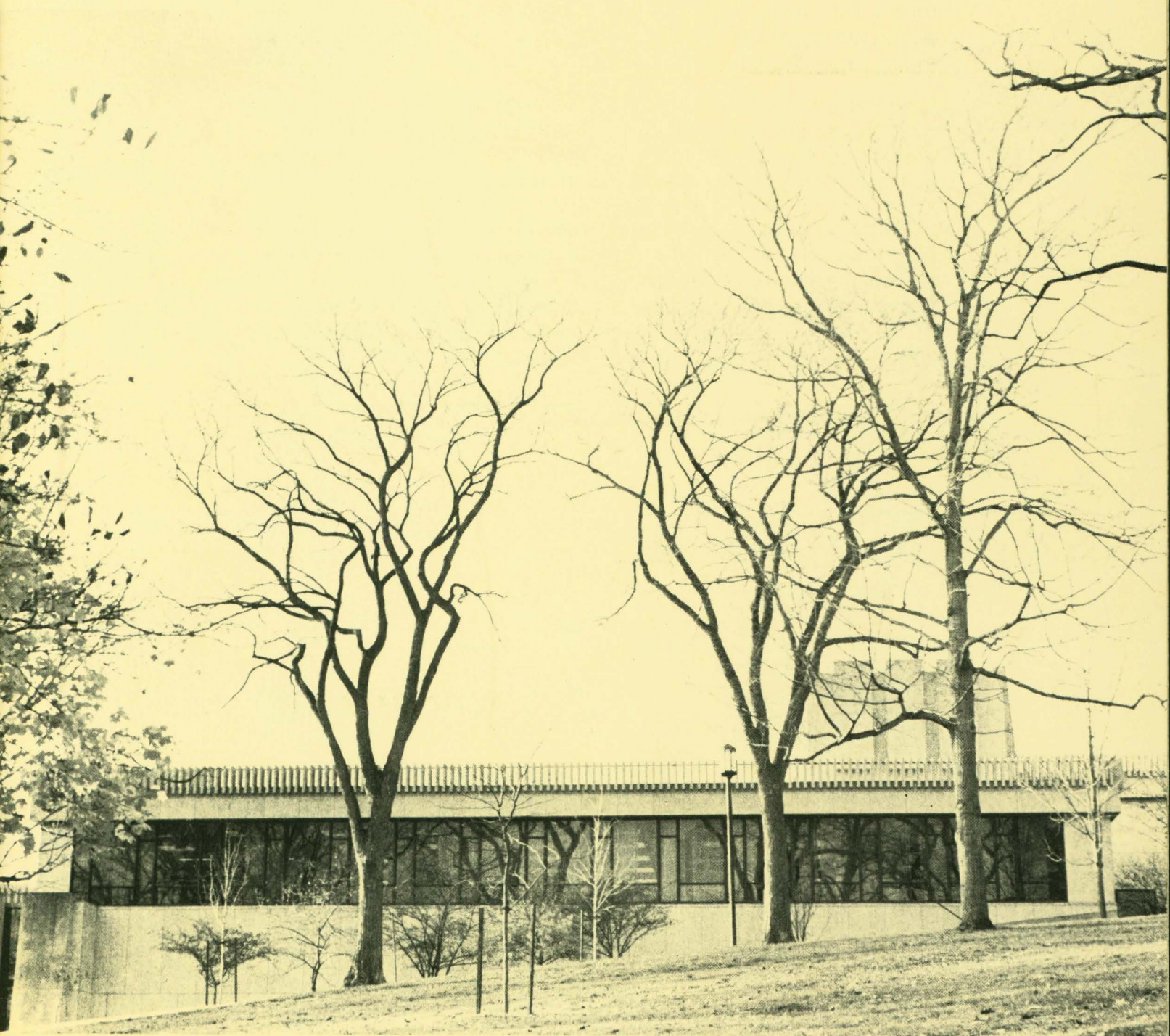


Hakol (The Voice)

February 1980

Shevat 5740



Graphic by Nancy Zlotsky

הקול

Hakol (The Hebrew word for "The Voice") is meant to be a forum for Jewish thought and experience. It is written and produced by the students and faculty of Tufts University for the entire Tufts Jewish community.

Hakol strives to present a wide range of viewpoints and interpretations on topics of Jewish interest. In doing so **Hakol** consequently strives to tap the knowledge and talent of the University community interested in Judaism and Jewish life.

To be an ongoing publication **Hakol** needs your contributions. Every member of the Tufts community is invited to submit works on topics relating to Judaism as a religion, nationality or culture. Send fiction, poetry, essays, excerpts from scholarly research, photography, etchings and other artistic works to **Hakol**, Curtis Hall, Tufts University, Medford, Mass. 02155.

We hope that you enjoy this second issue of **Hakol** and that you will submit materials to future editions as well as work on **Hakol** production.

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Contents

by Joel Manon	So You've Never Heard of Judaeo-English?	2
by Ellen Glickman	On the Outside	4
by Jane Stark	Confessions of a Jewish Studies Major	5
by Robin Helfand	A Sabbath Meal	9
by Todd E. Kessler	Holding the Homeland	16
by Margaret Joy Frisch	Jerusalem	18
by Rabbi Jeffrey Summit	A Yemenite Experience in Israel	19
by Pam Kohn	Untitled	22
by Ram S. Harel	International Organizations and The Refugee Problem The Functional Approach at Work	23

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So You've Never Heard of Judaeo-English?

by Joel Manon

One of the most distinctive characteristics of Jewish history is the fact that Jews, in nearly all lands in which they have lived, have spoken a dialect or language peculiar to themselves and distinct to a greater or lesser degree from those of their neighbors. This phenomenon should hardly surprise us — for the proverbial “wandering Jew” has almost always been considered somewhat of an outsider in his place of residence, the stranger who has just come from someplace else. With few exceptions, (notably Medieval Spain, for example), the Jew had little opportunity to blend in with his surroundings until the time of the “Enlightenment”, which has allowed Jews in the West to be considered more “native” than “stranger” for the past two hundred years.

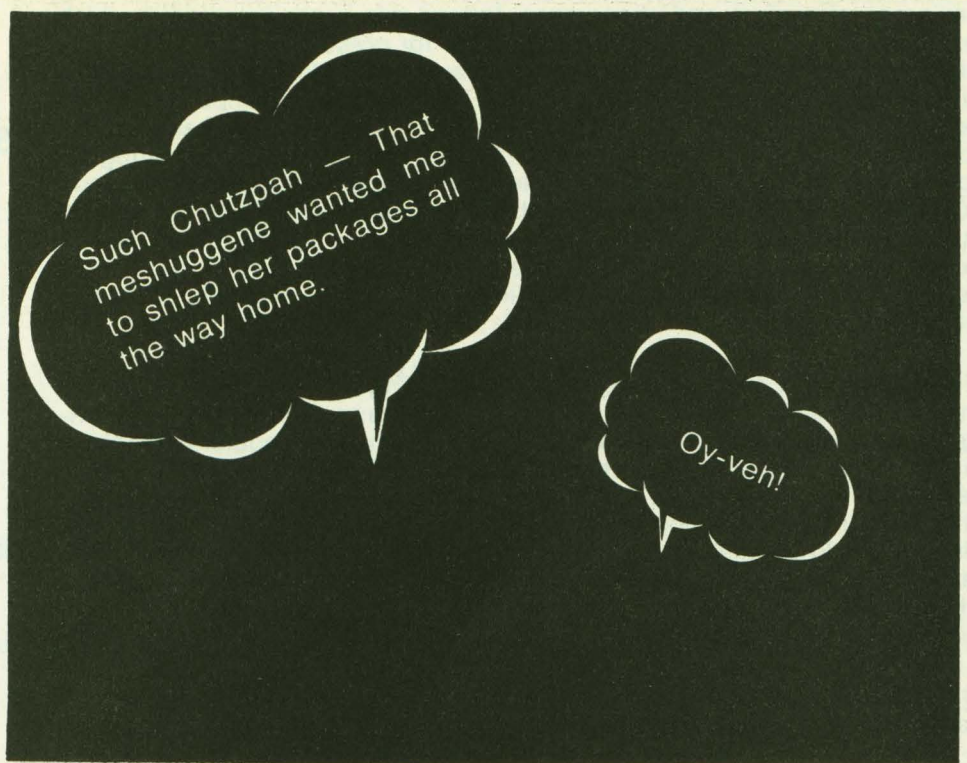
It is well-known that language, perhaps more than any other single phenomenon, is an ethnic, socio-cultural characteristic. In India there have been “language wars” and in Belgium the French-speaking Walloons have fought their Flemish-speaking countrymen. Such battles are not fought out of some abstract devotion to one language or another, but rather they reflect a deep-seated rivalry between ethnic or cultural groups. Thus, it is only natural that the Jews, who until 200 years ago, were universally distinguishable as a separate ethnic entity by their dress, beliefs, customs, and life style, should also be differentiated from their non-Jewish neighbors by that ultimate ethnic characteristic — a distinct form of speech.

We do not have to go far from home to see this phenomenon at work. The United States, which has absorbed millions of people from dozens of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, serves as a perfect example. The Pennsylvania Dutch, for one, are descended from German immigrants who came to this country generations ago. They no longer speak German, but their particular brand of English is recognizable as a distinct dialect of the language. Is this not comparable to Jews a millenium ago who, having recently arrived in Germany from French-speaking lands, began to speak a brand of German peculiar to themselves? Centuries later, after the Jews had moved further eastward into Slavic countries, this special dialect of German would be known as Yiddish. Similarly, black Americans were brought to this country centuries ago; yet certain speech patterns they brought with them from African languages were transmitted from generation to generation, giving Black English some of its distinctive linguistic characteristics.

The Jews, in their wanderings, retained language patterns from previous generations when a different language had been spoken. Thus many words in Yiddish can be traced back to Old French: such “Yiddish” names as Yente and Bunem go back to French *Gentille* and *Bonhomme*. Likewise, common ritual terms, such as *bentsh* and *daven* can be traced back to *benedicte* and *diviner*. These terms are used by American Jews as “Yiddish” terms, whereas their use in Yiddish reflects the earlier habitat of Eastern European Jewry.

This phenomenon of retaining linguistic elements from a former place of residence is so compelling that it is tempting to speak of a “Judaeo-English;” a communal dialect of English peculiar to the Jews. The most common reaction to such a hypothesis is usually negative: after all, we Jews in America are

“It is well-known that language, perhaps more than any other single phenomenon, is an ethnic, socio-cultural characteristic.”



educated together with our non-Jewish brethren, we live together with them in the same communities and are virtually indistinguishable from them. Further more, few of us, (lamentably), know Hebrew or Yiddish — let alone feel comfortable enough with the Hebrew script to write our own vernacular in it. To many, this is one of the most distinctive features of Jewish languages — that they are written in Hebrew script. Yet write Yiddish in English transcription and it is still Yiddish, not German. Alphabets are only a cultural garment in which a language is clothed; change the garment and the language remains the same — it only looks different.

Yet, in spite of all these objections, there is a certain amount of linguistic baggage which is transmitted from parent to child independently of the environment. Obviously, the most blatantly "foreign" elements will be rejected: such as the inability to distinguish the "a" of "man" from the "e" of "men"; but the more subtle features will remain. Many second and third generation American Jews will still ask: "So are you coming, already?" with a full octave leap at the end which would make any blue-blooded Yankee blush. Or maybe they will pronounce the "g" in "finger", (ah — so you always thought that the only difference between "finger" and "singer" was the first letter. Just ask a non-Jewish friend from South Dakota to pronounce them), a phenomenon too subtle to be consciously rejected.

The retention of a significant number of words from Yiddish is well known: "Such *chutzpah* — that *meshuggene* wanted me to *shlep* her packages all the way home." Interestingly enough, through the disproportionate participation of Jews in show business and, specifically, television, this sentence would probably be understood by millions of non-Jewish Americans. This kind of influence, too, is not new. We know that for centuries German gangster slang has been full of Yiddishisms: *ganef*, *metaltelim*, *mezummen* and dozens of other words, due apparently to Jewish participation in the underworld.

Even syntax has been affected, for example, by asking a question with a mere rise in intonation: "You just bought a new car?" instead of "Did you just buy a new car?" This may be due to the complex method by which English forms an interrogative sentence: "you bought" becomes did you buy."

But is all this really enough to posit a unique "Judaean-English" dialect? By itself, probably not. But let's add another factor to what we have already mentioned: the specific speech habits of a small but significant group of American Jews; the Orthodox community. We should expect a traditional religious group such as this to be more conservative in their language habits just as they are in

"Many second and third generation American Jews will still ask: "So are you coming, already?" with a full octave leap at the end which would make any blue-blooded Yankee blush."

other areas of custom and observance. Indeed this is so. As a group which cherishes tradition and views itself responsible for preserving a traditional way of life, it is only logical that they should preserve older linguistic elements in their speech. Of course, no attempt is made to translate the names of religious objects, customs, holidays, etc: the Orthodox Jew speaks of *shabbes*, not "the Sabbath"; of *yom teyvim*, not "holidays"; of *shul* not "temple" or "synagogue" or of *tefillin*, not "phylacteries". But while in English, one "puts on" a garment, an Orthodox Jew *lays* his tefillin, (from the Hebrew *lehaniach tefillin*). Similarly, a non-Jew "says" grace; before his meal the Jew *makes* a *motzi*, (from Yiddish *machen a motzi*). Similarly, a Yiddish verb is used as if it were English, as in "are you finished *bentshing* ", (from Yiddish *bentshen*, originally from Old French, as already noted).

These examples approach a kind of "Judaean-English" — a language which is neither standard English nor a foreign language: a dialect in which non-English elements are incorporated as if they were English. Another example of this is the unusual use of the prepositions *by* and *to*. An Orthodox Jew will say "We spent the evening *by* our friends the Goldbergs." Or "I didn't see you last night *to* ma'ariv, (the evening service)." These are simply English renditions of their sound-alike Yiddish counterparts *bei*, (meaning "at one's home") and *tzu*, (meaning "at"). Or take the verb "learn" meaning, as does its Yiddish counterpart, *lernen*, either "learn" or "study". We thus hear such uniquely Judaean-English utterances as "We're learning gemora tomorrow by Rabbi Cohen."

Of course, all these examples represent only a tiny percentage of the total vocabulary and grammar which American Jews use when speaking English. The vast majority of those utterances spoken by even the most Orthodox Jews in Brooklyn are still identical to those of their non-Jewish neighbors. By now, it should be clear that the whole question of whether or not there exists a distinct Judaean-English dialect is really more a sociological question than a linguistic one. The linguistic rudiments are there: if the Jews of this country were to live in relative isolation, cut off from social intercourse with their Christian neighbors, then, given a few hundred years, we, (or rather our descendants), would most likely be speaking a uniquely Jewish dialect of English.

"... the whole question of whether or not there exists a distinct Judaean-English dialect is really more a sociological question than a linguistic one."

Joel Manon is an instructor of Hebrew at Tufts.

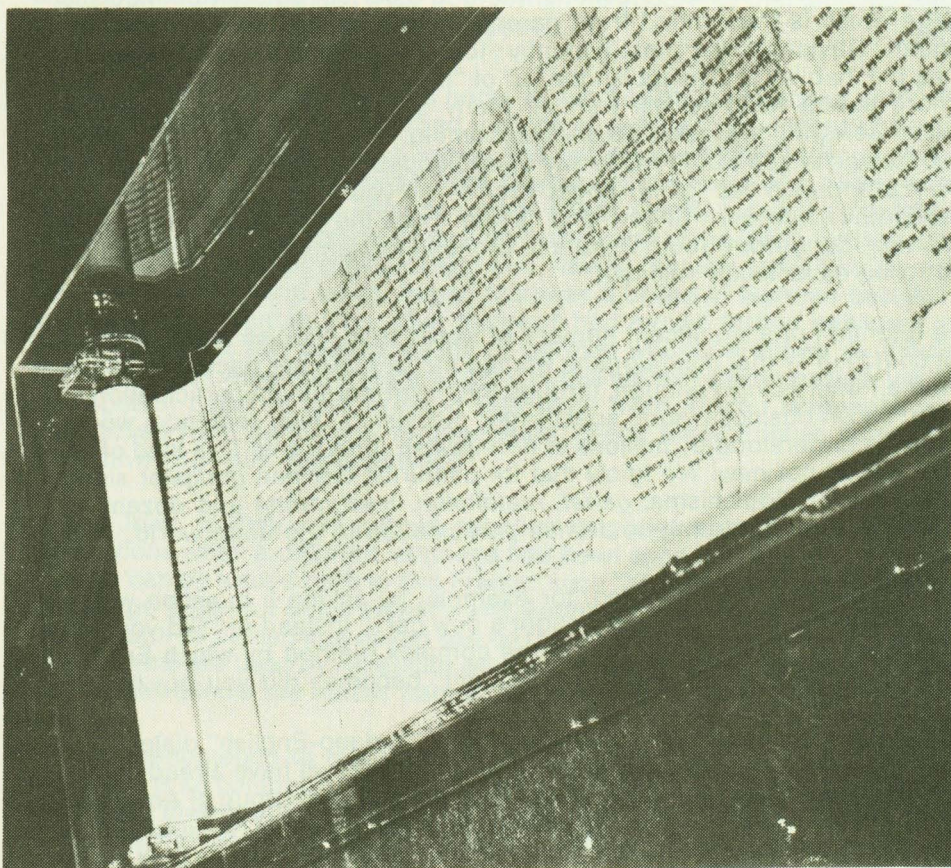


Photo courtesy of
Consulate General of Israel

On the Outside

by Ellen Glickman

It was a sudden, shattering boom which caused the earth
to shake,
my heart to jump,
and a group of Israelis to demonstrate their humanity.

The bomb, an explosion of hatred and human failings,
destroyed
the peaceful summer night
the even flow of sidewalk strollers.

As the glass fronted movie theater trembled, a woman
fainted in shock.

Dumbfounded, my American friends and I stood immobile.

The Sabras, the native Israelis, so hardened by the fight
for survival,
so quick to judge,
so difficult to understand

The Sabras, tough on the outside but soft and tender
beneath their shells,

The Sabras moved instinctively towards the woman.

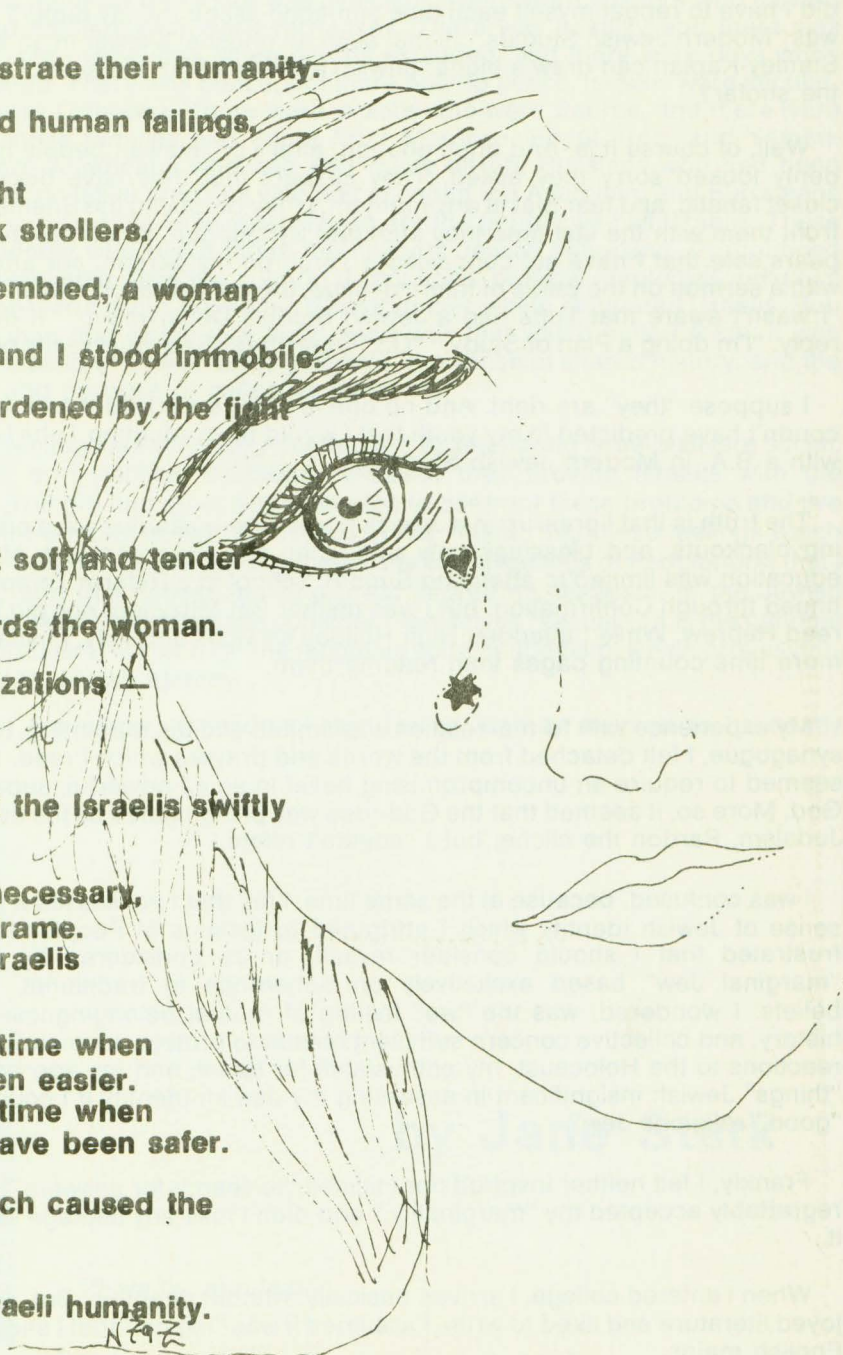
no hesitations, no doubts, no rationalizations —
action — just action.
one goal, one feeling, one people —

"We are one," I thought as I watched the Israelis swiftly
surround the woman.

Ready to carry her on their backs if necessary,
they huddled over the collapsed frame.
And then, the revived stranger and Israelis
walked away together.

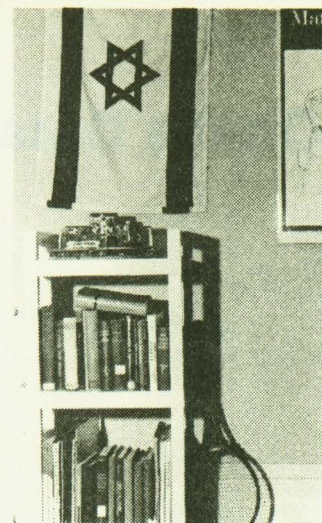
They had helped out of concern at a time when
closing their eyes would have been easier.
They had held open their hearts at a time when
turning their heads away would have been safer.

It was a sudden, shattering boom which caused the
earth to shake,
my heart to jump,
and to overflow at the sight of Israeli humanity.



Confessions of a Jewish Studies Major

Photo by Jon James



For months, I considered that perhaps I had a speech impediment. Why else did I have to repeat myself each time someone asked me my major? All I said was "Modern Jewish Studies." Is that such an unusual answer in an age when Stanley Kaplan can draw a bigger Jewish audience than the soulful sounds of the shofar?

Well, of course it is. And often enough, after I do answer, people have suddenly looked sorry they asked. They suspect that they have discovered a closet fanatic, and fear that at any moment, I may burst into the Shema, or confront them with the last time they attended Synagogue. When however, it appears safe that I have not concealed a Torah on my person, nor am I armed with a sermon on the perils of intermarriage, the conversation may proceed to; "I wasn't aware that Tufts had a Jewish Studies Department." "It doesn't," I reply. "I'm doing a Plan of Study." "Oh," they utter. (She must really be into it.)

I suppose "they" are right. And no one is more surprised than I. I certainly couldn't have predicted in my youth that I would be graduating Tufts University with a B.A. in Modern Jewish Studies.

The truth is that I grew up in a Jewish home where candles were only lit during blackouts, and blessings only said when someone sneezed. My Jewish education was limited to attending Sunday School at a Reform Temple. I continued through Confirmation, but I was neither Bat Mitzvaed, nor did I learn to read Hebrew. While I attended High Holiday services annually, I usually spent more time counting pages than reading them.

My experience with formal religion was limited and disappointing. Inside the synagogue, I felt detached from the words and prayers which I read. For, they seemed to require an uncompromising belief in an all powerful, supernatural God. More so, it seemed that the God-idea was promulgated as the essence of Judaism. Pardon the cliché, but I "couldn't relate."

I was confused, because at the same time, I felt that I possessed a profound sense of Jewish identity which I attributed to feelings of Peoplehood. I was frustrated that I should consider myself, or be considered by others a "marginal Jew" based exclusively on adherence to traditional, religious beliefs. I wondered, was the "we" feeling of mutual belongingness, shared history, and collective concern sufficient reason to profess Judaism? Were my reactions to the Holocaust, my enthusiasm for Israel, and my appreciation of "things" Jewish insignificant in assessing my Jewish identity if I couldn't be a "good" religious Jew?

Frankly, I felt neither inspired nor inclined "to search for answers." Rather, I regrettably accepted my "marginality," and didn't lose any teenage sleep over it.

When I entered college, I arrived basically, without direction. But, since I enjoyed literature and liked to write, I assumed it was "logical" that I should be an English major.

"I certainly couldn't have predicted in my youth that I would be graduating Tufts University with a B.A. in Modern Jewish Studies."

In the spring semester of my Freshman year, however, I took Yiddish Literature. It was that "spark" which every undecided, undeclared, underclassman hopes he will get before sophomore spring. Admitting that I was a sucker for the people of the shtetl, I surrendered my logical plans of being an English major to an illogical "what are you going to do with it" independent program in Modern Jewish studies. There was little focus in my mind as to what my concentration of study would be in, but since the available course offerings were limited anyhow, I simply chose whatever seemed relatable and interesting. As I had decided that I would spend my junior year in Israel at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, (affectionately known as 'brew U), I took advantage of Tuft's courses in Middle Eastern Politics and Hebrew language.

It never occurred to me that my plans to spend a year in Israel were bold considering that I had never been there before. I simply assumed that I would love it, and I did. The fact that I had the opportunity to study such subjects as the Holocaust, Israeli social problems, Jewish folklore and more, was extremely satisfying, but really incidental to what I extracted from my year in Israel. Never could have I imagined a land or people so full of color and contradictions.

It was modern and it was ancient. There was desert and there was farmland. There was idealism and there was cynicism. There were soldiers who carried guns, and soldiers who wore yarmulkes. There was hostility and there was warmth. There were days when bombs exploded, and there were days when joy exploded. There was peace, but there was no peace. Israelis were secular, Israelis were Orthodox. There were Israelis who were Sabras, and there were Israelis whose families had come from Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, and Yemen. There were Americans who had made aliyah, Russians who had been "permitted" to leave, Iranians who had escaped the Ayatollah, and Europeans who had survived the Holocaust. These are the people we call Israelis. These are the people who make Israel the national Jewish homeland. Pronounced and unmistakable were the cultural distinctions, political ideologies, religious orientations, and socio-economic discrepancies which separated Israelis. But, stronger than that which told them apart was that which united them; it was the "we" feeling of mutual belongingness, the sense of shared history, and the strength and purpose of collective concerns.

These feelings are obviously not enough to ameliorate Israel's severe social, economic and political problems. Instead, they provide Israelis with the spiritual strength and quiet determination to confront these problems and live with them from day to day. It occurred to me, finally, that those feelings which provided Israelis spiritual strength were the same feelings of Peoplehood that I harbored and that constituted to a great degree my Judaism. In the Jewish homeland, where most Israelis consider themselves "secular," it is the national spirit of Judaism, rather than the religious spirit of Judaism, which proves fundamental to Jewish identity.

Though the whole question of my Jewish identity seemed to be neatly



by Jane Stark

Photo by Jon James

resolved by this realization, I was still not comfortable with my questionable religious bent. The support system which Israel provided; one of national Judaism, was only temporary. I would soon return to America and once again be "marginal." It was only while in the process of researching a paper in Israel, when I happened across Mordecai Kaplan's Reconstructionist ideology of Judaism, that I was finally able to come to terms with the nature of Judaism, Jewish religion, the God concept, and the problem of Jewish identity.

The Reconstructionist Movement, which now has its own Rabbinic Seminary, and over forty congregations across the United States, is an active response to the challenges the modern world has presented to the survival of traditional Judaism. That body of beliefs which compelled our forefathers to remain loyal to Judaism, despite suffering and hardship is no longer an exclusively viable means for Jewish survival in the modern world. The Reconstructionist Movement has realistically assessed that the unity of the Jewish people "is no longer based on uniformity of belief and practice." If we wish to sustain and perpetuate the unity of the Jewish people, we can no longer rely on religious observance as the exclusive means to achieve that end. If we are to foster Jewish identity, Jewish unity, and Jewish continuity, we shall have to reconstruct, revitalize, and reinterpret Judaism.

The Reconstructionist movement has undertaken that task, and has, since its conception in the 1920's, been credited as an influential force in all phases of American Jewish life. Synopsized in the words of Mordecai Kaplan, the movement's founder, are some of the concepts on which the program of Reconstructionist Judaism is based.

1. The Meaning of Judaism — Judaism should be viewed as the Civilization of the Jewish People. A People is a chain of generations united by a common history and culture, the origin of which can be traced to life in a particular land.

The "Jewish people" denotes that people which originally lived in Eretz Yisrael and which has maintained an uninterrupted existence to our own day.

Jewish peoplehood is based on historical continuity, language, literature, art, laws, mores and folkways, and attains its consummation in religion.

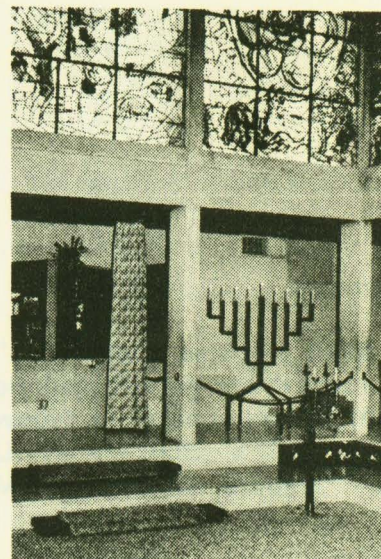
A Religion is that aspect of a civilization which is concerned with enhancing the value of human life for the individual, the group, and mankind.

A religion fosters faith in God as the Source of the ideals of a civilization and hallows the objects, persons and institutions that embody those ideals.

Judaism as a Religious Civilization — a religious civilization is one in which the religious aspect is so emphasized that the enhancement of human life, rather than the attainment of economic and political power, is treated as the principle purpose of the collective life of the people.

2. Jewish Ritual and Observance — a regimen of Jewish religious habits and practices is essential for Jewish religion. But for a great number of Jews in our day, the traditional regimen of observance has broken down, in whole or in part, because of changes in conditions or in mental outlook. For them a revised regimen needs to be developed based on a re-evaluation of traditional observances that would satisfy their spiritual needs. Traditional forms of Jewish ritual observance should be retained, provided they have acquired new and valid meaning for us through reinterpretation. Those traditional forms, however, which have no valid meaning for us and do not lend themselves to reinterpretation, need to be modified or replaced by others.

3. The revitalization of the Jewish religion requires that the belief in



God be interpreted in terms of universally human, and specifically Jewish experience.

Jews will conceive of God in different ways. The differences in their way of thinking about God will not impair the essential unity of Jewish religion, as long as Jews serve God by endeavoring to hallow Jewish life.

"These definitions elucidate the Reconstructionist contention that the Jewish People do not exist for the Jewish religion, but that the Jewish religion exists for the Jewish people. . ."

These definitions elucidate the Reconstructionist contention that the Jewish People do not exist for the Jewish religion, but that the Jewish religion exists for the Jewish People. The continuity of the Jewish People is the purpose of a reconstruction in our approach to Judaism. Fostering Jewish identity among Jews is the means to that end. Reconstructionism maintains that "common interests, common historical memories, and a sense of common destiny" is the source of Jewish unity. If to foster Jewish continuity, we must reinterpret, redefine, and revitalize existing beliefs and institutions, then we are only assuming the responsibility that our forefathers assumed throughout the 4000 years of Jewish civilization.

The Reconstructionist program suggests ways to revitalize Jewish religion, Jewish communal life, Jewish culture and education, and Jewish synagogue and family life in volumes of literature. Many of these ideas have been heeded and are credited as having significant influence upon several aspects of American Jewish life. Kaplan's insights have been seen in reform Judaism's efforts to place greater emphasis on traditional rights and practices, the state of Israel, knowledge of Hebrew, corporate Jewish life, and upon the so called "secular" aspects of Jewish existence such as art, music, dance, literature and social action.

The Reconstructionist Movement is also in the forefront of equal rights advocacy for women in Judaism. In 1922, the movement instituted the Bat Mitzvah ceremony, and later in 1951, permitted women to perform any function which is part of a synagogue service. Most recently, the Reconstructionist Rabbinic Seminary ordained the first woman Rabbi now leading her own congregation. The innovation of the Jewish Community Center is the result of Kaplan's insistence that the synagogue, as the Jewish center, must diversify its functions and activities to enhance Jewish life. The reconstructionist ideology has been a compelling force behind the attempted revitalization of Jewish education.

But for me, the most fundamental and significant innovation of the Reconstructionist Movement is the movement's identifying Judaism as an evolving religious civilization. If modern Jews would only let Judaism be redefined, they might realize that they are indeed less alienated than they think. Then perhaps, they might accept the responsibility of Jewish continuity with more enthusiasm and commitment.

Well, . . . you asked me my major.



Graphic by Shari Rosenfeld

A Sabbath Meal

The "traditional" Sabbath meal may include a number of foods, many of them "untraditional." My approach to the dinner varies with the season and my mood. I have designed this meal over a period of time. It includes hot and cold dishes, spicy and mild flavors, and a variety of textures and colors.

I find the preparation, cooking, and eating of a good meal is a rather unique experience. It is far too seldom that we engage in something so pleasing to all our senses.

Sabbath is a time of reflection, a time to rest from the demands of others, and devote space to the senses, the soul and the self. Preparing for the Sabbath can be part of this experience. Cooking this meal will, I hope, do several things for you — May you have fun; May you feel good about yourself, as you create each dish; and May you bring good feelings to others as they enjoy the fruits of your efforts.

Lifne Hatchala' (Before the Beginning)

- * Clear off a large working area and keep it free of clutter.
- * Put things away as you finish with them
- * Do all your shopping in advance; buy the best ingredients available.
- * Set out everything called for (except refrigerated things) in advance. Set out pots and pans as well.
- * Laugh, cry, then start over again if something doesn't "work."
- * Read all recipes through before you start.
- * Do not rush, allow plenty of time.
- * Be creative! Don't be afraid to innovate or revise. I don't believe in patented cook-book recipes, and those presented here combine my imagination with common sense. If you do change something, pay attention to proportions and don't make drastic innovations unless you're an experienced chef.

'L Hatztachal! (To Success!)

Ha Manot' (The Courses — Menu)

Mana Rishona (First Course) Yarakot im Hummos B'Tehina
(Vegetables with Hummos im Tehina or vice-versa)

Mana Shneah (Second Course) Oaf Meuchad Le Shabbat
(Special Chicken for Sabbath)

Yachad Im (Together With) Challa
(Braided Sabbath loaves)

Mana Sofit (Final Course) Momteekim Shell Robin)
(Robin's Sweets)



Photo by Jan Selby

by Robin Helfand

Mana Rishona

Select four or five of your favorite vegetables. They should be colorful and in season. Here are two combinations that work well — but feel free to mix and match.

II	I
cauliflower	carrots
red pepper	celery
cucumber	green pepper
tomatoe	radishes
green beans	mushrooms
zuchini	broccoli

1. Wash and slice the raw vegetables; store in the refrigerator covered and sprinkled with ice chips.

Hummos B'Tehina

Hummos

3 cups chick peas (garbanzo beans)
3 tablespoons fresh lemon juice
1 tablespoon olive oil or sesame oil
2 tablespoons coriander leaves
curry powder (if you like)

The day before you plan the meal:

1. Soak the chick peas in water (to cover 2").
2. Change the water once.
3. Change the water a second time before cooling.
4. Boil the peas until they are soft.
5. Drain, but save the water.
6. Mash the chick peas in the blender with lemon juice and water until the mixture is like thick peanut butter.
7. Remove from the blender and add oil
8. Spread the Houmous in a bowl, making a large well in the middle.
9. Set aside and prepare Tehina.

Tehina

2 cups sesame seeds (or 1 cup sesame paste)
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup fresh lemon juice
 $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ cup cold water
garlic (if you like it — I don't)

1. Mash the sesame seeds in the blender with equal amounts of water and lemon juice until the mixture resembles thin peanut butter (add the garlic if you are not planning an intimate dinner).
2. Pour the tehina into the well in the Houmous, sprinkle with coriander and curry powder.
3. Arrange the vegetables on a tray; place the bowl in the center and serve (cool or at room temperature).

Mana shneah

Purchase enough chicken filet to serve your guests (cut chicken into small pieces — 1 to 2")

Marinade (for five to seven people, adjust accordingly)

$\frac{3}{4}$ cup honey

$\frac{3}{4}$ cup oil

1 tablespoon ginger

3 tablespoons sesame seeds

4 tablespoons vinegar

$\frac{3}{4}$ cup soy sauce

1. Mix all ingredients together in a deep oven proof dish.
2. Add chicken, cover with aluminum foil and refrigerate for eight to twenty-four hours (the longer, the better)
3. Bake at 400° F for 40 minutes (or until the marinade boils and the chicken is white all through)
4. Serve chicken on a platter with the marinade in a bowl to be spooned on as a sauce — excellent with rice.

Challah

1. (The cook's interpretation of Challah) The Challah is a symbolic traditional bread. The three braided pieces symbolize the constant interaction between life, birth, and death.

2. The traditional Friday evening loaf is one large braid. The recipe outline here is for the festival loaf.

3. Tradition dictates that a knife is never laid to the challah. It should always be broken with the hands, symbolizing our own individual contact with life, birth and death.

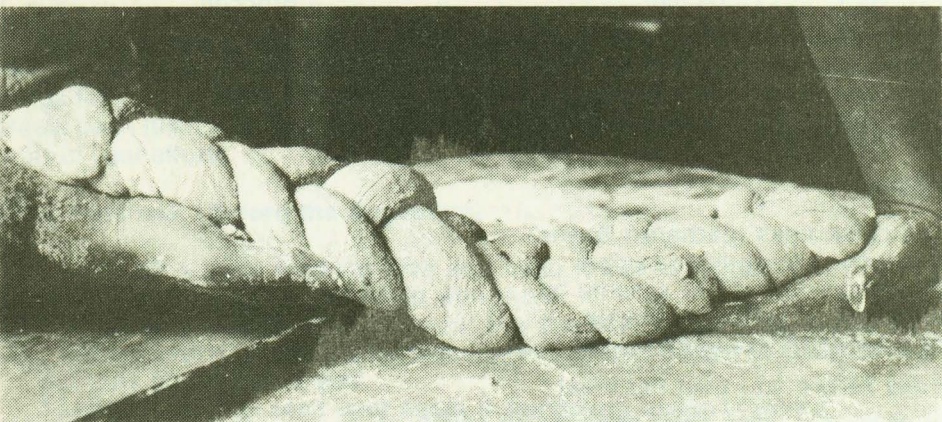


Photo by Jan Selby

1½ cups milk

3 teaspoons sugar

1 teaspoon salt

$\frac{1}{4}$ cup butter

$\frac{1}{2}$ cup warm water

2 packages dry yeast

2 eggs

6 cups flour

1 cup flour for kneading

2 tablespoons melted butter

2 egg yolks

3 tablespoons milk

Sesame or poppy seeds

A warm place for the dough to rise

Large wooden bowl

Small wooden bowl

Measuring cups

Measuring spoons

Clean dish towel

Very sharp knife

Large cookie sheet

Wooden spoon

Pastry brush or paper towel

1. To $\frac{1}{2}$ cup warm water (105°) add 1 tablespoon sugar and 2 packages of yeast. Stir until dissolved. Add $\frac{3}{4}$ cup flour to make a paste. Cover and set aside to rise for one hour in a warm place.

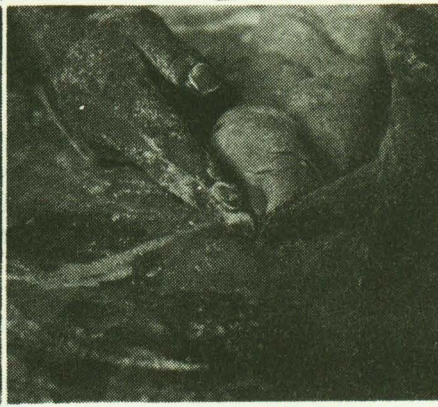
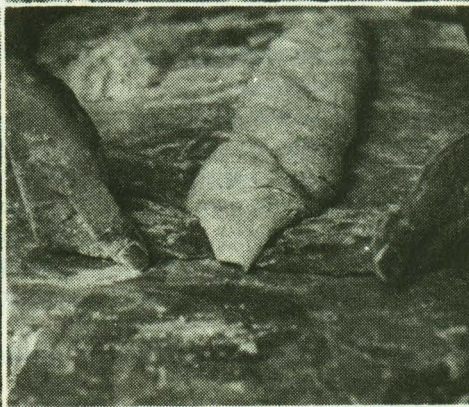
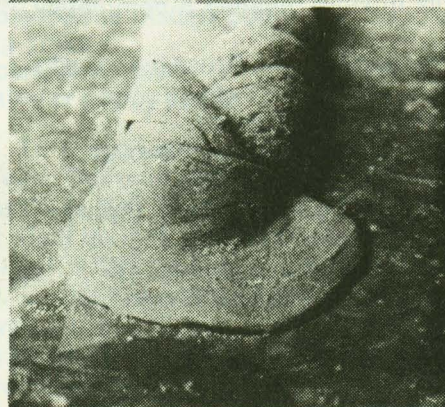
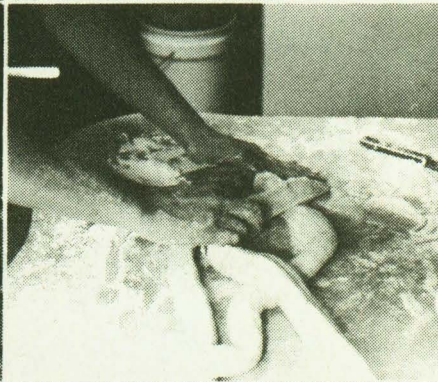
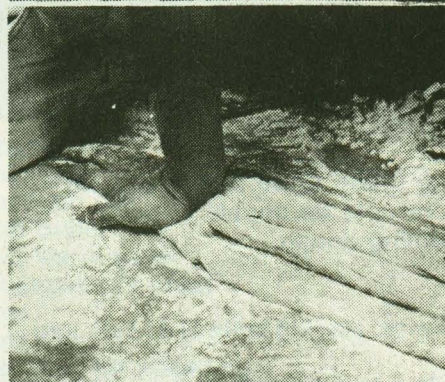
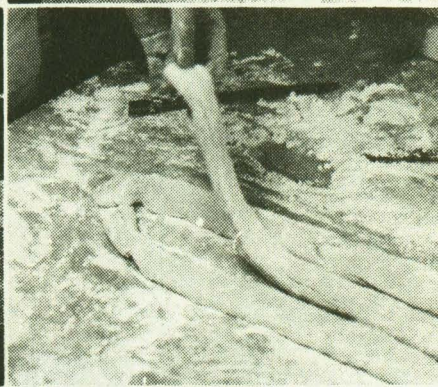
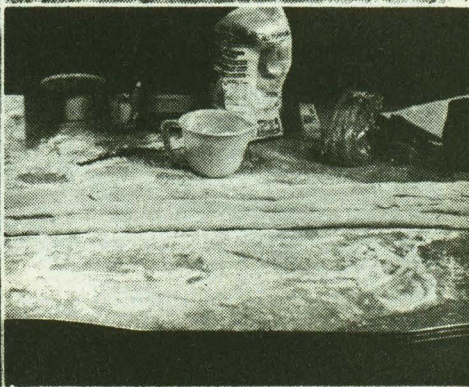
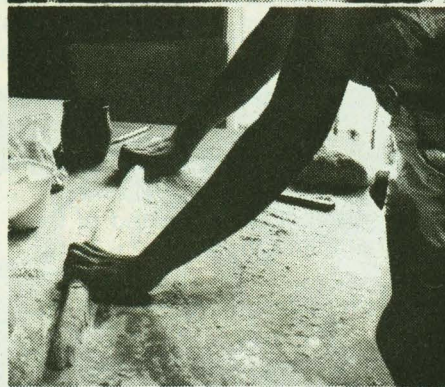
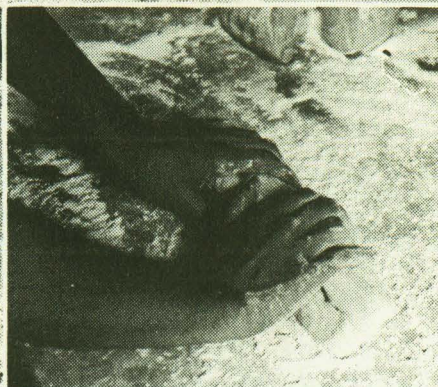
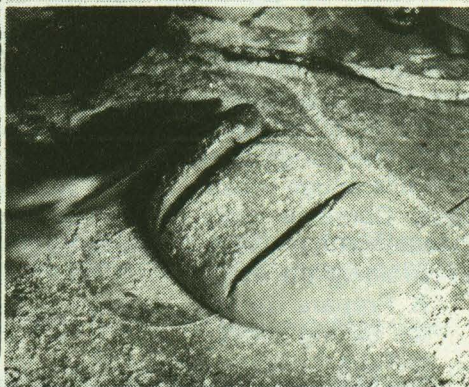
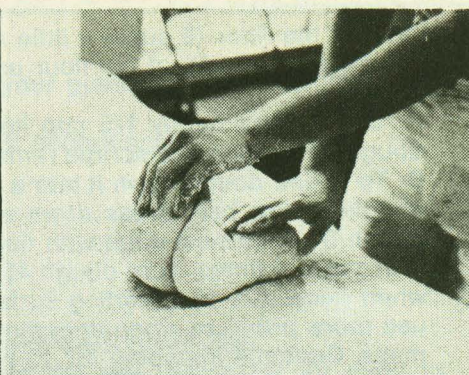
2. Heat up milk until it bubbles. Remove from heat and add 2 tablespoons sugar, 1 tablespoon salt, and $\frac{1}{4}$ cup butter. Stir until butter has melted.

3. Let milk mixture cool until it is lukewarm. Then pour it into the large wooden bowl.

4. Add yeast mixture which was set aside for an hour. Make sure all the yeast is used.

5. Add eggs, one at a time, and stir well.

6. Add half the flour (3 cups) a little at a time while stirring.
7. Add the second half of the flour using hands when necessary.
8. Kneading:
 - A. Use approximately 1/5 cup flour on the kneading surface. Place dough on surface and scrape remaining flour in bowl onto the dough.
 - B. To knead dough, form it into a rough ball. Place both palms in the middle of the ball, press down and away in a rocking motion. Lift dough from furthest edge with fingertips onto middle of ball. Repeat process four times. Turn dough 45° and repeat. Continue adding flour when necessary to kneading surface. If dough begins to flake apart, use more pressure when kneading. Dough should always be a solid mass. Continue kneading for 15 minutes, until dough is smooth and elastic.
9. Form dough into round smooth ball. Oil small wooden bowl, using excess oil to lightly grease the ball of dough. Place ball inside bowl, cover with clean dish towel, and place in an oven that has been warmed (but is not on) for 50-60 minutes. If no dish towel is on hand, paper towels may be used. The dough should be double in bulk when done.
10. While dough is rising, melt 1/2 stick butter and separate the yolks from 2 eggs. Combine yolks with 3 tablespoons milk and thoroughly blend together with a pastry brush or fork.
11. Braiding the dough:
 - A. Prepare surface with flour as before. Generously grease and flour the baking sheet.
 - B. Take the knife, coated with flour, and divide the dough into 2 pieces; one being 2/3 the size of the other.
 - C. Remove the larger piece from bowl and divide it into 3 equal pieces. Cover remaining dough in the bowl and set it aside in a warm place.
 - D. Take one piece and gently work it into a long roll (approximately 2 1/2-3 feet). Try to keep the roll as even as possible at all times.
 - E. When all three rolls are formed, place them side by side with any flaws in the rolls turned under.
 - F. At one end, pinch the 2 outside rolls together. Lay the end of the middle roll over the pinched ends and force it into the other 2 with the palm of your hand.
 - G. Place rolls in the position shown in the photograph. Begin braiding, very tightly, keeping rolls even.
 - H. When done, pinch ends together, flatten them with palm of hand and fold end under the braid.
 - I. Very gently lift braided rolls into the cookie sheet, resting it on a forearm. Braid should be placed diagonally across the cookie sheet. Form ends into the corners of the cookie sheet.
 - J. Brush the loaf gently with the melted butter mixture, covering it completely.
 - K. Cover it with the towel and set the bread aside to rise in a warm place for approximately 15 minutes (should be double in bulk).
12. Repeat whole process with the remaining dough.
13. Preparing the loaf for baking:
 - A. Preheat oven to 400°.
 - B. Take larger braid and split it lengthwise, placing knife 1/2-3/4 inch into the dough.
 - C. Brush entire loaf with the egg-milk mixture, coating it completely and evenly.
 - D. Gently lay the end braid on top of the larger braid. Brush it, too, with the egg mixture.
 - E. Sprinkle the entire loaf with sesame or poppy seeds.
14. Place the cookie sheet centered on the middle rack of the oven.
15. Bake without opening the door for 15 minutes.
16. Check loaf and turn it 90°. Cook until loaf is golden brown. (approximately 15 minutes).
17. Remove from the oven and brush whole loaf with egg mixture.
18. Return to oven and bake until the bread sounds hollow when tapped. (approximately 15-20 minutes).
19. Remove bread from oven and run a knife under it to separate it from the pan. Let cool.
20. Serve warm with butter and enjoy!



Momteekim Shell Robin

Shells

- 1 stick softened butter
- $\frac{1}{4}$ cup brown sugar
- 3 tablespoons white sugar
- $1\frac{1}{2}$ cups flour
- 2 tablespoons milk
- 1 tablespoon vanilla
- $\frac{3}{4}$ cups nuts — optional (any kind except peanuts)

Fillings

- 1 package cream cheese
- $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon cinnamon
- 1 teaspoon vanilla
- $\frac{1}{2}$ cup coconut
- $\frac{1}{2}$ cup almonds

1. Preheat oven to 350°.
2. Cream butter and add sugars. Add flour to this mixture with hands. Add nuts here if desired.
3. Knead dough until a solid ball is formed.
4. Pour vanilla over the top and work it into the mixture by kneading. Form a ball.
5. Pinch off pieces of the dough large enough to line a muffin tin. (approximately 2-3 tablespoons) Line each muffin tin with the dough. Pinch excess dough at top to form a fluted edge.
6. Bake in oven at 350° until golden brown, (approximately 15-20) minutes).
7. When done, let cool for 5 minutes in tins. Remove tart sheets onto a plate to let them finish cooling. While cooling, prepare filling.
8. The filling:
 - A. Combine 1 package softened cream cheese with $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon vanilla, and $\frac{1}{2}$ cup coconut. Add $\frac{1}{2}$ cup almonds if desired and mix well.
9. Place a spoonful of the cream cheese mixture in the bottom of each tart shell.
10. Various fillings:
 - A. Strawberry Cassis
Blend 1 cup strawberries (fresh or frozen) and $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ cups creme de cassis until mixture forms a smooth, thick paste. Spoon enough mixture into each tart to fill it, but not letting it overflow. Sprinkle confectioners sugar over each tart.
 - B. Blueberry topping
Over medium heat, combine 2 cups blueberries (fresh or frozen) with $\frac{1}{2}$ cup cornsyrup (or $\frac{3}{4}$ cups sugar and $\frac{1}{2}$ cup water) Boil until the mixture becomes thick and syrupy. Spoon mixture into each tart and serve with confectioners sugar on top. Garnish with additional fruit.



Photo by Jan Selby

Holding the Homeland

by Todd E. Kessler



Photo by Jon James

This has been an excruciatingly difficult semester for me living in McColleston House. Yesterday morning, being no different than other mornings, I was awakened by a brick hurled through my window. Sometimes I get eggs, other times I am splashed by water balloons. My room is a mess and I am fast developing paranoia. It is only with massive infusions of aid from my parents that I can afford to repair or replace the damaged furniture. The culprit sneers at me every morning from the street below where he and his family have set up tents among the potholes. The message is strong and clear: He wants my room. He wants *my tiny room*. He is a Tufts graduate, formerly a "poly-sci" major, and forever a Palestinian.

The facts unquestionably prove he is breaking the law and must be removed or quashed, or both. There can only be peace when he is locked up. As for his family, I can negotiate with them later. I used to ignore the whimpering and wailing outside my room every night, praying that one day he and his family would bother someone else. But now, with this stepped-up armed assault on my room, and on my room only, I must bring this issue to an end.

He claims I am sleeping in *his* room. He lived here in McColleston House before it was McColleston House, before the school took the residence off the market and sent the dwellers packing. I was awarded this room in McColleston House at the end of last semester in the housing lottery. Having lived in dormitories across from the malodorous MacPhie dumpster, next to six a.m. construction sites, aside horrific neighbors, I was elated to finally get what I felt owed to me by a school which has so wronged me. I have always wanted to live in this room - always. The surroundings are not luxurious, nor without inconveniences, but I love it and would not give it up for any stinking Arab.

"Having lived in dormitories across from the malodorous MacPhie dumpster, next to six a.m. construction sites, aside horrific neighbors, I was elated to finally get what I felt owed to me by a school which has so wronged me."

He also claims that the Housing Office (the "imperialist Housing Office", he says) had no recognized right to give away his home, regardless of their assumed omnipotence. Then he cites certain legal documents and correspondences between the school and his family, supposedly guaranteeing him permanence in McColleston House. But I have a signed Housing contract with my name typed boldly on the dotted line. It is my room, fairly and squarely.

Of course, I feel sympathetic toward his family — parents, wife, children, cousins, aunts and uncles — crowded between the puddles on rainy days. But it is not exactly my fault. He was offered a double room in this house years ago. It would have meant sharing the room with a Jordanian transfer student, (who didn't exactly welcome the initiative), but those middle easterners all get along anyway. He rejected it. His so-called "friends" on campus have yet to offer him a bed in their rooms, but they assist him in haranguing me.

What really aggravates me in all this banter about legitimate rights is that in the numerous years he did live here, never did he put up a curtain in the window, never a rug on the floor, not even a naked lightbulb. How much could the room really mean to him?

One school organization, the TCU Senate, has acknowledged his right to a room in McColleston — possibly not my entire room, maybe just the closet space — and they have labeled me a racist! Race is totally irrelevant. (If it were relevant, I must include my long-time support for the NAACP, the SCLC, and my membership to the Hispanic-American Library in Newark, New Jersey). The TCU Senate, albeit powerless, is packed with his Arab friends. Now they are trying to pressure the Housing Director to rescind my room contract, lest they withdraw generous offers to the TU endowment fund. I resent pressure from anyone telling me what I must do with my room. It is very easy for the Housing Director, or the TCU Senators, or CSL big shots to ask for my withdrawal. They don't have to watch their expensive suits burned or shredded. They don't have to live with danger lurking under the sink every morning. I, not they, must live here.

Some observers of this plight have offered tactical analyses on drawing a chalk line over my carpeting to denote a border, others have suggested building an extension onto my room for him to occupy. Another prestigious professor carelessly lobbied for the simple addition of a bunk bed for my Palestinian pal and I to share! These plans are ridiculous and I refuse to even discuss the issue until my foe promises to abstain from his violent attacks.

On occasion, I have conceded that on rainy afternoons I would let his family use this room to nap and I would give them access to the toilet. But still I refuse to give them a key. That would be opening myself up for obliteration. We are at a standstill. His family appears to be reasonable but they defer spokesmanship to their father. Their ludicrous allegiance is self-defeating. He's only their father.

In the meantime, I am taking no chances. I have installed barbed wire around my door and permit entrance only to those friends that know the daily password. I am losing sleep, my room is in state of disaster, and I have started throwing bricks back at their cub scout tents in the street.

At this moment his seven year old brother scales the wall beneath my window, brandishing a saber and cursing my "Zionist" existence.

So why do I submit this piece to a Jewish magazine? Because I know my cause is just and ultimately will prevail. I am inspired by the heroic words of Menachem Begin:

We had to hate the humiliating grace of the homelessness of our people. We had to hate — as any nation worthy of its name always will hate — the foreign rule in the land of our ancestors, in our own country...

Let every decent man search his soul and decently answer. Because ultimately the hope of every people lies in the readiness of its sons to stake their lives "for their mothers"—for freedom which man loves, against serfdom which man hates, and should hate in the name of his love.

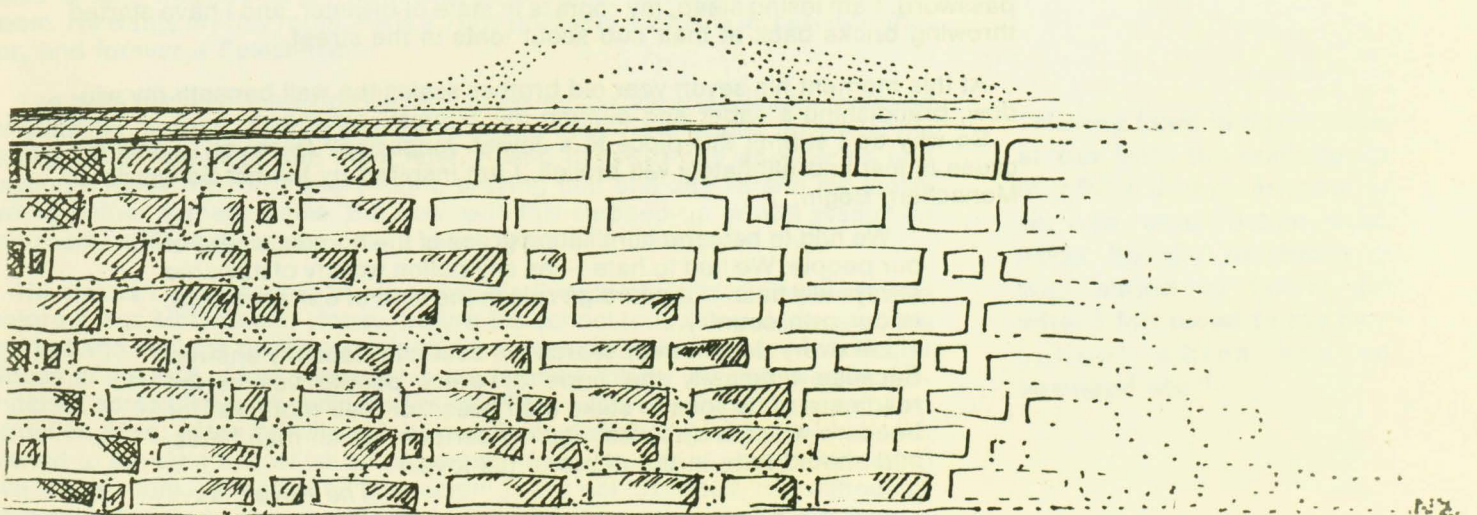
The Revolt, xxvii
November 1977

"The TCU Senate, albeit powerless, is packed with his Arab friends. Now they are trying to pressure the Housing Director to rescind my room contract, lest they withdraw generous offers to the T.U. endowment fund."

Jerusalem

by Margaret Joy Frisch

The golden sun rises over the barren hills
Over the walled city and the stone buildings
Over yesterday's despair towards today's new hope
Over the Knesset and the Wall
The crosses and the crescents.
And for a brief time, while still asleep
The city is at peace.
The city is one,
All of its stones being baked equally by the sun.
Slowly awakening, the city creeps towards the new day
And morning prayers are heard:
Drifting, rising, blending
All for the same purpose:
The attainment of peace.



A Yemenite Experience in Israel

My introduction to the Yemenite community in Jerusalem came through a unique woman, Bracha Seri. We all need a guide into different cultures and Bracha initially served as my guide and interpreter. Bracha related to the Yemenite community as an insider and outsider. She has been born in Sanaa, Yemen and had lived there as a young girl until she was brought to Israel on Operation Magic Carpet in 1950.¹ She grew up well acquainted with the customs of her people and fluent in *Temanit*, Yemenite Arabic. In Israel she had married, and subsequently divorced, an American student of sociology. After this introduction to the academic world, she entered Hebrew University, and at the time I met her, was working on a degree in linguistics, studying the social uses of *Temanit* among Yemenite women in Israel. She was a poet and wrote about the problems of her Yemenite/Israeli identity in her poetry.

I would visit her in her small flat in an older Yemenite section of Jerusalem where I would drink coffee, listen to her poems, and sympathize with the difficulty of breaking into the tight literary circles in Jerusalem. She wanted me to compose music for a play she was writing and was happy to share her contacts and feelings about the Yemenite community in exchange for my help. She spoke of the conflicting stereotypes that trouble the Yemenites. On one hand, the Yemenites, like most Middle Eastern Jews, are seen by the Ashkenazic Israelis as lower class, inferior, and best suited for manual labor. On the other hand, Yemenites are noted by the same Ashkenazim as being exotic, dark, and beautiful, constantly singing and dancing in native costume.

Bracha was also bothered by the fact that traditional Yemenite society was extremely patriarchal, showing off its women, but at the same time allowing them little personal freedom. She expressed great bitterness in her poetry which was reflected in titles like "*'isah Busah*", "Woman of Scorn."² Bracha stressed the fact that for all the beauty of the Yemenite wedding, the bride was

by Rabbi Jeffrey Summit

Rabbi Jeffrey Summit, Jewish Chaplain and director of the Hillel Foundation at Tufts University, spent 1977—78 in Israel researching Yemenite Oral Traditions for his Rabbinic Thesis.

still a young, inexperienced, frightened girl, imprisoned into her role. She said that outsiders see only the pagentry and ceremony of the Yemenite wedding and are totally unaware of the darker, more problematic, emotional reality. Bracha related that in Yemen, women were not supposed to express their feelings or emotions in public. Music, instead, served as an outlet for a woman's feelings. In Yemen, Bracha's mother would sing out all the troubles and frustrations she was unable to discuss directly. There were special songs for each household activity —³ a song for grinding wheat, a song for making *hilbe* (a fluff made of clover soaked in water, finely ground and mixed with sharp spices). The melodies and structure of these songs were set but the words were flexible; her mother would adapt her own words to the melodies. Now removed from that traditional Yemenite milieu, Bracha used her poetry as her mother used her music; to express the frustration of her situation.

The first night I visited her she talked about the role of the *sedim*, or demons, in Yemen.⁴ Yemenite Jews were very learned in Torah but still held many superstitious beliefs. Their lives were surrounded by an active, complex and very real world of spirits. A Yemenite Jew might typically leave food out for the demons and know them by name. He or she would not venture into the kitchen late at night — the mother demon might be feeding the children in her family. The demon's presence was constantly felt and quietly acknowledged. Bracha's father was one of the Rabbis who led the *Darda'im* or progressive Jewish movement in Yemen.⁵ The reformers encouraged rationalism and viewed these ancient practices as backwards and harmful. They de-emphasized the study of Kabbalah and other mystical texts. The split between reformers and the more traditional elements in Yemen was sharp, emotional, and intense. To this day in Israel it is not uncommon for Yemenite families to break into a fist fight at a wedding over whether the food should be completely removed for the table before one may say *Birkat haMazon*, the grace after meals. Though people will not admit it openly, the question at stake is whether one leaves something on the table for the demons. This, at least, was Bracha's interpretation.

I received a call from Bracha on the first night of *Hanukah*. She said that a wonderful Yemenite party was in progress at such and such an address on *Rehob Safanyah* in a predominately Hasidic section of Jerusalem, north of Meah Sharim and I should come over as quickly as possible. I asked on the phone how I would be able to find the house on the dark, narrow street. Bracha told me, "Don't worry about finding the house; just find the street; the music will lead you to the house."

She was right. It was impossible to miss the pounding rhythm of the drum, the clang of spoons and finger thimbels on the copper tray, as it struck in time to the shrill voices of the women. Since it was the first night of *Hanukah*, I assumed that the party would be a Yemenite *Hanukah* party of sorts. The gathering, however, had nothing to do with *Hanukah*. It was a *Yoledet* party, given after the birth of a child, in honor of the mother.⁶ The house was crowded with people, and one of the rooms had been specifically decorated for the occasion. This celebration is expressly for the women and only women were allowed in the *Yoledet's* Room. All kinds of Yemenite women — ancient looking grandmothers wearing bright scarves and embroidered trousers, and dark-eyed young beauties in blue jeans, were crowded into this room. They sat on low chairs and benches, rising occasionally to free a place so that another woman could enter.

The rest of the house was filled with men and women and smoke. Large trays of nuts and seeds, stewed meat and fried bread were passed around. All attention was focused on the room where the *Yoledet* sat. There is a special art to decorating the room in which the women sit, sing, dance, and entertain the *Yoledet*. A cousin of Bracha's from Ramat Gan was a *Mesaderet*, an expert in the traditional art of arranging the *Yoledet's* room. Tapestries are traditionally hung on the walls and green glass bottles are arranged on a ledge circling the room, close to the ceiling. I do not know what type of bottles they use in Yemen, but in Israel they use Gold Star Beer Bottles. The *Yoledet* sits on a pile of cushions arranged like a throne in the far corner of the room opposite the door. She sits and hardly moves, as friends and relatives bring her food and mint tea, or coffee mixed with *hewaj*, a special Yemenite blend of spices. It is in fact, very difficult for the *Yoledet* to move since she is dressed in traditional garments; gold and silver brocaded robes, and the heavy *qarqus*, a large

"Bracha related that in Yemen, women were not supposed to express their feelings or emotions in public. Music, instead, served as an outlet for a woman's feelings."

"All kinds of Yemenite women — ancient looking grandmothers wearing bright scarves and embroidered trousers, and dark-eyed young beauties in blue jeans were crowded into this room."

pointed hood encrusted with gold and silver embroidery, set with rows of coral and semiprecious stones and overlaid with gold Maria Therasas, a coin highly valued in Yemen.⁷ If a family is poor, it rents both the traditional garments and the services of a *Malbisah*, a woman learned in the ways of traditional dress. Since the Zadok family, whose daughter was being honored, is a family of wealthy goldsmiths and silversmiths, having for years owned the jewelry shop next to the King David Hotel, it owns its own traditional costumes. Not only was the *Yoledet* fully outfitted, but four or five of her younger sisters and cousins were in complete Yemenite dress. I noticed that one of the sisters stepped out of the room in her jewels and brocade complaining of the heat and then reappeared wearing tight jeans and a tee-shirt. Her grandmother laughed and said, "One minute Yemenite and the next minute Israeli!"

Although only women were allowed in the room, men stood in the doorway and watched the women musicians. The performers sat to one side, playing and singing. The other women in the group would sometimes sing with them, and occasionally rise and dance to the music in groups of two or three. The room was so crowded that it was impossible for more than several people to dance at one time. One older aunt walked through the house sprinkling the guests with rosewater. Though she told me the rosewater was for good luck, Bracha said she sprinkled it to keep the demons from the celebration.

Since it was the first time I was visiting the Zadok family, I did not bring a tape recorder, but members of the family themselves had brought equipment. Two younger brothers of the *Yoledet* were permitted to enter the room reserved for women with cameras and a cassette tape recorder. Though the Zadoks were a very traditional family, they allowed this impropriety for the purpose of recording the event. Obviously, the young Israeli Yemenites were enjoying the rediscovery of their traditional culture.

Since I was the only non-Yemenite at the party, my curiosity was respected and my questions were enthusiastically answered. When people learned I had come from the United States to research Yemenite culture, they pushed me toward the *Yoledet's* room shouting for people to make way so that I could see and hear. Before I left the party, the Zadoks invited me to return and visit them. My relationship with them was to prove especially valuable; the patriarch, Mori Yosef Zadok, who had lived in Yemen for some 50 years before coming to Israel, was to be a rich source of recordings.

I stumbled home from the party smelling of brandy and rosewater. My wife met me at the door and asked, "Rough night doing research, dear?" I had actually laid the groundwork for my entrance into the Yemenite community and established contacts that would facilitate my fieldwork with the Yemenites that year.

1. For a first hand account of Operation Magic Carpet see Shlomo Barer, *The Magic Carpet* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1952).

2. I quote the first stanza with my own translation:

לי מקימן	I am from Yemen
לי הובאה ירשה	I have an inherited burden
בושה	Shame
אשה	A woman
עבודה קשה, אל הרבות בדרישה	Hard work. Don't ask much.
ואוי לי מעיבה בישא	Beware of the Evil Eye!
שה	Sha!

3. Goitein publishes the text of such a woman's work song in English translation. See S. D. Goitein, *From the Land of Sheba, Tales of the Jews of Yemen* (New York, Schocken Books, 1973), pp. 92-94.

4. For a general discussion of the role of demons in Jewish folklore see Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition, A study in Folk Religion* (New York, Atheneum, 1977) pp. 25-60.

5. For information about this progressive movement see Y. Nini, "From Joseph Halvey to the 'Iqshim-Darda'im Dispute in 1914,'" in *The Jews of Yemen, Studies and Research*, eds. Yosef Tubi and Israel Yesha'yahu, (Jerusalem, Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 1975), pp. 95-113.

6. The *Yoledet*, or "one who has given birth," observes special customs for the entire month after childbirth. For a detailed description of the *Hodes Yoledet*, "month of the *Yoledet*" see Y. Kafih, *Halikot Teman* (Jerusalem, Yad Ben-Zvi, 1961), pp. 178-182 (Hebrew).

7. For pictures of this elaborate Yemenite ceremonial dress, see Alfred Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume* (New York, Crown Publishers, 1973), pp. 56, 57.

"One older aunt walked through the house sprinkling the guests with rosewater. Though she told me the rosewater was for good luck, Bracha said she sprinkled it to keep the demons from the celebration."

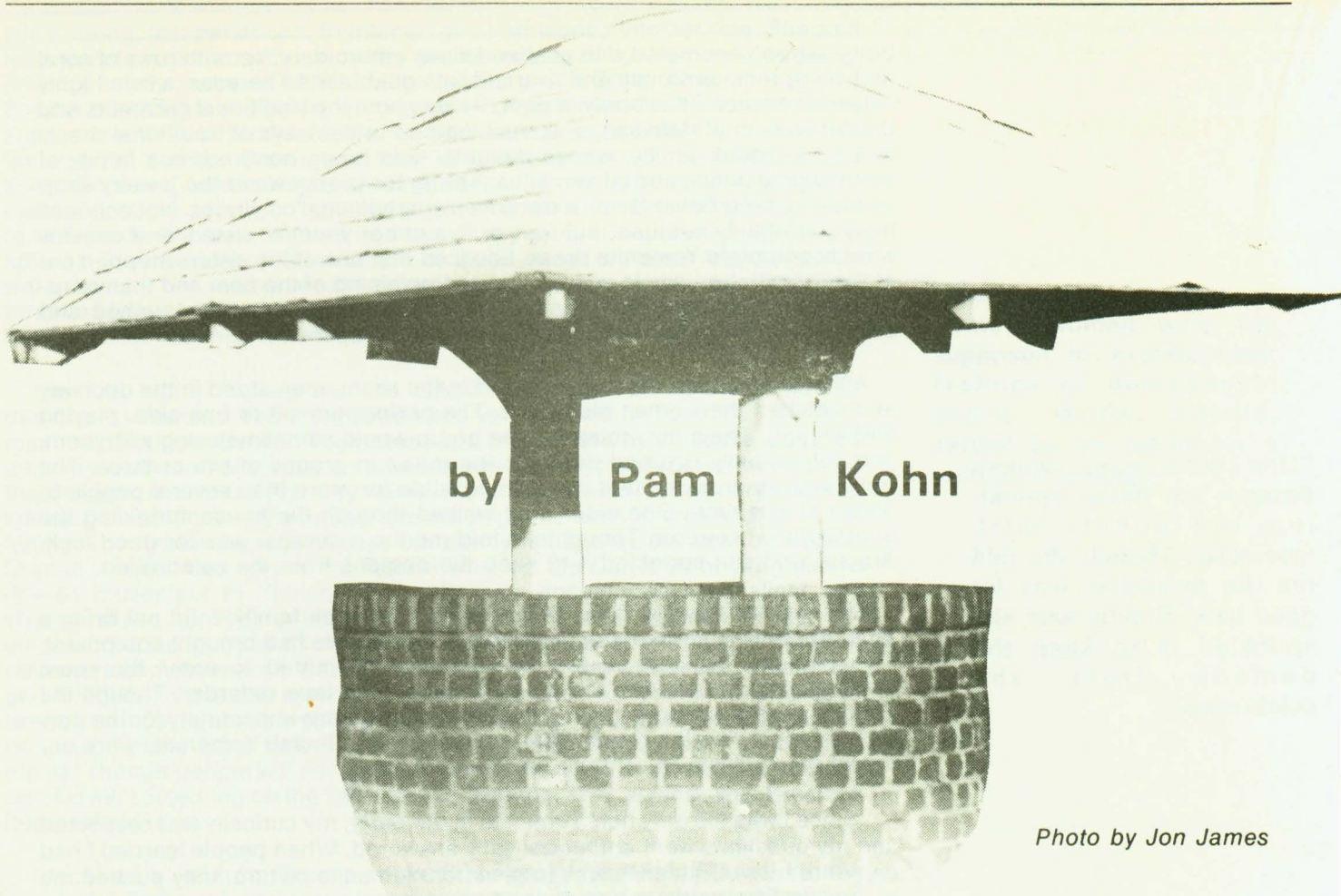


Photo by Jon James

the stony silence doesn't last long
(something akin to the synapse between nerve impulses)
too many heartbeats
 echo in the well
often quickened by the intensity of
 the faith,
 the law —
so deeply rooted in history
that even those who try can never pull it out
(they only add to its growth).
too many tears
 fill the well
evoked by years of persecution, torture
too much anxiety
 vibrates the well with movement, motion
 (breeding heartache in too many souls)
caused by the knowledge that many have lost faith
 (or never found it)
if only some of these wanderers would dig into the well —
 (amidst the tears and the anxiety and the heartache)
they could find the most incredible storehouse
 of constant change
 (yet of constancy)
 constant learning
 so captivating, so intriguing
a bind so potent
 so stubborn
(filling the heart just as the well)
 that it will endure —
 the well will never empty

International Organizations and The Refugee Problem

The Functional Approach at Work

The Hungarian Refugees (1956-1957)
The Palestinian Refugees (1947-)

By Ram S. Harel

The refugee problem is undoubtedly one of the most difficult issues confronting the world community today. The typical refugee is isolated from and deprived of the protection of his country of nationality; he finds it extremely difficult to enjoy educational opportunities, secure a job or be entitled to social services. Also, because of his statelessness, he is often restricted from moving from one country to another and even from returning to his country of birth.

History has shown that unresolved refugee problems are liable to pose a serious threat to the economics and politics of countries of first asylum in particular and to world peace as a whole. The accumulation of frustration and anger among the so called "proletariat of the dispossessed" is a fertile ground for constant agitation and politization of an existing problem; this, in turn, may result in desperate attempts to alter current conditions, knowing that there is nothing to lose but more to gain (the riots in Korea and Hong Kong, Palestinian attempts to shape the policies of Jordan and Lebanon, PLO and international terrorism are but few examples.)

International efforts on behalf of refugees extend back to the post WW I period. Between 1918-1923, 1.5 million Russians were stranded in Northern, Central and Southern Europe, and the Far East; 320,000 Armenians, Christians and Assyrians were driven from the Ottoman Empire and scattered in Europe, the Balkans and the Middle-East. It is beyond the scope of this essay to explore the nature and development of those movements. However, in order to acquire a better perspective about continuity and change in the way this problem has been handled by the international community ever since the United Nations came into existence, it is important to note the main characteristics of those times:

1. Governments of first asylum were ill-equipped for an influx of destitute people whose attitudes and dubious legal status made them a political problem. Moreover, the refugees' lack of money and property posed serious economic and social difficulties for those countries.
2. Being unable to successfully absorb the influx of refugees, countries of first asylum undertook *bilateral* negotiations aimed at transporting refugees to other countries. Those efforts failed in most cases mainly because of the unsatisfactory legal status of the refugees as prospective immigrants. For example, host-countries used to issue identity papers to refugees on their soil which later secured no international recognition on the part of other countries.
3. The open migration policies of earlier times had been replaced in the 1920's by restrictive national legislation determined not only by economic considerations, but also by political and strategic ones.¹
4. Efforts to cope with refugee needs were undertaken primarily by private and voluntary organizations, (notably the American Red Cross, the Near East Relief, the American Relief Administration, and the Save the Children Fund), and were predominantly in the form of *relief*. The League's High Commis-

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sioner for Refugees and the ILO tried to integrate refugees into countries of first and second asylum, the results of which were symbolic at best.

Only gradually has the world become aware of the global, persistent and destructive nature of the refugee phenomenon. In the aftermath of WW II the various countries involved realized that the faith of displaced people largely depended upon and was affected by political relations between states of origin and states of first asylum and between the latter and states potentially capable of offering permanent settlement. It was also realized that various approaches were needed in response to the various possible remedies to the problem, (repatriation, emigration, and integration), whose prospects varied from one case to another.

David Mitrany, the prophet of functionalism, wisely observed that "a central characteristic of our time is the appearance of true global problems which can not be dealt with except through joint international action."² It seemed as if this approach was to affect the future design and operation of refugee agencies to come. The main operational emphasis would be not on temporary, loosely connected agencies but rather on permanent, non-political and international ones, entrusted with world wide support and trust, which would be able to circumvent political, ideological, racial and territorial boundaries. The functional approach — a single-minded humanitarian concern — for the legal and material needs of refugee groups throughout the world, was to be tested in future years to come.

This essay focuses on two refugee movements whose origins are traced to events other than the Second World War. As is already known, one group, the Hungarian refugees, ceased to be a problem in a matter of months, whereas the other group has remained stateless and neglected for the last thirty-two years with no end in sight. It is obvious that in attempting to understand this extreme difference in outcomes one must be aware of the general political, historical, ideological, social and economic frame work within which a particular phenomenon takes place, an awareness that may provide *some* of the answers. However, it is no less important to carefully and critically examine the role and objectives of the various international agencies assigned to handle each particular case. Also of importance to this study are the degrees of response of the international community and its members' motivations for helping or, by the same token, rejecting any of the above groups. And lastly this study will determine whether these two cases have any bearing upon the validity of functionalism as it relates to various refugee groups in various parts of the world.

The Hungarian Refugees (1956-57)

According to the report to the General Assembly by the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, what had taken place in Hungary in October and November 1956 was a spontaneous national uprising due to long-standing grievances such as the inferior status of Hungary vis-a-vis the USSR. The system of government had, in part, been maintained by the weapon of terror, wielded by the AVH, or political police.³

On October 23, 1956, peaceful demonstrations took place outside the Radio-Building in Budapest, protesting oppression and demanding democratic-socialism as the new basis for the Hungarian political system. The transformation of this demonstration into an armed uprising had been brought on when the AVH opened fire on the people outside the Radio-Building. In a matter of hours, Soviet tanks crossed the border and started to combat the civilian rebels. Article thirteen of the Special Report stated that on the basis of all available evidence "A massive armed intervention by one power on the territory of another, with the avowed intention of interfering in its internal affairs, must, by the USSR's own definition of aggression, be a matter of international concern."⁴

One of the outcomes of the Hungarian revolt that became of utmost concern to U.N. members was an overwhelming refugee problem. Following the October events and in the course of nine months, 180,000 Hungarians took refuge in Austria and 19,000 in Yugoslavia. Both countries responded compassionately and spontaneously. Since the Hungarian refugees were handled in Yugoslavia in the same manner as those in Austria, it would be sufficient to review the Austrian case only.



*Photo by Sarah Errington
/UNHCR/7221*



Refugee influx into Austria

On October 28, 1956, the Council of Ministers of the Austrian Government, stressing its neutrality, informed the Security Council about its decision to grant the right of asylum to all refugees. The government provided accommodations, care, maintenance and transportation from the border. As the influx of refugees increased it became increasingly difficult for Austria to cope with this problem and it requested international assistance. Oscar Helmer, the then Minister of the Interior, made it clear at that time that assistance could be in the form of financial aid to insure care and maintenance of the refugees in the coming winter months. He stressed, however, that it was equally important that member states accept as many refugees as possible in their own lands which, by virtue of their geographical position, were less prone to a heavy influx of refugees.

Two international refugee agencies were about to deal with the various aspects of the Hungarian refugee problem. The first was the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees, (UNHCR), whose task was to extend international protection to refugees. This function was two-fold:

1. The right to asylum and the observance of non-expulsion of refugees both by law and in practice;
2. The provision of treatment standards for refugees that would rectify the legal disabilities they otherwise suffer due to their present status.

The second organization was the Inter-governmental Committee for European migration, (ICEM), whose function was to assist in the movement of refugees to countries of second asylum. Due to its practical nature, (registration, documentation and transportation), ICEM had its own budget that was based on contributions from member governments.

The Austrian appeal was dealt with during the Second Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly on Nov. 9, 1956. The majority of the member states, (excluding the Soviet satellites and Hungary), agreed that the UNHCR and ICEM were adequately prepared and legally qualified to undertake various actions aimed at successfully alleviating the crisis. Three classical approaches to the refugee problem were to be tested in the ensuing months.

Repatriation

A draft resolution, (A/AC. 3/44508), was submitted to the Assembly by the Czechoslovakian delegate, stressing that repatriation was the best way to solve the refugee problem. He thus requested that the UNHCR inform the refugees about special laws and incentives designed to promote the return of displaced Hungarians to their native countries. This draft resolution was also supported by the Hungarian delegate who maintained that his government had declared an amnesty to all refugees and was willing to accept anyone who wished to return. He argued that instead of financing integration projects of refugees in countries of first asylum, the international organizations should use all available emergency funds for the repatriation of unaccompanied children and children of school age in Hungary. Other Eastern-European countries expressed their willingness to send repatriation missions to visit the fifty refugee camps in Austria. This repatriation alternative was considered by the High Commissioner. In his conclusion he pointed out that the UNHCR is of humanitarian and social and of entirely non-political character⁵; thus, any decisions concerning the refugees were to be taken by the authorities of first-asylum countries under whose jurisdiction the refugees lived. He also stressed its agency's role in safeguarding the free choice of those persons. Consequently, all repatriation missions visiting Austrian camps were accompanied by international observers who were to insure that no pressure or coercion were to be employed and that decisions to return to Hungary would be entirely voluntary. Any refugee choosing in favor of repatriation was to be referred to special agencies which would facilitate his return. With regard to unaccompanied minors whose return to Hungary was requested by their parents, the organization was guided by the principle of family reunion. It encouraged the Austrian government to submit lists of Hungarian minors so that their parents could contact them through the Red-Cross.

Of the almost 200,000 refugees taking shelter in Austria and Yugoslavia, only 10,873 (5.4%) chose to return to their country of origin. It was obvious to all sides involved that other avenues had to be explored in attempting to solve the problem.



Integration

Very little data exists concerning refugees' attitudes towards remaining in their countries of first asylum on a permanent basis. The figures, however, draw a clearer picture. By the end of 1959, 9,000 refugees remained in Austria; of those, 1183 were naturalized refugees who later became Austrian citizens⁶. Of the 19,000 displaced persons in Yugoslavia, 675 had chosen to become integrated in the Yugoslav economy⁷. These figures represent less than 1% of the total refugee influx to Austria and Yugoslavia.

Resettlement

In response to the Austrian appeal to the nations of the world to move as many refugees out of Austria as soon as possible, various European nations responded immediately. During the first two weeks of November, 1956, Britain, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden and the Netherlands sent airplanes, trains and buses which brought supplies to Austria and came back loaded with refugees. Various non-governmental agencies also responded spontaneously and efficiently, financing transportation and relief funds. On November 24, the High Commissioner reported with great satisfaction that "the response of the governments to the appeal to take refugees, and the response by the various other agencies to aid in the task of immediate emergency assistance has been most heartening."⁸

The initial success notwithstanding, the tremendous influx of refugees between November-January required the continuation of international cooperation. Better coordination of efforts was essential in order to avoid chaos and duplications. In this respect the UNHCR's role was of crucial importance. As a coordinating body, the organization established close contacts among the inter-governmental agencies, the voluntary agencies and the Austrian government. This, in turn, resulted in a quicker and more effective emergency aid to the refugees. The UNHCR also prepared a comprehensive assessment of the needs of those refugees and the financial aid to be involved. By March 27, 1957, fifty refugee camps were set up in Austria. Relief operations were to continue for eleven months, during which time fifty-two countries pledged \$29,000,000 in cash and relief supplies.

The ICEM was charged with resettlement operations. Its method revolved around transferring refugees from Austria and Yugoslavia to countries of second-asylum and then attempting to move some of them to overseas countries of immigration. During the first month of operations the ICEM transported 21,039 refugees to nine European countries but only 630 to the U.S. Two serious problems confronted the agency at the beginning of its operations. The first was a shortage of expert personnel to coordinate and execute its programs. Its 35 staff members, located in Salzburg, were unable to adequately cope with their mission. To alleviate this administrative deficiency, 250 staff members were transferred from ICEM missions in Germany, Greece, Italy and Switzerland, and were evenly divided in three separate centers. The ICEM also set up a medical program which included medical processing, vaccinations, check-ups and medical supplies. A second problem that ICEM encountered at the beginning of its operations involved selection procedures, immigration requirements and transportation costs. Consequently, the organization appealed to all countries involved to cut the 'red tape.' The subsequent response was very encouraging; between October 1956 and March 1958, 76,544 refugees departed to European countries while 77,529 immigrated overseas.

A very significant factor that helped in the relatively quick absorption of the Hungarian refugees throughout the world was the 'economic asset' they represented as a group. Many of them possessed professional and technical skills which were highly valued in countries of first and second asylum. For example, of those who arrived in the U.S. in 1957, 40% were single males and 34% had skills needed in America. According to the National Academy of Science, Hungarian University graduates represented an investment of \$30,000,000; the U.S. Secretary of Labor proudly stated that "America's instinctive reply to the call for help has enriched her own economy in many ways. . . It is now clear that America has received a valuable bonus."⁹ Just how instinctive, (as opposed to 'selective') this was, as well as other governmental replies were, is subject to mere speculation. However, the recognition of the refugee as a potential economic asset is important and, as the Palestinian case will

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show, does determine, or at least greatly affect the solution of any given refugee problem.

Conclusion

The lessons of the Hungarian refugee problem are as follows:

1. The Hungarian refugees felt that they were worse off in their present status and saw their immediate solution in *resettlement*, as opposed to repatriation or integration. They had a free choice in deciding their own fate.
2. Austria and Yugoslavia, the countries of first asylum, did the best within their means to accommodate the sudden influx of refugees and fully cooperated with the various organizations in attempting to find solutions to the crisis.
3. It was also realized that countries of first asylum could not do it alone. The recognition of this fact brought about generous financial support and, more importantly, manifested itself in a quick absorption of those refugees in Europe and overseas. That most of the refugees were resettled within six months of their flight from Hungary reveals a pragmatic acceptance of the fact that doors must be open if a viable solution is to be found.
4. This crisis affirmed the need for maintaining a permanent international machinery for dealing with similar, future issues. Without the cooperation and assistance of the UNHCR and the ICEM, it is doubtful whether resettlement operations would have been as speedy and successful.
5. Relatively speaking, the whole operation can be regarded as a case study, albeit a rare one of a functional approach at work.

The Palestinian Arab Refugees (1947-1979)

The United Nations Partition decision of November 29, 1947, envisaged a Jewish state with an Arab minority of 397,000 people, constituting 42.6% of the territory's total population. It was realized by Jews and Arabs alike that the Arab community in Palestine, embittered by decades of Jewish-Arab controversy, subjected to irredentist propaganda from outside, and counting on support from the Arab states, would not reconcile itself to a minority status. The U.N. decision served as a signal for an all out Arab onslaught against the Jewish community in Palestine. The ensuing months witnessed a campaign of violence in which ambushes, arson and bombings in Palestine became a daily routine. In January, 1948, the Syrian Liberation Army infiltrated Palestine from Syria and Trans-Jordan. Fierce fighting developed between the two rival forces, with the Arabs suffering defeats. Following the proclamation of the State of Israel on May 15, 1948, a second round of fighting developed, including the regular armies of five Arab states. At a press conference in Cairo, on the first day of Arab offense, the Secretary General of the Arab League declared that "this will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades."¹⁰

Had Arab expectations materialized, there would be neither an Arab refugee problem nor a Jewish one. . . History, however, chose a different path. With the odds heavily against them, the Jewish defense forces inflicted crushing defeats upon the Arab armies. In the midst of those military developments came the flight of Palestinian Arabs, both rural and urban, who found refuge in the neighboring Arab territories — Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt.

The almost complete exodus of Palestinian Arabs had three distinct phases. The first started immediately following the U.N. Partition decision, when 30,000 wealthy Arabs from urban communities left Palestine, probably in anticipation of quick Arab victory which would enable them to return afterwards and enjoy the fruits of victory without contributing much to its achievement. The second phase started in April, 1948, following the defeat of the Arab Liberation Army, in which an estimated 150,000-250,000 Arabs, both urban and rural, left their homes in fear and fled to the neighboring Arab states. The third and most dramatic phase of the mass exodus from Israel began in May, 1948. Following the total collapse of Arab offensive, the Israeli troops captured 494 square miles of Arab territory that was within the U.N. decreed boundaries of Israel and included numerous Arab villages and towns which were evacuated almost completely. The estimated number of refugees as a result of this phase varies from 250,000-450,000.

The most prevalent Jewish explanation for this flight psychosis blames the Arabs' exodus on the pressure exerted on them by their leadership — the Arab Higher Committee, municipal authorities and local commanders, etc. — and at

"Had Arab expectations materialized, there would be neither an Arab refugee problem nor a Jewish one. . . History, however, chose a different path."

a later stage by the Arab governments. All sides involved, the argument goes, believed that an Arab victory was imminent and thus urged the local Arab population to take temporary refuge elsewhere so that they would not be hurt during the fighting. The Arabs, on the other hand, have maintained that it was a deliberate Jewish policy to drive the Arab population, through indiscriminate terror, to a panic flight that would eventually make Palestine a predominantly Zionist-Jewish state. Evidence exists to support both of these contentions which, in the writer's opinion, are not mutually exclusive.

In the following pages major factors that played a role in the elimination of the Hungarian crisis will be applied to, and contrasted with the Palestinian issue. This comparative approach will enable the reader to gain a better understanding of the complexities typifying the problem and to critically evaluate the functional approach at work within the framework of those complexities.

Location, number and the UNRPR.

Following their flight from Palestine the Arab refugees settled in the neighboring states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, (the West-Bank), Iraq and Egypt, (the Gaza Strip). The intensity of the situation was acknowledged by the United Nations on Sept. 16, 1948. Count Bernadotte, the U.N. mediator for Palestine, urged the international community "to accept its share of responsibility for the refugees of Palestine."¹¹ On November 19, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 212 establishing the United Nations Relief for Palestinian Refugees, (UNRPR), whose task was to plan and implement a relief program which was to last for one year. A capital fund of \$35 million was pledged by thirty three governments and it was widely believed that with the mediation and assistance of the U.N., the Arab-Israeli conflict would be settled and the refugee problem would be quickly solved, perhaps within a year.

The number of refugees was never agreed upon. Unofficial estimates at that time varied from 100,000 to 600,000. This discrepancy may be attributed to the special characteristics of the Arab Middle-East. Unlike the Hungarian refugees who could be easily distinguished from the native population in countries of first asylum, in the Middle-East the Palestinian refugees had the same attitude, mentality, cultural background and language as the natives among which they now lived.

Another interesting phenomenon was the fact that the refugees, taken care of now by the UNRPR, were much better off than many of their brethren Arabs who were not refugees. Scarcity of food and clothing which plagued the native Arabs for centuries, was virtually non-existent among the refugees. Consequently, due to the difficulty in distinguishing between bona-fide refugees and local residents, a significant number of native Arabs appeared before the relief agency operating in these areas, claimed to be refugees in need of assistance and were able to be registered as such. Whereas for the displaced Hungarians it was considered a disgrace to remain as refugees for a long period of time, here "refugee status was something between a blessing and a racket."¹² That the relief system was being abused was acknowledged by the first UNRPR report which stated that the agency had, in fact, "no figures as to the true refugee population and found great difficulty distinguishing between bona-fide refugees and local destitute."¹³ This report further stated that the UNRPR "did not consider it practical to ask the operating agencies to impose any kind of eligibility test and . . . had no observance of its own for this purpose."¹⁴ This lenient approach was to backfire in years to come.

The Palestinian Conciliation Commission(PCC)

On Dec. 11, 1948, the U.N. General Assembly endorsed Resolution 194 (III) concerning the conflict in the Middle-East. Paragraph 2 of the resolution set up the PCC, consisting of the U.S. France and Turkey, whose function was the "establishment of contact between the parties themselves and the Commission. . . with the view to achieve final settlement of all questions outstanding between them."¹⁵

The task of the PCC was to facilitate repatriation and compensation and promote resettlement. The Arab countries voted against the resolution arguing that:

- a) the Jewish authorities would hold returning refugees as hostages and mistreat them, and
- b) an Arab willingness to send refugees back might be interpreted as Arab recognition of the partition and the state of Israel.

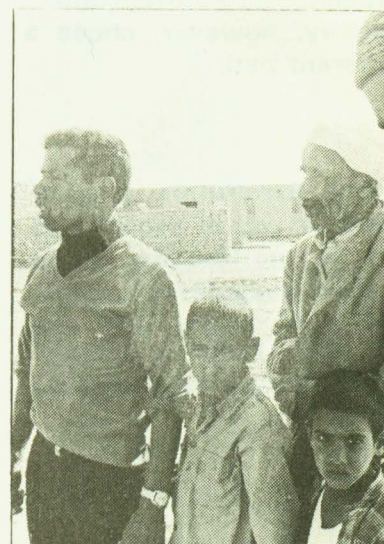
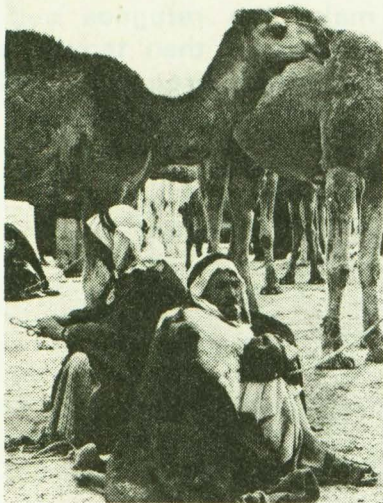


Photo by Ide Menco



Paragraph 11, one of the resolution's interlocked fifteen articles calling for total restoration of peace in the Middle-East, became the basis for demanding immediate, unconditional and complete repatriation. The Israeli government rejected those demands stating that the refugee problem could be dealt with only within the framework of peace settlement. Israel further argued that the main solution for the problem was integration of refugees in the Arab countries. Israel made two conciliatory offers: The first was its willingness to incorporate Egyptian-held Gaza Strip into Israeli territory thereby absorbing Gaza's entire Arab population, (70,000 residents and 200,000 refugees). Israel's second offer was to accept 100,000 refugees with the explicit stipulation that repatriation should form only a part of a comprehensive plan for resettlement and integration of the refugees. Both proposals were turned down by the Arab governments which insisted on unconditional repatriation for all refugees. By August 1949 it became obvious to the PCC that any solution, based on a purely *political* approach to the refugee problem was doomed to failure at that time. Another alternative that was suggested was to adopt an economic approach to the problem mainly along the line of refugees' integration in their present countries of asylum. This led to the creation in August, 1949, of the Economic Survey Mission to the Middle East, whose task was to evaluate the capability of Arab states to absorb the Palestinian refugees by way of developmental projects¹⁷.

The Clapp Commission

Named after its Chairman Gordon Clapp, the Mission sought "to halt the 'demoralizing process of pauperization' and to reduce the need for relief to a level enabling the countries of refuge to assume the burden. Reliance was on the emergency project with the high-labor and low-cost inputs, such as afforestation, agricultural terracing, and road-building. Work programs, it was believed, could be readied by 1 April 1950, to continue until 30 June 1951 — subject to review at the intervening sessions of the General Assembly."¹⁸

The Commission encountered various difficulties from the outset of its operations. The main obstacle was the unfavorable reception it received in the various Arab countries. Testifying six months later before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Clapp stated that "the Mission was more or less immobilized in the Near-East. There was a fear in the minds of the Arab people that we were coming to their countries to impose upon them some pre-conceived plan affecting their people and their countries, which would settle upon them these 750,000 refugees."¹⁹ Insofar as the development projects were concerned, the Mission's interim report acknowledged that "the region is not ready, the projects are not ready, the people and the governments are not ready. . . for large scale developments of the region's basic river-systems or major undeveloped land areas."²⁰ In concluding its report the Mission expressed its belief that in light of the persistent political stalemate between Israel and the Arab states, the ultimate solution of the refugee problem, (repatriation or large scale resettlement), were precluded. It suggested, however, to launch a program of philanthropic and small-scale agricultural projects in the West Bank, Syria and Lebanon. This recommendation actually avoided the crucial dilemma of repatriation or immigration, leaving open the urgent issue of the refugees' ultimate fate.

Relying on the Commission Report, the General Assembly decided on December 8, 1949, that "continued assistance for the relief of Palestinian refugees is necessary to prevent conditions of starvation and distress among them."²¹ The UNRPR was to be replaced by a new agency, the United Nation's Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees, (UNRWA). Adding the challenging 'work' dimension to its mandate, the Agency was to operate for one year only with a capital fund of \$66.3 million, 73% of which was provided by the U.S.

UNRWA at work; 1950-

The declared purpose for which UNRWA was established was twofold: first, the agency was to carry out, in collaboration with the Arab governments, the relief and work programs recommended by the Clapp Commission. Bearing in mind that the relief program was to last for only one year, UNRWA's second

function was to engage in constructive measures that would promote the eventual termination of international assistance. It seems as if the main idea underlying the birth of UNRWA was to try to make the refugees self-supporting, then terminate its relief programs and hope for the best, (local integration, and possible repatriation following a political settlement.)

UNRWA's relief programs

The Agency inherited the same difficulties that confronted the UNRPR. It was very difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate between non-refugees, (also referred to as resident refugees), and bona-fide refugees. UNRWA's determination to include on its rolls only those who lost their property and means of livelihood was frustrated by resident refugees as well as the Arab governments that were firmly opposed to any measure, be it census or new registration, designed to establish a correct record of genuine refugees. This politically motivated opposition stems from official Arab determination to oppose any international effort that implied a permanent solution of the refugee problem within the territories of their countries of first asylum. There were numerous incidents in which relief agencies were refused permission to enter refugee camps for the purpose of conducting a census of camp inmates. As one may recall, the cooperation of Austria and Yugoslavia with the UNHCR and the ICEM was one of the main ingredients contributing to the success of that operation.

As the years elapsed, the fraudulence of the original registration had been perpetuated in every imaginable way. It seems as if a ration card and a refugee status had become most precious assets. This sad state of affairs had been further perpetuated by the composition of the Agency's administrative machinery. Up to 1975 the agency had a small international staff of about 150, whose headquarters in Beirut supervised overall operations in the five Arab countries. Following the civil war in Lebanon UNRWA was forced to relocate elsewhere. After much debate, most of which concerned the possibility of relocating in another Arab capital, the Agency decided to establish its new headquarters in Vienna. The present geographical distance between the international decision makers and the subjects of those decisions can hardly be regarded as reinforcing the effectiveness of UNRWA's operations. Daily supervision and contacts with the refugees are left in the hands of 14,000 employees, 99.5% of which happen to be refugees themselves. Bearing in mind the overall refugee hostility towards the U.N. and UNRWA which, in their opinion, are responsible for their plight, one cannot but wonder how helpful and dedicated are those 14,000 refugee-employees in carrying out their official duties. Recent arrests of U.N. employees, charged with bribery, smuggling and terrorism, serve to further illustrate the inherent deficiencies in the present system.

No constructive measures have been tried, however, to alleviate the wholesale corruption in the camps. The closest the agency got to doing something about the problem was in 1955 when it condemned ration-card dealers as "refugee capitalists." The U.S., financing about 70% of UNRWA's budget, has been most concerned and unhappy with the inefficient ways its funds have been used. During the 1966 Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Concerned with Refugees and Escapees, a full session was devoted to UNRWA's "self-perpetuating" character, particularly with regard to its Arab personnel, the fraudulent use of ration-cards and the Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA) whose 14,000 refugee members, fed by the international community, were posing a threat to world peace and security.

Since UNRWA, as well as most international organizations, is a reflection of its members' needs and interests, it cannot operate without taking account of the special concerns of its principal donors. The U.S., funding 70% of UNRWA's programs, could withhold, or at least greatly reduce its contributions, as a means of 'inducing' the host-countries to increase their level of cooperation with the rectification of the relief rolls. However, it was also realized by the Subcommittee that any significant reduction of American contributions to the Agency would have a direct detrimental effect on the welfare of the refugees, thus contributing to the deadlock in the settlement of their problem. Bearing those complexities in mind, Congress approved a 'compromise' cut of \$1.8 million, expressing the hope that "with this warning, other governments will take a somewhat larger share of responsibility in this

"It seems as if the main idea underlying the birth of UNRWA was to try to make the refugees self-supporting, then terminate its relief programs and hope for the best. . ."

field, and that the administration of the program can move on the rectification of the rolls at a little more rapid rate."²² This approach met with little success, however, and as UNRWA's 1978 Report states, "... the Agency is unable, without the agreement and cooperation of the authorities in the area, to establish income criteria for deletions from ration rolls or to carry out full investigations to examine employment status or income levels."²³ With regard to the second objective of inducing donor and host states to assume a greater share of the financial burden, the results have not been encouraging either. Due to failure to achieve a lasting political solution in the Middle-East, there has been diminishing interest on the part of U.N. members to make initial contributions or increase existing financial obligations. Major donor status have been holding contributions at fixed levels year after year, as a result of which the discrepancy between income and gross financial needs has been increasing constantly²⁴. In light of these problems, it is not surprising that in their annual reports to the General Assembly, UNRWA's directors have complained about "the extremely grave financial crisis which threatens its (UNRWA) existence."²⁵ "The time is rapidly approaching," states the 1978 report "when the implications of that fact will have to be assessed and the Agency be given guidance by the international community on the nature and level of services the community wishes to provide."²⁶

Bearing the Hungarian refugee problem in mind, one cannot but wonder about the significance of the information provided by the Agencies' annual reports regarding its relief operations. That the number of tents in camps have decreased from 14,000 to 8,000 and that of semi-permanent huts have arisen from 83,000 to 90,000 may be of importance to UNRWA's Director: However, when one recalls the purpose for which the Agency was established, it becomes obvious that a permanent relief program is almost all there is now. This realization is further reinforced when one examines the second dimension of UNRWA's activities.

Rehabilitation and work programs

Rehabilitation and work programs were based on the correct assumption that "sustained relief operations inevitably contain the germ of human deterioration."²⁷ Thus the declared purpose of this program was to develop it into a self-sufficient relief project by 1954, that would make the refugees 'economic assets' to the Arab countries, thereby making integration more acceptable to them. In 1952-53, "program agreements" were negotiated between UNRWA and three Arab governments, (Jordan, Egypt and Syria), with the view toward establishing development projects that would help 555,000 refugees to integrate in their present places of residence. Not even one single project has materialized. According to the Agency's 1955 report, the plans were frustrated not so much because of their impracticality as "local resistance to self-support programs" and Arab political objections to large-scale projects²⁸.

One notable exception to the failure of refugee developmental projects was Jordan's willingness, in 1952-53, to absorb the refugees staying in its territory. Shortly thereafter, approximately half, (235,000) of the refugee population in that country were on their way to self-sufficiency and complete assimilation²⁹.

With the exception of Jordan, none of the other Arab countries were willing to undergo integration. UNRWA's bold attempts to make the refugee economic assets clashed with the Arab League's denouncement of the program as a Jewish inspired policy to root the refugees in the Arab countries and thus weaken their claim for repatriation."³⁰ In the famous memorandum made public to the General Assembly in 1959, the Arab-League declared that "any project of this nature, now or in the future would be refused if they hinted even indirectly that they were intended to settle the refugees outside of Israel."³¹

Another disturbing phenomenon was the implicit pressure exerted by the Arab governments on the refugees not to participate in the work programs. This fact, coupled with the early collapse of most developmental projects, served to guarantee explicit Arab opposition to the programs. As UNRWA's 1955 report stated "none of the large-scale projects has progressed to the point where refugees have in effect, had the opportunity to decide whether or not to participate in these programs."³²

During the second decade of its operations UNRWA instituted an 'individual grant program' in Syria and Jordan. it gave small grants to refugees who ex-

'One notable exception to the failure of refugee developmental projects was Jordan's willingness, in 1952-53, to absorb the refugees staying in its territory.'

pressed their desire to establish themselves as self-supporting farmers in their areas of residence. About 62,000 refugees have been made self-supporting through this project which, unfortunately but not surprisingly, was brought to an end due to shortage of funds.

Another positive phenomenon characterizing educational activities is the assistance extended to UNRWA by various other international organizations such as UNESCO, (providing professional experts), UNDP, (vocational training), the WHO and UNICEF. The Arab countries are in favor of strengthening UNRWA's educational services to children of Arab refugees and the League's education, cultural and scientific organization is cooperating very closely with the various international organizations.

Education

Since self-supporting projects failed to materialize, education became another means by which the international community hoped it could alleviate the refugee problem. Following his visit in refugee camps in Jordan, Senator Tyding testified before the Subcommittee to Investigate Problems connected with Refugees and Escapees with regard to UNRWA's perceptions of the role of education, that "many of the officials there commented that they felt in the long run the education of the Palestinian refugees might do more to sooth the fires of nationalism than anything else. . ."33

Of all its activites, UNRWA's educational activites have been most impressive indeed. In 1977-78, 306,968 pupils were enrolled in the 617 UNRWA-UNESCO elementary and preparatory schools in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, the West-Bank and the Gaza Strip. 3,324 refugees are also trained in seven training centers offering vocational and technical skills, 86.8 million, (57% of the total budget), are currently spent to finance educational activities.

UNRWA's activities; a broader view

... But there is a grim fact that we must frankly face; over the years UNRWA's relief mission and education program have become almost its only mission. What was to be a transitory assistance program, pending the reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the Middle-East, seems now to be a task without an end. The refugee population has not diminished; it has, on the contrary grown larger. And the contributing countries are getting already tired of paying the bill for the refugees with no solution in sight."34

The above statement needs no elaboration. One may argue that UNRWA's excessive optimism about its role knocked out its own "W." Financial support, the only commodity provided by the U.N. member states, could not overcome social, historial, religios and political obstacles in the Middle-East. The Arab-Israeli conflict has, no doubt, been the primary factor in making UNRWA's relief and work programs a clinical study of frustration.

However, the Agency deficiencies in planning and operating should not be overlooked either. In my opinion, the self-perpetuating nature of UNRWA contributed to the current size, (1,757,269), politization and explosiveness of the Palestinian refugee problem. As pointed out before, an international organization is, in most cases, a mirror image of its members; it does what it is empowered to do and cannot overrule or exceed the sum of its parts. In this case, lack of experience and an independent status and budget, coupled with reluctance to consider immigration as a viable alternative method to solving the problem made the present refugee situation inevitable.

Conclusion

In large measure the Arab refugees are innocent victims of political, ideological, cultural, social and economic forces in the area — forces charged with emotionalism, irrationalism, and understandable national aspirations. The tradgedy of UNRWA, on the other hand, is that a humanitarian organization cannot operate in an explosive political situation, let alone ignore it. The current painful and expensive stalemate of the Arab refugee problem should not overshadow the Agency's dedicated and generous efforts to resolve the problem; and if the work of UNRWA in the Middle-East is recorded as failure in the annals of history, the blame should not be placed at the doors of the United Nations.

"Since self-supporting projects failed to materialize, education became another means by which the international community hoped it could alleviate the refugee problem."

"The tragedy of UNRWA, on the other hand, is that a humanitarian organization cannot operate in an explosive political situation, let alone ignore it."

It would be uncharitable to dismiss the functional approach to the refugee problems as mere illusion. Functionalism, as I understand it, does not attempt to replace "politics;" humanitarianism cannot assume the absence of narrow national self-interests. That the Hungarian refugee problem had been successfully resolved does not signify the triumph of humanitarianism over politics but rather a rare, circumstantial unity of the two. And for as long as various refugee situations continue to emerge, the delicate balance between politics and humanitarianism will be constantly sought with various degrees of success.

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