israel, generally living in traditional rural communities.

Geographic area and type of settlement

The vocationally handicapped are not concentrated disproportionately in any particular geographic area or particular type of settlement. Like the general population of Israel, 87% of the vocationally handicapped live in cities and urban areas.

2. Physical characteristics*Diseases and functional limitations*

Most of the vocationally handicapped suffer from more than one disease. Disturbances in the motor system and the circulatory system are the most frequent ailments. Internal, digestive and respiratory diseases predominate among people over 35 years of age, while emotional disturbances are more prevalent among those under 35.

Seven percent of the vocationally handicapped persons were disabled from birth or in early childhood, and the remainder as a result of illness and accidents.

The major functional limitation, one which is mentioned by 85% of the handicapped is in their capacity to lift and carry loads. Limitation in ability to bend, to sit or stand for prolonged periods, grouped here under gross movement, was mentioned by 70%. Limitation in the capacity for quick movements is mentioned by 59%; 23% are limited in mobility outside the home and 27% in concentration and memory. Other limitations are: holding with palm and fingers — 18%; reading — 11%; self-service — 9%.

3. Social characteristics*Family composition and economic status*

One-fourth of the vocationally handicapped live in large families of seven or more persons, whereas only 12% of families are of this size in the general comparable population.

The immediate family members of the vocationally handicapped comprise 200,000 persons (including the handicapped), or 7.7% of the total population of

Israel. Many of these people are undoubtedly affected in one way or another, by the inadequate role performance of the vocationally handicapped member of the family. About a third of the family members (73,000 persons) are under 17 years of age.

Half of the vocationally handicapped, 62% of the men and 18% of the women, are heads of households; they have a total of 72,000 persons dependent on them. About half of the vocationally handicapped heads of households had four or more persons to support; 43% of the vocationally handicapped household heads were not working at all at the time of the survey.

Family members contribute rather little to the income of these families. Among the 72,000 persons dependent on vocationally handicapped household heads, only 10,000 are working.

Among the 82,000 persons who are related to the vocationally handicapped who were not household heads, 22,000 persons or an average of 1.1 family members were working. In only a few of these families was the handicapped person working partially; he was generally not working at all.

Housing conditions, facilities and equipment

The average dwelling density in households of the vocationally handicapped is very high. In 10% of the families with six or more persons the whole family lives together in one room. About a quarter of all the vocationally handicapped live in crowded housing conditions with three or more persons per room.

Although so many of the vocationally handicapped live in crowded conditions, as a result of the fact that they generally live in centrally planned housing projects, their flats are equipped with running water, electricity and elementary conveniences.

The lowest housing standard is found among the vocationally handicapped who live alone without any relatives and among those who live in large families of six or more members.

4. Work history and vocational characteristics

The vocational crisis

It is generally assumed that the vocational crisis, which has been defined as the cessation or limitation of a person's principal activity from full to part-time, is directly related to deterioration in health. It was found, however, that in many cases, persons were able to continue to perform adequately a full-time principal activity despite health impairment. When asked the reason for their eventual cessation or limitation of work, these persons mentioned factors other than health, such as immigration, dismissal from work, etc.

Among the vocationally handicapped who had immigrated to Israel, the vocational crisis did not occur in the year of immigration itself, but three or more years afterwards. The full impact of immigration on the person with impaired health may have been held off temporarily by the special employment opportunities available only to new arrivals in Israel to ease the period of their adjustment.

As immediate effect of immigration on the vocationally handicapped person appears in a lowering of the level of occupation prior to the onset of the vocational crisis. About one-third of those who had been engaged abroad in skilled, trade or clerical occupations, changed to unskilled work after their immigration prior to the vocational crisis.

For 80% of the vocationally handicapped, the vocational crisis meant cessation or limitation in gainful employment or housework, for 10% it meant cessation or limitation in study or transfer from regular educational framework to a special

one for the handicapped. The 10% of the vocationally handicapped who became handicapped as children under six had, of course, no vocational crisis.

Contrary to what was expected, the majority of the vocationally handicapped do not belong to those groups who are neither accustomed to, nor interested in regular work regardless of their health condition. In fact, the data show that most of the vocationally handicapped had a fairly continuous working experience before their vocational crisis and made efforts to increase their activities. Only 20% (about 8,000 persons) — mainly those handicapped from birth or early childhood — never worked at all.

Among persons whose vocational crisis occurred before the age of 18, 80% were not working at the time of the survey. It is possible that persons handicapped from birth or childhood are not trained to even begin to work.

Current activity

Sixty-five percent of the vocationally handicapped were not working at all during the period covered by the survey. About one-quarter of this non-working group had ceased to work 1-2 years before that time; about a third had ceased to work 3-7 years before the survey; 15% had ceased to work 8-21 years before that time, and the remaining 30% — mainly children — had never worked in their lives. Over one-third of this population stated that they were, however, looking for work. As to the reasons given for not working, about half specified reasons other than health.

The remaining 35% of the vocationally handicapped were working partially, generally at unskilled occupations. They were on the whole older than the non-working group and, though usually married, were living only with a spouse; over a quarter of them were seeking additional work.

The age and work experience of the person prior to his vocational crisis appear to influence the likelihood of his being employed partially. The older a person at the time of the crisis, the more likely he was to be working partially at the time of the survey. Persons who had worked before the crisis were more likely to be working partially than those who had not.

Occupational level and aspirations

The occupational level of the vocationally handicapped is rather low. Unskilled work was the highest occupational status ever achieved by 44% of the vocationally handicapped in the course of their work history, 32% worked in skilled or clerical occupations at some time and only 1.4% ever worked in professional or managerial occupations. The remainder never worked at all.

Contrary to the image of the vocationally handicapped person as someone with far-fetched and unattainable occupational aspirations, it was found that the vocational aspirations of these persons are in most cases realistic and in accordance with their present abilities.

Professional and managerial jobs are aspired to only by those few with secondary or higher education. Vocationally handicapped with a low level of education almost always mentioned unskilled work as the only suitable employment, and many of those who never worked at all cannot specify any work suitable for themselves. A relatively high percentage of the handicapped limited in their mobility outside the home also cannot specify any suitable work for themselves.

B. SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICES

Although it is obvious that the vocationally handicapped are burdened with considerable social and economic problems, only 58% of them have ever received

any social services. The remaining 42% never applied, are not known to, and have never received help from public agencies. These figures are particularly striking in view of the fact that two-thirds of the persons in this study were unemployed during at least 12 months preceding the survey.

Comparison of the vocationally handicapped receiving social services with those who did not receive services showed no significant differences in socio-economic level or in physical condition between the two groups. However, among the vocationally handicapped population which did not receive social assistance, we found relatively more persons living alone. Also characteristic of the group which never applied for social assistance was a relatively higher level of education and vocational skill and a longer period of residence in the country.

Only 15% of the vocationally handicapped applied for aid to social agencies before their vocational crisis, 11% applied in the year of the vocational crisis, 4% applied one year after the crisis and 28% applied two or more years after the crisis. The rest did not apply at all.

Of the vocationally handicapped who immigrated to Israel from abroad and applied to public agencies, 54% applied three or more years after their immigration, presumably at the point when they were no longer eligible for special aid made available to new immigrants.

The main source of services was the local welfare agencies. About half of those who received services from local welfare agencies received services from other public agencies as well — the welfare agency being the main liaison between the vocationally handicapped and the other agencies. Only 7% of the handicapped received services from other agencies without being known to the local welfare agencies.

Of the vocationally handicapped who received assistance, many received more than one type of assistance. The main form of aid was financial. Regular monthly allotments were received by 34% of the handicapped; other direct payments in the form of one-time grants or loans were received by 29%. Indirect financial aid, such as payments for medical purposes or for care of children, household help, rent, etc. were received by about 54% of the cases.

It was found that the majority of the vocationally handicapped do not conceal the fact of their application for help to public agencies. Their reports regarding contact with agencies and regarding the disease they were suffering from, were, to a large extent, consistent with the written documentation found in the agencies.

Services geared towards vocational rehabilitation constituted only a marginal item among the services rendered by the public agencies to the vocationally handicapped. Only 6% of the vocationally handicapped went through a process of comprehensive medical, psychological and social diagnosis for vocational rehabilitation.

Medical aid

The importance of medical insurance for this group of people is very clear. Although most of the vocationally handicapped have some provision for medical care, only 53% are fully insured (usually through the Sick Fund of the Labor Federation of Israel). Thirty-two percent, mainly people living alone or living in large families which immigrated from Asia and Africa receive limited medical services arranged by the local welfare office. These are generally limited to ambulatory services and do not include hospitalization, tests or appliances. Fifteen percent of the vocationally handicapped — about 6,000 persons — have no medical

insurance whatsoever. Unexpectedly, a relatively high percentage of the non-insured are Israel-born or were living in Israel before 1948.

C. VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PROSPECTS

The assessment team assessed the prospects for rehabilitation for 421 of the 501 persons interviewed in the sample. The conclusions of the team lead us to estimate that 39.1% of the vocationally handicapped, i.e. about 15,700 persons have reasonable prospects for rehabilitation. This consists of:

a) 26.3% of all the vocationally handicapped, i.e. about 10,600 persons who have reasonable prospects under ordinary working conditions, and

b) 12.8% or about 5,100 persons who have reasonable prospects under special or protected conditions.

51.5% of the group have poor prospects for vocational rehabilitation. This is composed of:

a) 22.6% of the total or about 9,100 persons whose physical and/or mental condition makes vocational rehabilitation unfeasible, and

b) 28.9%, i.e. about 11,600 persons whose present activity seems the most suitable within the limits of their capacities.

The vocational rehabilitation prospects of 9.4% of the vocationally handicapped, i.e. about 3,800 persons, most of whom were mentally ill, were not assessed.

The vocationally handicapped considered to have reasonable prospects of rehabilitation under regular working conditions are relatively young, have a relatively high level of education, and a relatively low degree of functional limitation compared to the others in this population.

Those considered to have reasonable prospects of vocational rehabilitation under special working conditions are older, have more severe functional limitations and a much lower level of education than the persons in the first category.

Thus, functional limitations, age and level of education seem to be the three main differentiating factors between those vocationally handicapped who may be able to work under regular working conditions and those who may need special conditions for their vocational rehabilitation.

Vocationally handicapped persons considered to have only slight prospects of vocational rehabilitation due to poor health, are impeded primarily by the severity of their functional limitation. They generally could not suggest any suitable work for themselves. Persons in this category have the lowest level of education, and almost half of them are elderly people of 55 or more.

The vocationally handicapped who were already engaged in an activity which was considered the most suitable for them within the limits of their mental and physical capacity, were generally older and a higher percentage of them were married. Regarding level of education and functional limitation they were in an intermediate position between those in the first group and those in the third.

Research on Israeli Public Opinion Regarding the Activities of The Jewish Agency in Israel and Abroad, Performed at the Request of The Jewish Agency, as Part of the Ongoing Survey by the Institute of Applied Social Research and the Communications Institute of the Hebrew University, Conducted by **Shulamit Levy** and **Prof. Eliyahu Gutman**.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE JEWISH AGENCY AS VIEWED BY THE ISRAELI PUBLIC

A SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

The focal purpose of the research was to examine public opinion regarding the activities of the Jewish Agency in Israel and abroad, from its founding to the present. The research was divided into two main subjects:

- 1) the need for the activities of the Jewish Agency;
- 2) the success of the activities of the Jewish Agency.

In addition to the evaluation of the activities, the research also examined the familiarity of the public with these activities.

The research was conducted during the months of February-March 1970 with the sampling of 1768 residents, representing the urban Jewish population above the age of 18 in Jerusalem, Greater Tel-Aviv, Greater Haifa, and Beer-Sheba.

GENERAL SUMMARY AND POSSIBLE CONCLUSIONS

Most of the adult urban Israelis feel that the Jewish Agency has been and is successful in its program in Israel and abroad; this public also feels that the Jewish Agency is needed today, as well, for this program. Not all of the activities are regarded as being equally important, and there are differences among the various strata of the population. A somewhat greater importance is attributed to activities conducted in the past than today.

The Jewish Agency is considered to be much more important for the stimulation of aliya abroad and least important for the establishment of settlements in Israel.

There is only a slight correlation between the public's knowledge of the Jewish Agency's activities and its evaluation of these activities, but there is a close connection between the evaluation of the successes, especially the current, and the evaluation of the need for the Agency in the future. There is a consistent tendency on the part of the better-educated native-born to accord less importance to the activities of the Agency, particularly those performed in Israel itself.

In order to improve the image of the Agency, it is desirable that emphasis be placed on the activities which it is carrying on at present, inasmuch as the findings of the research indicate that appraisal of the Agency's past activities is more favorable than of its present program.

It would also be desirable to increase the awareness of Agency activities which it performs abroad, since the public generally knows less about these — although it does feel that the Agency is needed for their consummation. Since there is a marked absence of correlation between knowledge and appraisal, the "success story" of these activities should be emphasized more than the other aspects, as a means of improving the image of the Agency both in Israel and abroad.

A. THE NEED FOR THE AGENCY'S ACTIVITIES

This subject — the need for the operation of the Jewish Agency — is divided, for each of the background elements of those interviewed, into three main parts:

- 1) the communities abroad;
- 2) the Jewish people in Israel and abroad;
- 3) the State of Israel.

Age — The age of the persons interviewed made no difference insofar as *all* the questions dealing with the need of the Agency to perform certain activities was concerned.

Length of residence in Israel:

1) Persons who came to Israel since 1960 tended, more than any other length-of-residence groups, to feel that the Agency was necessary for carrying out activities for Jewish communities abroad, these being the strengthening of these communities and of Jewish education abroad.

2) Length of residence was no factor in the opinion regarding the need of the Agency for the improvement of relations between Diaspora Jewry and the State of Israel.

3) As a stimulant for aliya, persons who have come to Israel since 1960 tended, more than any other length-of-residence group, to feel that the Agency was needed for this purpose.

No differences emanating from length-of-residence were found with regard to the need of the Agency for the strengthening of the State of Israel. It should be noted, however, that the native-born among the interviewed were less inclined than the other groups to feel that the Agency was needed for the establishment of settlements.

Origin

1) As for the need for the activities of the Agency on behalf of the Diaspora: more of the native born whose parents came from Asia/Africa, than of the groups of other origins, felt that the Agency was necessary for the strengthening of Diaspora communities. With regard to Jewish education abroad, no differences due to origin were found.

2) No differences due to origin were found as to the need of the Agency for improving relations between Diaspora Jewry and the State of Israel.

3) The majority in each of the origin groups appraised the Agency as "necessary" or "very necessary" for the stimulation of aliya. There are these differences between the two positive categories: about 40% of those born in Asia/Africa, in Europe, or native born of European parentage feel that the Agency is

“very necessary” for the stimulation of aliya. More (54%) who believe this to be true are to be found among the native-born of Asian/African parentage, while among Israeli-born whose parents were also born in the country only 28% feel that the Agency is “very necessary” for the stimulation of aliya.

In comparison with other origin groups, fewer native-born of Asian/African parentage of parents also born in Israel, tend to feel that the Agency is necessary for the establishment of settlements. No differences due to origin were found among the interviewed regarding the need for the Agency for the strengthening of the state.

Schooling:

1) No differences due to the level of schooling were found regarding the need for Agency activities on behalf of the Diaspora (strengthening the communities and Jewish education).

2) College graduates feel somewhat less than the other groups-by-schooling that the Agency is necessary for improving relations between Diaspora Jewry and the State of Israel.

3) With regard to Agency activities on behalf of the State: as the schooling level rises, fewer of those interviewed feel that the Agency is necessary for the establishment of settlements in Israel. College graduates feel somewhat less than the other groups that the Agency is necessary for handling the encouragement of aliya. As for the need of the Agency for strengthening the State, no differences due to the level of schooling were noted.

Summation: Where differences due to the schooling level do exist, those with higher schooling (college graduates in particular), see less of a need for Jewish Agency activities, particularly those performed *in Israel*.

Origin and Schooling:

1) In the native-born group, as the schooling level rises, fewer among the interviewed tend to believe that the Agency is necessary for strengthening Jewish communities abroad. Among the other origin groups almost no differences were noted. No marked differences due to origin and schooling were found with regard to Jewish education abroad.

2) Natives of Asia/Africa and native-born in the highest schooling group are less inclined to feel that the Agency is necessary for the improvement of relations between Diaspora Jewry and Israel. Among those born in Europe, no special inclination due to the schooling level was noted. The feeling on the part of the populace in general reflects the inclination on the part of the native-born and those born in Asia or Africa.

3) The need for Agency activities on behalf of the State of Israel (the strengthening of the State and the encouragement of aliya) shows a trend based on schooling, particularly among the native-born. Among the latter, those with more schooling are inclined less than the other groups to feel that the Agency is necessary for these purposes. As for the establishment of settlements—in all the origin groups, as the schooling level rose there was a corresponding drop in the number of these interviewed who felt that the Agency was needed for this purpose.

Summation: With regard to Agency activities relevant to Israel, whether carried on in Israel or those which bind the Diaspora to Israel, the highly-schooled native-born are less appreciative than other schooling and origin groups, although the former also have a very positive attitude toward these activities.

**The Measure of the Need of the Jewish Agency for the Encouragement of Aliya :
Appraisal by Origin (In %)**

O r i g i n	1	2	3	4	Totals	
	Greatly Needed	Needed	Little Needed	Not at All	%	Number
Asia-Africa	41	50	7	2	100	402
Europe-America	38	49	7	5	100	937
Native-born, father born in Asia-Africa	54	40	3	2	100	92
Native-born, father born in Europe-America	38	43	10	9	100	214
Native-born, father born in Israel as well	28	53	15	4	100	68

B. THE SUCCESS STORY OF THE AGENCY'S ACTIVITIES

In this subject, as well — the success story of the Agency's activities — the deliberations centered on every background grouping and with respect to the Jewish group toward which the activity had been directed. In this subject, the interviewed were interrogated with reference to activities on behalf of two Jewish groups only:

- 1) the diasporas abroad, and
- 2) the State of Israel.

Age: No differences due to age were found in the evaluation of the success of Agency operations at present, in Israel and abroad.

Length of Residence: No differences due to length of residence in Israel were found in the evaluation of the success of Agency activities *abroad*, nor were any differences due to length of residence found regarding the success of Agency operations *in Israel*, except in the item of Absorption Centers. More of those who came to Israel since 1955 — in comparison with those who came earlier or who were born in Israel — feel that the Agency's management of the Centers is good.

Origin: In connection with Agency activities *abroad*, the only trend noted has to do with the importance of the Agency for the education of Jewish children abroad. Native-born whose fathers were also born in Israel feel less (than do the others interviewed according to origin) that the Agency is one of the major factors in furthering the education of Jewish children abroad.

In connection with the appraisal of the success of Agency activities for *Israel* there were no differences to speak of due to origin, except in the matter of aliya increase. Here the trend shows the native-born of native-born fathers to be slightly less of the opinion that the Agency is a major factor in the increase of aliya.

Schooling: Those with complete schooling among the interviewed are less inclined than the others to believe that the Agency's present activities abroad are successful. No differences due to schooling were noted with regard to the success of the other activities abroad (Jewish education and activity among the students).

Those with higher education (partial or full college training) are somewhat less inclined than the others to believe that the Agency is one of the major factors behind increased immigration. No differences due to the level of education were found with regard to the success of other activities on behalf of Israel (generally and in the administration of absorption centers).

Origin and Education:

1) With reference to the success of Agency activities on behalf of the Diaspora, differences due to schooling were noted only among groups of native-born. In such groups, the higher the schooling level the *smaller* is the number of interviewed whose response would indicate that the Agency is a major factor in the Jewish education of Jews in the Diaspora and in the strengthening of the bonds between Jewish students abroad and their communities.

2) With regard to the activities carried on in the interests of *Israel*: in the matter of increasing aliya, a trend due to schooling is noted only among the *native-born*. The best-educated among the latter believe less than the others that the Agency is a major factor functioning at present on behalf of an increased aliya. The better educated among the Asia-Africa and the native-born who were interviewed note *less* than others of the same origin that the Agency is administering the Absorption Centers well. Among those born in Europe-America no differences due to the level of education were noted.

**The Agency as a Factor in the Education of Jewish Children in the Diaspora;
Appraisal by Origin, In %**

O r i g i n	Very Impor- tant Factor	Import. Factor	Not-so- Import.	Not Import.	Totals % Numbers
Born in Asia-Africa	20	55	19	6	100 357
Born in Europe-America	20	55	19	6	100 803
Native-born, father born in Asia-Africa	21	56	19	4	100 77
Native-born, father born in Europe-America	21	51	19	9	100 189
Native-born, father also born in Israel	21	40	34	5	100 62

Symposium on Israel's image abroad — organized by the Israel Administration Center in cooperation with the Israel Company for Fairs and Exhibitions and with the participation of representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Product Design Institute and the Office for Economic and Social Research, the Jewish Agency.

ISRAEL'S IMAGE ABROAD

The intent of the symposium was to provide all the factors involved in the "creation" of Israel's image with guidelines in their respective spheres of activity, which are among the most important and complicated elements in the overall information program being maintained by Israel abroad. Israel's image, as the State is striving to present and to project abroad, is a dynamic concept which must keep up with the times and with the vicissitudes occurring in our world. The shaping of this image is a complex and intricate process, and they who are engaged in it must assume a multiple approach, adapted to the concepts of Israel as fashioned in one community or another; people tend to seek verification of the concepts which they have already adopted, and the same image-building material cannot be used in different countries. At the same time, Israel should stress that which is unique and exclusive about the State — history, geography, social order, economics and culture — and to emphasize Israel's role as an experimental laboratory in all areas of human experience.

Israel's image must also appeal to the community which is most precious to us — world Jewry. While we are cognizant of the fact that Israel is already at the core of Jewish community life and of the individual Jew in the Diaspora, we must nevertheless not overlook the necessity of presenting Israel's image to the Jewish communities abroad in such fashion as to make it an important instrumentality in the encouragement of aliya or at least in deepening and expanding the spiritual bonds between world Jewry and the State of Israel.

The symposium was opened by *Mr. Adin Talbar*, Deputy Director-General of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. In presenting the theme, as set forth above, Mr. Talbar outlined the central intent of the gathering and summarized the ideas and proposals by professionals in the field of design and promotion of the desired image. He also announced a series of competitions for designers, illustrators and advertisers.

The following are excerpts from the talks by some of the participants.

DAVID CATARIVAS

*Deputy Director, Information
Department, Foreign Ministry*

ACCENTUATE THE NON-CONVENTIONAL

Israel's image exists — and we are not its creators. This is done by others, whether we like it or not. As we come to discuss the subject we must first take into account our image as it is reflected in the eyes of foreigners and, at times, as others wish to regard us and our country.

In this world there's such a thing as multiple reactions. The name "Israel" brings forth different and varied reactions and associations from different individuals and groups. One conjures up the image of the kibbutz, another envisages Zahal, the third thinks primarily about the Land of the Bible, another sees it as the bridgehead of democracy in the Middle East and still others view it as "a tool in the hands of American imperialism".

Therefore, as we come to present Israel's image, we do not find ourselves operating in a vacuum. Israel belongs to that category of subjects which engage the global communications systems almost one day after another. The sources are either objective, sympathetic or hostile. Newspaper readers, television viewers and radio listeners throughout the world know, or at least they feel they know, what Israel is and what takes place there. When we come to "sell" our image, as we see it, we must often contend with prejudices already rooted in the consciousness of the public to which we wish to address ourselves.

The major problem confronting Israel's information lies in the fact that our enemies are mouthing shallow but effective slogans. Thus, for instance, they have succeeded in turning the term "Zionism" into a negative concept. It is enough for someone to mention "the Zionist State" to make it sound like an attack on Israel.

Another example: the refugee problem. For more than twenty years the Arabs have been ceaselessly yelling, via all their propaganda organs: "A million persons have been driven from their homes and deprived of their soil." They mention the fact, without going into the details. We, on the other hand, find ourselves in a position of defensive rebuttal: we did not drive them away; the Mufti ordered the Arabs to leave the country and join the forces of the other Arab countries in assaulting the young State; we have taken in myriads of Jews from the Arab countries where they were threatened with physical harm; we are prepared to join in practical measures to solve the refugee problem, and so on. We go on explaining, while our foes attack us with demagoguery which penetrates more easily than edification.

We must understand that our reputation precedes us — and we must not overlook the fact. At the same time, the kaleidoscope called "Israel" does have several colors in common with accepted concepts, and these we should stress at every possible opportunity and under whatever circumstances we encounter, since these points are most likely to make an impress on the people before whom we wish to present Israel's image. One of these points can be defined as simply "non-conventional". From the standpoint of history, geography, sociology, economics and culture, Israel is extraordinary. It was born in non-conventional circumstances which have no parallel in history. What is going on in Israel in the area of sociology — the ingathering of communities and their multiple cultures, tongues, uneven socio-cultural backgrounds, and their reconstitution as a sovereign people — has never

taken place in the history of the family of nations. As for culture, is there any other people which has been successful in reviving its national tongue, after an interval of almost two thousand years in which it was not used in everyday speech? And there is certainly non-conventionality in the history of the Jewish people, scattered among the nations but cherishing the divine promise of its right to the land of its forefathers and the faith in the restoration to Zion, generation after generation.

In our strenuous efforts to be like other peoples, we at times tend to forget or ignore that which is unique about us. Others, however, are aware of it and have incorporated this uniqueness into the image of Israel which they had wrought for themselves. I once had an opportunity to speak to a group of visiting French professors. This was at a time when the debate over "Who's a Jew?" was having one of its periodic outbursts. I wanted to present this issue from its secular standpoint. At the conclusion of my lecture, the professors told me, each in turn: "You can't separate religion from nationality, because you are here as a result of a promise made to you by someone — that someone being God — which means that religion and nationality, in your case, must be synonymous." I must admit that this threw me into confusion, because I had innocently assumed that I should present the matter to my scholarly audience primarily from the secular viewpoint. I found that they were being guided by the assumption that we represent something special and we must therefore live under special conditions. They simply come to us with demands which are not made of other peoples, expressly because we are Israelis and we live in the Holy Land and should therefore behave in a specific manner and find non-conventional solutions to our problems.

At times we are expected to find non-conventional solutions not only to our own problems, of which we have plenty, but to the problems of others, as well. These expectations are based on good grounds, in that Israel can be described

as a laboratory. We are the experimentalists, in all fields: culture, economics, sociology, even geography. We gladly transmit the knowhow and attainments which we have achieved here as a result of this experimentation to other countries, particularly to those who need them urgently — the developing countries.

The prophetic utterance, "from Zion shall go forth learning", now enjoys a modern meaning. Students from African and Asian countries are now continuing their studies in the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel-Aviv, where they study the cooperative movement, agriculture and similar subjects and return to their countries as experts. There is a similar institute in Moscow, but its students return to their countries infused with "learning" which is not altogether vital for them. The knowhow they bring back from Moscow may be useful to the rulers of those countries but not to the welfare of their inhabitants; this is an established fact. On the other hand, Israel's image as a laboratory which seeks to obtain solutions of all kinds of problems has already made an impress upon many people, or has at least made them receptive to the acceptance of this image.

At the same time, Israel is a beleaguered country, and we cannot ignore the fact. We prefer not to talk too much about the war, as we project our image, but we cannot get away from it. We are in the headlines of the newspapers, and radio and television broadcasts cling to us constantly. The news does not relate to our achievements in economics and sociology but to clashes, raids, aerial bombardment, grenades thrown in market places, children killed and children in shelters. The fact cannot be ignored, but it can also be used as an instrument for information. Here we can stress another fact, namely, that in spite of our being a nation under siege, in spite of the incessant struggle and despite the fact that defense needs drain most of our material resources, we still keep building the land and score noteworthy achievements in all spheres of activity. The main point is that we are seeking constructiveness, not

war. This is something which the world is ready to accept.

We do not have to appear before the world as having completed our work. What we have achieved is only the beginning, since we have been interrupted by the wars forced upon us. We have a long way to go. And if we are asked to identify the most important event that has taken place in Israel, our answer will be neither the modern radar installation of Russian make which we heisted from the Egyptians nor the famed "ships of Cherbourg", but that we are about to open a university in Beer-Sheba and another one in Haifa, and that we keep developing our daily life as if no war were involved.

There is another point which distinguishes us from other peoples. Unlike them we have a fourth dimension, in addition to the popular three — diaspora Jewry. This, too, is part of Israel's image,

and the world is prepared to accept it as such. It is not only we who regard our brethren abroad as being part and parcel of our people's entity; the outside world is becoming inclined to see it that way, too. Defining a Jew has become a rather involved procedure; at times he is regarded as an Israeli. Quite often a political figure would say to the Israeli ambassador to his country, in reference to the Jews living there: "Your Israelis here ...". Quite frequently Jews are regarded as belonging to Israel.

We must build our image on the facets which have already been accepted by the world, namely, that Israel is different, that it has what to offer to the nations of the world, and that it is growing and developing despite its security situation. This may sound rather arrogant, but Israeli arrogance is also something which the world is apparently ready to accept.

DON GELBART

Illustrator-Designer

THE DESIGNER AS ILLUSTRATOR OF THE IMAGE

The task of the display designer is to express an idea, a complete story, or broad purpose with a single sentence on a placard, with a single illustration or emblem, with a few simple strokes.

In approaching the designing of an exhibit, be it on a small scale, we have wide scope, a division of subjects and the possibility, in case of doubt or theme priority, to choose from among several alternatives. However, the designer must at all times concentrate on a single subject only. For instance, in our life in Israel we often come up against the problem of our natural image in the eyes of the world, and it is not important whether we want it or not, whether it is positive or negative. The image, the emblem of this country, is the soldier — and at times the female soldier. As we plan an Israeli exhibit abroad, our dilemma is how to tell Israel's story and select a

specific theme while ignoring completely the image which today identifies Israel throughout the world — the young soldier standing guard over his land.

It is possible to portray the Israeli soldier in any type of exhibit — be its theme Science in Israel, Life in Israel, Israel the Land of the Bible, Israel the Land of Contrasts — but our problem is the choice of selecting the soldier as THE symbol of Israel.

There is no dilemma facing us, as we plan the exhibit, of what can be said about Israel very briefly, by a single slogan, or by a single symbol. Our main problem is the background material, and this material, displayed in small exhibits along the streets of a strange city, calls for a symbol — not just any symbol but something of essence, and we have no choice but to select the most authentic one.

The question now arises: what is "authentic"? I have mentioned the natural image which circumstances have forced upon us — the Israeli soldier. We are not ashamed of him — perish the thought! — but we cannot use him as our symbol because that would be a distortion of fact. We can not yield to this image, acceptable though it may be to others, nor shall we select the security or defense element as the illustration of Israel's image. However, should we select an altogether different symbol, say the orange smiling beneath the *tembel* hat, which has gained popularity in recent years in Israel Weeks and Israeli pavilions at international fairs, I as a designer cannot regard it as an authentic symbol. In our experience this symbol carries too much sweetness and light and too much glossing over reality. The world would be inclined to say: "Eh, what? Are they really as sweet and affable as they want the smiling orange to portray them?" We must take such reaction into account, be more serious and more immune to the vicissitudes of time and age.

I should like to bring up here, as a subject for discussion, a very well-known symbol, and I know that some of my colleagues will be surprised. The State of Israel, and Jewry in general, has an ancient symbol — the Star of David. From my experience as a designer I have learned that every time that I try suggesting to the client — whether an Israeli or a Jewish body — to combine the Star of David in the graphic design of a poster or in any other illustration, I meet with resistance. We seem to have some kind of emotional reluctance toward the use of this original and ancient Jewish symbol.

I should like to defend the Star of David. In an abominable variation, the Star has served as a symbol of shame — the yellow patch on the lapels of Jews ostracized and tormented by society. But a talented designer can convert the symbol into something entirely different, less official, less severe and less sombre. It can be portrayed in gay and glowing color which would symbolize not the hurt and the shame which we underwent in the

course of generations but the flowering of our revived existence, namely, the regeneration of our sovereignty and the hope for a life of serenity and growth.

There are other national symbols which can be interpolated into graphic expression, to give substance to Israel's image. I feel that designers would do wisely if they adhere to symbols relating to national, folkloric and generally Jewish spheres.

The designer should be guided by yet another criterion. We must be original. It was very encouraging to hear this facet emphasized by an official representative of the Israel Government; I am referring to Mr. Catarivas, the deputy director of the Information Department in the Foreign Ministry. This standpoint indicates maturity, if, in Israel's twenty-second year of existence, a Foreign Ministry official can rise and shake off the ambition to be "like other peoples".

We professionals have been coming up against an entirely different attitude, which has more than once barred our striving for originality. Judges in graphic art contests, in favoring a poster or an idea, tend to let their eyes wander sideways, backwards to what goes on outside. We designers have to bring proof that our work has already passed inspection in Miami or Sydney or some other major center in the world. I say that we must become rid of this "great wide world" complex. We have a world of our own. Our world is different — and we have to accentuate the difference, the uniqueness. We have very talented designers in Israel who are perfectly capable of rendering original expression for Israel's image.

We cannot compete with the technical means available to designers in "the great wide world" — the technical gimmicks, movement, lighting and so forth — elements that attract the public. But we may be able to compete with something which can arouse no less attention: originality, which in our case is a spiritual rather than a material expression of the subject. This will gain for us the good-

will of that outside world which we have been trying to copy with such diligence, not as more or less skillful imitators but as a country which manages its affairs in its own distinctive fashion.

I am therefore all for originality, despite all the risks involved. Originality demands following an uncharted course,

abandoning the routine which has already passed the test some other time somewhere else. Obviously embarking on such a course has the potential of great success but also of dismal failure. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, I call for taking the risky course, for it alone provides for original expression.

Dr. E. JUSTICE-DAYAN

Director-General, Israel Company for Fairs and Exhibitions

ISRAEL'S "FAIR" IMAGE

The Israel Company for Fairs and Exhibitions is responsible for the organization of Israeli exhibits and their participation in fairs and exhibitions abroad. Even before the birth of Israel there was an agency which, together with the Economic Department of the Jewish Agency, organized limited participation in foreign fairs.

In 1950, organization of exhibitions was the function of only the Manufacturers Association, to which there was added an inter-ministerial committee consisting of representatives of the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of Finance and the Foreign Ministry.

Due to the growing number of exhibitions, it was decided, on January 1957, to establish the Israel Company for Fairs and Exhibitions, in which there would participate the Government, the Manufacturers Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the Workers Corporation and the Jewish Agency. The Company is subordinate to a Council consisting of representatives of the aforementioned bodies, in numerical proportion to the Company stock they own. The Company's Board of Directors consists of one representative of each of these bodies. The Director-General of the Manufacturers Association is chairman of the Council, and a senior Government official is the chairman of the Board.

Participation in exhibitions comes in various forms: solo exhibits, international fairs, mobile displays, exhibits by Israeli firms. There is a difference between participating in a fair and participating in a trade exposition. A fair is generally a trade exhibition which takes place periodically—annually or biennially—in the same locality and is intended chiefly for wholesalers. A trade exposition is held once every five or ten years.

A solo exhibit is a showing by one specific country in another country. Our Company has organized such solo exhibits in Bucharest, Addis-Ababa and the major exhibit we put on in Buenos-Aires last year.

Decision to participate in one fair or another is taken after proper discussion on various levels. We begin by compiling information about international fairs. On the basis of this material we hold an inner discussion, then invite manufacturers to give their opinion on our participating in one fair or another. Their replies provide us with a picture of the scope and interest spheres of the industrialists and the exporters. We then bring the matter up before our own institutions, before the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Foreign Ministry, the Export Institute and its branches abroad, and our commercial attaches in the relevant foreign countries.

The accumulated material serves as the basis to our proposal, including budget. We have an annual budget, which is also divided according to our participation in each fair and in each exhibit we have selected. The proposal is then submitted to the Council, which has the chief authority to instruct our office regarding the organization and implementation of exhibits and our participation in international fairs.

Once a decision is reached to hold the exhibition, we set up a "performance committee" and appoint the manager and the architect of the pavilion. A pavilion manager must be equipped with certain required talents: complete fluency in the language of the country where the exhibition will take place; familiarity with mutual economic problems; he must present a good personal appearance, know something about architecture and — in Israel's specific situation — possess a certain

amount of diplomatic aptitude, namely, have the answers to honest questions and avoid answering the provocative ones.

Our "performance committee" considers all the details involved in the organization and implementation of the exhibit, but our main consideration is space. We are always in favor of more room, so as to assure each exhibitor of "breathing space" of sufficient size to display his wares and receive buyers.

Recently we have been attempting to develop the followup of fairs and exhibitions. In this sphere we work together in cooperation with international agencies and institutions. The international body of fairs and exhibitions, Inter-Expo, held a conference of experts in research and followup systems for fairs and exhibitions. Among the experts invited to address the conference was Dr. L. Berger, the Jewish Agency representative in our Company.

Dr. L. BERGER

Office for Economic and Social Research, the Jewish Agency

ISRAEL'S IMAGE: CODE SIGNAL OF OUR PIONEERING CULTURE

The role of the general exhibition, in which countries of the world have their national pavilions, is not purely commercial. This exhibition has a legitimate intent to present the culture, development and accomplishments of the exhibiting country.

This is especially true in Israel's case. Moreover, Israel has added interest in such an exhibition; the Israel Pavilion in the general exhibition also serves as a source of pride and encouragement for the Jewish community of the land in which the exhibition is held and provides it with direct contact with Israeli life and achievements.

The general exhibition, in which manufactures of various branches of industry are displayed, is usually called a general fair, a national pavilion, or, in profes-

sional parlance, "omnibus". The display at such exhibitions is characterized by a horizontal-group showing, and the items offered here are more collective than individual in nature.

The general exhibition places greater emphasis on the product than on the manufacturer. A characteristic expression of an exhibit of this type was provided by a poster which attracted general attention. The poster featured a tipped glass from which a drop of liquid was fructifying barren soil — yet no mention was made of the nature of the liquid nor of its supplier. This poster appealed to the beverage consumer, without identifying at this stage the kind of beverage, the manufacturer or the supplier. It is only at a later stage, after the consumers and customers in the country where the

exhibition is held have learned that the poster was issued by a country known as a producer of citrus juices, for instance, can the suppliers identify themselves under their own name.

Until recently, pavilions in general/national exhibitions used to appeal to the consumer public via the "headliner" products, for instance: the Israeli Jafforange, Scotch whiskey, Swiss cheese, English fabrics and so on. This approach has lost its appeal in our swiftly-changing times. Our modern economy and mode of life are affected by a plethora of change and innovation. This is the reason that countries change their image from time to time, as expressed through their national pavilions in the general exhibition.

Such change — as far as the image is concerned — does not have to be tied in directly with the economy of the country itself. Several years ago the Belgian Ministry for Foreign Trade issued a tender for proposals of a poster design which would project the image of the country. Design and marketing firms suggested that the photograph of Princess Paula be selected to impart the image, probably because her photograph was appearing on the covers of illustrated periodicals and was familiar to myriads of readers. The proposal was accepted. Moreover, in consequence of the poster, her husband (Prince Albert, King Badouin's brother) was made chairman of the Belgian Fairs and Exhibitions Company.

We in Israel also tend to choose the female feature as the symbol of a commercial image. Several years ago a tremendous hit was made by a poster issued by our national airline, El Al, which displayed the figure of an elderly Jewess — the embodiment of the "Yiddishe Mammeh" — speaking about "my son, the airline pilot". This poster has entered the hallowed precincts of the advertising industry and now occupies an honored niche there.

Since we are living in constant change, this image would no longer be as popular with the consumers. The image must keep up with the march of time, in step with constant change, both in the coun-

try where the exhibit is taking place and in the area where the buying power is concentrated. American psychologists claim that we are living in a psycho-techno-electronic age, in which there is direct correlation between human reactions and psychological, social, economic, technical and electronic phenomena.

In his book *Success at the Fair*, Habberle (the international expert in fairs) writes: "In the whirlpool of the fair it is important to create a single central impression. In attaining this end we must take into account the limitations in the emotional capacity of the spectator, which is assaulted on all sides."

This leads to the logical conclusion that the prerequisite to the creation of the desired impression in the general fair is the fashioning of an image that is understandable and easily grasped.

In this connection we should also make mention of the philosopher and sociologist Jean Fourastier, who wrote in his "The Great Metamorphosis of the 20th Century": "On entering the pavilions in an international fair, the visitor witnesses a new civilization of products, or one different from that with which he had been previously familiar. Here, in these pavilions, is the meeting between the human being and the various forms of production, expression and thought."

In our quest for an impressive commercial image, we seek to attract the attention of the potential consumer public to the Israeli manner of expression, its thinking process and its product quality, with the intent of obtaining maximum benefits for our economy. We also wish to bring tidings of the advances we have made, illustrated chiefly by our economic development. The image is, therefore, a kind of traffic signal indicating the course of change.

In Fourastier's definition, the commercial image which we are seeking must be the code signal of Israel's pioneering civilization, of the idea behind it and the inspiration which our production derives from it.

This is a distinguished task and by no means an easy one.

The symposium on the subject "The Exodus of Polish Jewry" was held at the Tel-Aviv University under the auspices of the Israeli Institute for International Affairs, within the context of the meetings between representatives of the Jewish Agency, Israeli community and cultural leaders, and immigrant intellectuals from Eastern Europe and Western countries.

THE EXODUS OF POLISH JEWRY

The symposium was opened by Prof. Mushkat, Professor of International Law and International Relations at Tel-Aviv University. A background lecture was delivered by Prof. Zigmund Baumann of the Department of Sociology, Tel-Aviv University and former Head of the Department of Sociology at Warsaw University. Among the discussants were M. Nachumi, Council member of the Israeli Institute for International Affairs; Judge M. Buchweitz; Dr. G. Tamarin, Reader in Psychology, Tel-Aviv University; Dr. A. Globerson, Reader in Labor Studies, Tel-Aviv University, and R. Boren, Controller of the University. The discussants' remarks were summarized by Dr. L. Berger, Director of the Office for Economic and Social Research, the Jewish Agency.

Given here are summaries of Prof. Mushkat's opening remarks, Prof. Baumann's background lecture, Dr. Berger's summarizing lecture, and remarks made by several of the discussants.

Prof. M. Mushkat

THE 1000-YEAR HISTORY OF POLISH JEWRY COMES TO AN END

In our discussion of the tragic event of the exodus of Polish Jewry in our own days — the "final solution" to the problem of the Jews in Poland, which even the Nazis could not fully achieve — we must certainly take into consideration the conclusions reached at our previous discussion, on the subject "Soviet Communism vs. Judaism". That discussion took up the ideological reasons which at present place Soviet Communism in opposition to Judaism as a hostile force which has thrown aside all pretense and has adopted an anti-Israel stand which is emerging as blatant antisemitism of the traditional brand, plus a new nuance.

Moscow's policy toward Israel and Jewry in general obviously has a decisive effect on the policies of its satellites in this matter. Their internal policies with regard to the Jewish minority residing in

their midst usually follows the pattern set by Moscow, and their foreign policy toward Israel certainly follows suit. But this does not explain Warsaw's principal motivations in expelling the remnant of Polish Jewry. Poland's history is closely associated with its Jewish community of a thousand years and more. This association, punctuated though it was with persecution and pogroms, was expressed in cooperation and in marked contribution by the Jewish community to culture, literature, economic development and all other facets of life in Poland.

Some Jews are inclined to stress only the negatives in our relations with the Polish people — the antisemitism inherent in its blood, the fact that Nazi Germany singled out Poland's soil to serve as the burial ground for Europe's Jews, and so forth. Logic would bid us, however, to see

the positive as well, the deeds of rescue which, although few in number, were heroic in nature and were performed during the Nazi occupation by individual Poles at the risk of their lives. We should also recognize the fact that the antisemitism preceding Poland's revival at the end of the First World War was of an entirely different character from that which prevailed between the two world wars, during the Second World War and after the establishment of the Communist regime immediately following the War, compared with the antisemitism under the national-Communist rule of Gomulka and Moczar.

We should not overlook the fact that the Polish people unreservedly demonstrated its solidarity with Israel on the eve of the Six-Day War and immediately after it. The student demonstrations throughout Poland in the spring of 1968 gave voice to this solidarity and to the people's rejection of the wild Soviet incitement against Israel, which had by its own power extricated itself from the threat of destruction and annihilation which its neighbors had launched against it, with the aid of modern Soviet arms.

On the other hand, there is no need to stress that the present wave of anti-Jewish persecution and the expulsion of the remnant are tied in with the attempt

on the part of the Polish regime to gain the support of the backward masses whom the Nazis had poisoned, to hide from the people the real reasons for the economic crisis that is gripping their country, and to cast the blame, for the decadence of the economy and the tightening dependence on Moscow, on the few Jews still left in the administration and to point to them as the sole culprits in the degenerate situation. It is also obvious that these persecutions are also part of the political struggle within the Polish Communist Party, as well as the price that Poland is paying Russia, in return for economic support, in the form of political support by way of all-out collusion with the Arab cause. We should also bear in mind that the economic situation in Poland has reached such a low point that every dwelling and every place of employment vacated by an expelled Jew carries great importance.

However, in my opinion, the principal reason for the expulsion of Jewry's remnant from Poland is to give vent to the rising tide of nationalism in Communist Poland, to blunt the point of the anti-Soviet feeling and replace it with antisemitism, so as to facilitate the regime's struggle against any and all opposition and, first and foremost, to serve as a deterrent to any ferment among the intellectuals.

Prof. Zigmund Baumann

A BANKRUPT IDEOLOGY AND THE FEAR OF IDENTIFICATION WITH A NEW ONE

Polish Jewry, which only thirty years ago was second in the Jewish world numerically and in the density of its population and the first from the viewpoint of its contribution to the spiritual, cultural and national facets of Jewish life, is no more. The curtain came down on its history through the normal and innate logic of a ruthless totalitarian regime: either liquidation or shutting off the valves which conduct the growing social

tension until the bursting point, at which point the regime seeks a scapegoat which would ward off temporarily the outbreak of violence and its final disintegration. This operation has been exposed more than once, and we here certainly cannot say anything new on the subject.

At the same time, another issue has recently been brought to public notice which is indeed controversial, strained, obscure and indefinite, namely, the crite-

tion by which we can correctly gage and evaluate the position and the role being played today by the remnants of Polish Jewry, who are now leaving their birth-place almost to the very last man.

Many articles and treatises have been and are being written, questioning the attachment of these Jews to the Jewish people and the justification of the efforts being made by the Jewish Agency to get them to go to Israel, instead of being crowded in the transit camps in the cities of Denmark and Sweden. This issue carries aspects of importance not only of historical or moral-ideological significance. This is a practical matter in the full sense of the word, and the subsequence of our stand toward it will have bearing on the fate of our brethren in other East European countries.

The remnant of Polish Jewry, which is today being forced to leave the land of its birth, differs from the Jewry of any other East European country both in its demographic composition and its ideological image. The relatively unrestricted immigration policy, and especially the two enormous waves of immigration (before 1949 and in 1957) enabled Polish Jewry to decide whether to remain in Poland or not. As a result, those who did remain in Poland were basically more or less attached to the Communist dream and personally involved in the experiment of establishing socialism in Poland. Their decision — active or passive — to stay in Poland, was based in most cases on political rather than national considerations. It is obvious that they remained in Poland not in order to escape their Judaism but out of a yearning for a world where no need would exist for community identification tags and for making a choice between national loyalties.

Communism and Judaism grew out of the same soil in the Jewish street — out of the attempt to overcome deprivation in its various forms, out of the Government's desire to eliminate once and for all the factor of discrimination, out of a strong desire to escape a life of hardship and degradation. The Zionists viewed this

course as a detachment, geographically and physically, from the environment and the authority of the Gentiles. The Communists regarded the discrimination against their Jewish brethren as a single instance of multifaceted deprivation and injustice, and they saw the solution to the problem in the eradication of tyranny and suppression in all its forms. They were apathetic toward the desperate circumstances of the Jewish masses and preferred to solve their own problems within a general context, and they lacked the motivations to join the Zionist Movement and the Communist movement at one and the same time.

For this reason, active and forthright participation in the Communist movement has not necessarily meant the severance of the spiritual ties with Jewish nationalism. There is a difference between the dream of assimilation, which strives toward personal acclimatization to an alien set of values which offers advantages reserved for a privileged class, and a Communist platform which preaches the downfall of the social order which makes assimilation the prerequisite to participation in all the values, available to everyone.

National alienation is not a convincing explanation of the refusal on the part of some 70% of the Polish emigres to go to Israel, especially if we bear in mind that about 85% of Jewry is to be found today outside Israel's borders and we are not inclined to blame them for it, so long as they do not stray from Judaism. In ideology as in business, two sets of books are profitable only from the short-range viewpoint — and not always at that — but in the final analysis they are never of any real value.

Still, why do 70% of Polish Jews prefer countries other than Israel? This question has several answers, some of them of abstract scientific import (in that it is not in our power to influence some of the factors which deter Polish emigres from proceeding to Israel). They have heard about the state of war, peace still not in sight and the end of which means active ideological identification which is

inevitable for the citizens of our country. These people, who flee in disillusionment from a bankrupt ideology which they rejected only yesterday, are now inclined to reject any and all ideologies. However, some areas are within our influence, wholly or partly. If we are indeed eager to have these Jews come to Israel, we must locate here the factors which deter or disturb them. There are many such factors, but I shall mention only three of the more outstanding among them:

First, let us reckon how much money, in dollars in cents, it costs to pay for the Zionist propaganda required to bring one temporary resident from the United States to Israel. I am sure that anyone who knows the amount will not regard it as a "waste" or an "exaggeration" if a similar sum were to be put into an "experimental" visit of a Polish Jew to Israel, where he might be convinced of Israel's true image and be freed from the prejudice and the natural apprehension caused by something unknown and unintelligible. We must bear in mind that during the past twenty years, no organization or public agency — other than the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Poland — ever bothered to point up to Poland's Jews their attachment to Israel.

Secondly, the Polish immigrants who leave their homes have no keys in their pockets to the dwellings they left behind in their "first homeland"; if the Israel experiment doesn't turn out well, they have nowhere to go back to, as do the temporary residents from the free countries. They are understandably taken aback at this decisive step. Those who are approaching the age of retirement from active work (that is, about half of Polish Jewry) are more

concerned with an assurance of good social terms than with having a place of employment, and if Christian Sweden assures them of a higher pension than does the land of their ancestors, who is to condemn them for having chosen Sweden? If we regard their aliya as merely an economic problem, let us not treat their decision to remain abroad as a breach of ideological-national faith.

Thirdly, there is the matter of mixed marriages. There are many such cases among Polish Jewry, it is known, as is the fact that this situation raises many problems in Israel, which cannot be dismissed by simply stating that the Christian wife would have no difficulty in assuming the Jewish faith. It is a question whether one can rightly come with this demand to a woman who left her homeland in order to share the fate in store for her oppressed husband, foregoing her identity and taking this fateful step in her life because her husband had been classified in her homeland as an alien element and he, on his part, had refused to deny his authentic identity; now, on arrival in her husband's homeland, she is asked to do here what was demanded of her husband there. Nor would the woman be likely to be moved by such deplorable manifestations as the friction over television on the Sabbath, the debate on the secular nature of the public schools as the subject of political bargaining, or the plans for a legislated definition of "who is a Jew".

Let us not come to a hasty decision about our Polish brethren. We would do better if we were to do everything we can to remove the barriers that separate us from them and their/our land.

Dr. Menahem Buchweitz

SPARK THEIR HEARTS WITH LOVE

I do not believe that the principal reasons for the refusal of Jewish emigres from Poland to go to Israel are derived from the lack of adequate social security

for the elderly retired or from mixed marriages. As stated in the press, the number of those under 50 among the Polish emigres is much higher than that of the elderly,

and among the former are quite a few young bachelors. At any rate, it isn't the problem of economics which makes aliya unattractive to the Jewish emigres from Poland, now living parsimoniously and without living quarters worthy of the name in Denmark or in Austria. I know of not a single country in the world which is prepared to give Jewish refugees anywhere near as much as the Jewish Agency and the Israel Government are offering them here — free dwellings, many months of sustenance, learning the language and occupational training, free education in secondary schools and colleges, many privileges including employment priorities where their knowledge and skills are concerned. This is not the problem. The reason lies in two other factors: the absence of any attachment to Judaism as a faith and a nationality on the one hand, and a strong urge to dissolve completely any formal ties with the Jewish people on the other.

This is particularly true of the younger generation, the Polish emigres who were born close to the outbreak of the Second World War and after it. They received no Jewish upbringing, neither religious nor nationalistic. Jewish culture and folklore are strangers to them. Many of them interpret "Jew" and "Judaism" as do the antisemites. While in Poland, these young people strove to be Poles in everything, as were their neighbors, the members of the Polish nation; many even concealed their Jewish identity from their children. Then suddenly, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, they were jolted by the statement that they were second-class citizens and that they were being considered untrustworthy

by the authorities because of their "Jewish grandmother". Many of them lost their jobs, and others faced that eventuality. Under these circumstances they saw no other escape than to take advantage of the possibility of emigrating from their thankless "motherland". Only a small percentage decided to leave Poland because of national considerations and a desire to go to Israel. When the others arrived in Austria or Denmark they immediately began seeking a safe haven, where no one would remind them of their Jewishness. In Israel, they and their children would live as Jews — and this is what they wished to avoid. For them, Jewishness is a symbol of a burden, of suffering and persecution. They have no spiritual preparation to see anything positive in Judaism. Zionism is foreign to them. Moreover, as a result of the education they had absorbed in Communist and antisemitic Poland, they regard Zionism as being identical with imperialism, clericalism and the exploitation of other peoples. They must therefore flee far away from Israel, from Zionism and Judaism.

I read in the press that the Jewish Agency recently sent staffs of emissaries to Copenhagen and Vienna to persuade the Polish emigres to go to Israel, promising them attractive economic conditions. But this is not the way. If we are to succeed in rescuing the remnant from the valley of death and extermination and to restore it to its people, we must first endow it with the true essence of Zionism and to ignite in its heart a spark of love for its people, to which it belongs, and from which there is no retreat even in the free western world.

Dr. G. Tamarin

MIXED MARRIAGE COUPLES

1. The manifestation of nationalistic sentiments among (Polish) Jews who were not brought up in Jewish tradition is, I believe, due chiefly to the complete absence of the internationalistic spirit in Communist movements and societies. For

this reason Jewish Communists find themselves surrounded by nationalism and even unrestrained chauvinism. Faced with "I do not belong in this context; I am an alien", they experience an awakening of their own nationalistic sentiments.

2. As far as the discrimination against mixed marriage couples in Israel being a possible deterrent to aliya: I recently completed (together with my friend Dr. S. Eisenberg) a three-year study of such couples in Israel.

It should be noted that, except for the small group of mixed Jews and Arabs, the Polish group is in the most difficult situation. While official discrimination hits the various groups in equal measure, this is not true of the social discrimination — and here the sub-group is of utmost importance.

I have never heard, for instance, of a negative attitude being displayed toward the Christian American spouse of one of their number, or of Jews from Yugoslavia rejecting a Serbian or Croatian wife, or of Jewish German oldtimers here being hostile to a Christian German woman — but it is otherwise in the case of women from Eastern Europe. Here we encounter, especially among the more primitive segments of the populace, instances of ruthless persecution of the “goyeh” and her children.

I think that this group is duty bound to break the conspiracy of silence around this subject in Israel and to declare to the wide public and the official bodies that *there can be no one-way democracy*; in the same measure that we condemn dis-

crimination and antisemitic acts abroad, we should condemn discrimination in our own midst.

We must state it clearly: if the persecution of a Jewish child abroad is a horrible thing, no less horrible is the persecution in Israel of a child of a mixed marriage. Even worse is the silence on the part of teachers and other official persons when they come up against such cases.

A “simple” remedy is offered: proselytism. It is difficult to say whether this piece of advice, which comes at times from those who are pathetically struggling against all shades of assimilation, is in essence cynical or is merely an indication of the blindness to which I have referred, which refuses to recognize the identicalness of discrimination against Jews and against non-Jews. However, the basic intolerance does not regard the case of the Jew and the non-Jew as being the same; a Jew who dies for his faith is a hero, but democracy and socialism would not be impaired in Israel, in their opinion, if an atheist or a member of another faith is forced to act against his conscience.

It is the duty of the intellectuals, our duty, to combat this false approach, not only for humanitarian reasons on behalf of those persecuted couples but also for the good of democracy and of our rights, which are being eroded by these persecutions.

N. Nachumi

THE PROBLEM SHOULD BE TACKLED

To a *certain* extent it is possible to go along with the viewpoint that Communists as well as Zionists in Poland tried to solve their problems, as Jews, the latter by detaching themselves from the Polish environment and attaching themselves to a Jewish-Israeli environment, and the former by integrating with Poland and the Poles. But two qualifications must be put forward immediately:

1) In the past, and not so long ago at that, many Jewish Communists in Poland saw no contradiction between their being *communists in Poland* and their being

Jews with a national attachment, and this allowed for some form of Jewish national-cultural existence in Communist Poland. This was still possible in Poland years after it was no longer possible, for instance, for Jewish Communists in the Soviet Union.

2) The adherence of Jewish Communists in Poland to Communist Poland was rooted *not only* in their desire to “settle the Jewish question” but also in their adherence to Communist *ideology*. It was their disillusionment with Communist ideology which turned them against ideology altogether, including the Zionist ideology,

hence their refusal to immigrate to an "ideological state" as is Israel.

Of all the "practical" problems that Israel must solve in order to make it easier for immigrants to decide in favor of aliya, I should like to say a few words only on the attitude in Israel toward mixed marriages. I feel that the matter involves not only the actual suffering experienced here by the mixed couples and their children but also the atmosphere behind it. Many people other than those who have come from Poland and the recent emigres from Poland, view this attitude as *discrimination* — similar to the discrimination to which they as Jews were subjected in Poland. This is an important problem, and the Israeli public should consider it seriously and strive to righten the wrong, for if there will come a large wave of immigration from the Soviet Union, it will contain many mixed marriage couples, and

the repugnance against discrimination on national-racial grounds will be very severe.

As for ideology, while the disillusionment with Communist ideology and the resultant rejection of all ideologies is *understandable*, it is not *justifiable*. This is no easy matter. The further that we get away from the Holocaust, the more do Jews in the diaspora feel that the discrimination against them is on the wane, and the more intense is the criticism of the younger generation of the *society* in which it lives — the more likely is the interest in Israel and the identification with it, to weaken and vanish. In a more "primitive" fashion and against a different background, the same non-Zionism and anti-Zionism is to be found among the current emigres from Poland, and we should be in no haste to condemn them. Rather, we must tackle the problem.

Dr. Arye Globerson

FAIR AND OBJECTIVE INFORMATION

a) I am inclined to go along with Prof. Baumann's assumption that, from certain standpoints, there is much in common between Jewish Communists and Zionism, in that these two popular approaches grew out of a background of discrimination and of the inability to continue life as Jews and as free men under the regimes in their countries, causing them to seek ways of changing the essence of their status and conditions.

b) It is also probable that the expelled Polish Jews still living in Europe (especially in Sweden and Holland) are disillusioned with an ideologically-motivated state, in addition to their disillusionment of people and values held sacred for many years.

c) Israel apparently has little attraction for these people, chiefly because 1) its being an ideologically-motivated country, while they would probably prefer living in a "plain country" (especially in the light of their political and ideological past);

2) Israel's security situation appears to them, as it does to most people abroad, as being more serious than it really is; 3) certain groups are concerned over economic and employment difficulties (such as the free professions, in the social sciences, as well as the elderly); 4) Israel is actually a religious state, and certain issues (such as mixed marriages, the Sabbath, television) create a most negative image of Israel in the eyes of many people (even though there is no concrete infraction of individual rights in most cases).

d) These emigres should be approached with fair and objective information, not in a missionary spirit.

e) Israelis who contend that the "Polish group" should be left alone (on the note of "they will yet pay the price", "they'll know better", etc.) are actually following a dangerous anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist line.

The most honorable and desirable approach is the one set forth in Paragraph d) above.

R. Boren

THE LAST OF POLANDS' JEWS AT THE CROSSROADS

The most difficult and complicated task, in the effort to bring to Israel the last of Poland's Jews, falls to the lot of those who come in direct contact with them at the transit point in Vienna. This I learned personally when I spent the months of July and August of 1968 in that city, talking to more than 500 of the Jews expelled from Poland — and they were *outcasts* rather than *emigres* — among them many who adamantly refused to go on to Israel.

The Agency emissary who comes in contact with this particular aliya cannot be a missionary or a propagandist, or even someone who represents the Zionist ideal. Most of the Jews expelled from Poland after March 1968 are Communists, far from Judaism and consciously opposed to Zionism. However, after all that they had suffered they may be regarded as ideologically bankrupt — theoretically, socially and nationally. Obviously a man whose ideological world had crashed down about him is in no position to try outfitting himself with a new ideal. The disillusionment is so great that no trust can be placed in any propaganda or propagandist.

We should further bear in mind that despite their deep disappointment in their own ideology, they have not been entirely freed from the anti-Israel propaganda with which they had been stuffed in their land of sojourn. They are aware that this propaganda was for the most part false and unfounded, but some of it had clung to them; furthermore, they have no idea of how life is lived in Israel. Even if they sift out the lies about "Israeli aggressiveness", "expansionist ambitions", "social reaction", "religious coercion" and the like, they would still retain the suspicion that Israel is but a "second Vietnam" or, at best, a sort of "modern Sparta". For this reason, the first thing to do is to describe to them life in Israel as it is, the bright side and the dark. They should be told exactly what is the security situation and how intense is the desire of the inha-

bitants for peace. They should not be kept in ignorance regarding the difficulties encountered by mixed marriage couples and their children. They should be reminded of the tremendous contribution of Polish Jewry to the founding of Israel and its development, and the role which can be filled by the remnant of this Jewry, which is now at the crossroads and does not know in which direction to proceed — whether or not to choose Israel and become part of the life of the country as citizens with equal rights and obligations.

One cannot judge this group, which finds itself in a deep mental and ideological crisis, on the same basis that the Israeli public, Agency and Government are wont to evaluate aliya and immigrants from any other country, either depressed or affluent. First of all, this group has no interim generation; it is divided in two, and no more: persons approaching retirement age (over 50) and their children (aged 18—25).

The first group, the adults, had received a Jewish upbringing and was part of the full Jewish life in Poland up to the outbreak of the Second World War. During the War they were tortured, as Jews, in the Nazi hell and escaped by miracles. The young people, on the other hand, received no Jewish upbringing at all and were in many cases kept ignorant of their Jewish stock by their parents for many years. And yet, they are more inclined toward aliya than their elders. Obviously we cannot concentrate the effort on the young people alone; we must not create the impression that we are interested solely in the young and regard the elders as social cases which would burden the welfare agencies in Israel.

While I was in Vienna I met a mixed marriage couple, the parents of three sons. The sons wanted to go to Israel and find there a lasting identity, but the parents insisted on going to Rome and thence to the United States. I was in the railway

station when the family left for Rome. I beheld five unfortunate individuals: the Jewish father, broken and downcast, looked at me with deep sadness and sorrow; the sons, resigned, looked at no one, while

the Christian mother, who had saved her future husband and several other Jews during the Holocaust, stood there helpless. It was a saddening sight of a family about to take up life anew in an alien land.

Dr. L. Berger

IDENTITY CRISIS

The difficulties confronting the aliya of Poland's last Jews stem from two sources: the spiritual composition of this remnant and the distorted image of the State of Israel, crystallized in their consciousness as a result of anti-Israel propaganda and the falsification which they had been fed by the communications media in their country.

The spiritual complex of these Jews may be defined, in psychological terms, as an "identity crisis". Israel is in their eyes an imperialistic country opposed to social progress. However, this is not merely the result of indoctrination. This is a psychological process which became fixed in their beings also because of their tireless efforts to mask their Judaism even to themselves, in the genuine belief that, in the ladder of human classification, Jews and Judaism are on a somewhat lower rung.

The remnant of Polish Jewry, they who had existed for years under Polish names which they had adopted for the sake of convenience, had also adapted to themselves, in the course of time, personalities and images which would reflect their new names and new modes of life, that is, Poles for every intent and purpose. This process induced them not only to imitate the "pure" Polish type but to be rid completely of the last vestige of the Judaism that remained in their Jewish ego.

Under the conditions in which this remnant lived, this process has parallels in human psychology. Therefore, if we relate to this phenomenon—a handful of people left over from a glorious Jewish community, which did its best to become rooted in its land of origin and, after its expulsion, is striving to find another foreign

land and take hold there — from a purely critical standpoint, we shall not do justice to the subject. We must explore the problem in depth. We see before us the remnants who had undergone the Nazi hell and, having come through it alive, tried to solve their problems as Jews by becoming part of a regime which ostensibly promised equal rights to all regardless of their ethnic origin. In anthropology this condition is known as the "rite of passage".

A high percentage of the Jews who remained in Poland of their own will and didn't take advantage of previous opportunities to leave for Israel or some other Western country, occupied high positions in the administration, the Party, institutions of science, and so on. For this reason they attracted to themselves the scrutiny of the Polish masses, who had always despised Jews who acted like Poles and taunted them for it. In self-defense, these Jews who yearned to be taken by everyone for Poles, went over to extreme opportunism. The Poles regarded this behavior as stupid imitation — no more and no less; as Arnold Toynbee once pointed out, "mimesis often passes over into travesty".

Because of the attitude of the Polish environment toward them, refusing to accept them despite their ceaseless attempts to become part of it, these Jews lost their inner sense of balance, and from frustration they passed over to an identity crisis. The sole environment which could free them from the enormous tension, and to which they fled in their straits, was their own milieu — that is, a group of other Jews also masquerading as Poles and were not accepted by the outside environment.

This was how the group of marginal Jews was created, simulating Poles and bearing Polish names. And it is known that marginal groups consisting of people living in a state of alienation tend to seek ways to change the status quo. For this reason, these Jews stood at the head of the ideological reform in their country, Poland.

The attempt at ideological reform failed in Communist Poland, as it is known; it merely revealed the extent to which Communists of Jewish descent were involved in it. The reaction of the regime is also known: the Jews were thrown out of their positions and the borders of the land were opened to them — to get out, forever.

Disillusioned and embittered, these Jews lost all faith in any ideology whatsoever. These among them who, without any ideological background, merely sought careers and achieved their high position solely by their ambition to climb up the ladder of government or party hierarchy, now lost all faith in their own capabilities. In both instances, faith was lost.

These people, devoid of faith, were now confronted with the dilemma of settling in Israel, whose very existence is based on faith in its own power and whose individual citizens believe in their own worth.

The image of the country to which a potential immigrant wishes to go and on which he pins his hopes is of paramount importance. The need for the existence of such an image was stressed by Prof. T. N. Eisenstadt in his "Absorption of Aliya" (1952). "Almost every immigrant," he wrote, "arrives with a certain concept of the country and with a string of hopes. These concepts are rooted in the social conditions and the psychological motivations which spurred him to emigrate."

For many years the last of Polish Jewry were indoctrinated with a repelling image of Israel. They now found themselves ostracized by the land of their origin, with a bankrupt ideology and an entry permit of a country whose image repels them. The very thought that they would have to make

their home there is enough to frighten them with the prospect of yet another failure.

We are therefore dealing with a group suffering from internal upheaval caused by its inner image, on the one hand, and bearing in its consciousness the repelling image of a country to which it is being directed, on the other.

The situation in which this group finds itself makes it mandatory that those in charge of handling aliya should find some extraordinary ways of how to deal with it. The first thing to be done is to have them recover from their upset mental state and to free them from the falsified image of Israel which they have been entertaining. They must not only adopt new concepts with regard to Israel but also erase from their memory and consciousness all the distorted concepts about Israel that have become rooted in their minds. When these disappear, the people should be given a sense of belonging, which alone can cure them of the "identity crisis".

Some people have been of the opinion that it isn't worth while to sink so much effort into this numerically deplorable remnant and that it should be allowed to scatter all over the earth without any interference on our part.

To do this would be to commit a grievous error which would take its toll if and when other countries of the Eastern bloc would open their gates to the Jews in their midst. We must regard the remnant of Polish Jewry as an example of a certain segment of Jews which finds itself living under regimes hostile to Israel and inimical to their Jewish minorities, to the point of rejecting even those who strive to better their lives through opportunism.

If we forego this remnant and fail in evolving a special approach to whatever is required to bring it to Israel, we may lose many other potential immigrants and, in addition, violate our concept of viewing every Jew, wherever he may be, as a potential immigrant.