

Western Europe

Great Britain

Domestic Affairs

THE YEAR 1969 again was dominated by financial considerations: Would the country succeed in earning a surplus on its balance of payments, or would it fall deeper into deficit? All other issues of public policy had to defer to this priority. In February the bank rate was raised to 8 per cent. Two months later, the April budget squeezed another £340 million out of the taxpayer. The chancellor raised both selective employment and corporation taxes, and borrowing was made dearer and harder.

The first half of 1969 gave few signs that this policy would succeed. On the contrary, there was a visible deficit of £460 million and, with the balance of trade moving against Britain, with inflation unchecked and the government's wage policy unsuccessful, the omens were by no means propitious. August brought the first sign that the policy was bearing fruit. From then on until the end of the year, visible trade moved into surplus, and the overall surplus for the year was calculated to be in excess of £300 million. Moreover, the upturn in invisible earnings, derived from shipping, insurance, and overseas investment, was also strong. British exports expanded not only in volume but also in proportion to total world trade. How much of this improvement was due to the fiscal and monetary controls operative in 1969 and how much to a second harvest from the devaluation of 1967 was not clear. But the government was certainly entitled to claim its fair share of the credit, and this it undoubtedly did.

Yet, a price had to be exacted for economic success in the external field: There was virtually no increase in gross domestic product in the first half of 1969 and only about 0.5 per cent rise in the third quarter. Unemployment at year's end reached the high total of 536,000 (2.3 per cent) for the third year running. The cost of living rose by 6.8 points, to more than 133 (1962=100). Manufacturing investment rose slowly, and public investment actually showed a decline in the first half of the year. Retail sales fell in the third quarter though faint signs of a return of consumer demand began to

show themselves in the third quarter. The year was also remarkable in that it was the first when spending for education, at more than £2,200 million (some 6 per cent of the gross national product) exceeded spending for defense (£1,871 million).

However, none of this did much to restore the government's political image. Where it failed to make such impact was, above all, in the sphere of labor relations. It was one of the worst strike-ridden years in a decade—all the more so when, in June, the government abandoned the proposed anti-strike bill, foreshadowed in the January White Paper *In Place of Strife*. All it received in return from the Trades Union Congress was an undertaking to deal with unconstitutional disputes. No obligatory sanctions remained against wildcat strikes. This showed itself when the government was confronted with strikes in the car industry. But strikes in public services by groups like garbage collectors, ambulance-men, firemen, and airline pilots perhaps impressed the public most. Notable newcomers to the ranks of strikers were the teachers. Their unions joined in submitting a pay claim for an extra £135 per annum for every teacher. When this produced offers of £50 (later improved to between £60 and £100), strike action followed at first in token form and then, in December, a two-week strike by 4,500 teachers in 327 schools took place. These were the first strikes in the history of state education, and more were planned for 1970.

The student movement, on the other hand, was comparatively quiet. At least, it reached a climax in January, when locked gates at the London School of Economics were torn down, and its director, Walter Adams, closed the school until February 19. Later in the year, a lecturer in the school, Robin Blackburn, was dismissed for his part in the demonstrations. But the Select Committee on Education and Science, composed of 13 Labour and Tory M.P.'s, warned that student unrest was not a temporary phenomenon, and advocated policies of participation in line with those propounded by the National Union of Students. The Representation of the People Act, which reduced the voting age to 18, came into effect in May.

What of the government's political situation? The problem was clear enough: would the improved economic situation serve to reverse an unfavorable political standing? After the deflationary 1968 budget, the hope for 1969 was to harvest the rewards of abstinence and retrenchment. In 1969 the government had to lay the economic foundations for political recovery, and at the same time, engage in a bitter struggle inside the Labour movement to bring wages under its control, whether statutorily or voluntarily. In the latter task it failed. It also did not gain significantly in political standing. But the picture at the end of the year was undeniably conflicting. Thus, although the principal polls were widely different in their estimates of the Conservative lead over Labour, they at least agreed that the gap to be closed was much narrower than the 20 points it had been at the beginning of the year. There was also a slight improvement in the government's per-

formance in by-elections. Thus, in the year's first by-election at Walthamstow East (London), there was a swing against the government in a Labour seat of 15.9 per cent; in the last, at Louth, the antigovernmental swing was 14.3 per cent in a Tory seat. In 1969 there were 13 by-elections, and the government lost three seats to the Conservatives and one to the Liberals. Where they retained seats, their majorities were ruthlessly cut. In 12 by-elections (11 England, one Scotland), the aggregate Labour poll was halved, from 213,000 in the March 1966 general election to 110,000. The average constituency poll dropped by one fifth, but the Tories lost only one vote, as compared to 20 in 1966.

The thirteenth by-election, at Mid-Ulster in April, saw Miss Bernadette Devlin's victory over the Ulster Unionist (Conservative) in the cause of the civil rights movement and people's democracy. Earlier, in Northern Ireland, the weakening of the position of the ruling Ulster Unionist Party led Premier Captain Terence O'Neill to call a general election. The election was confused by the proliferation of obscurely labeled candidates, but the overall result was undoubtedly to weaken the hold of the liberally-minded O'Neill over his government. Faced with the loss of support among his parliamentary party, O'Neill resigned in April in favor of Major James Chichester-Clark. In the meantime, the events of late 1968, which brought the Northern Ireland crisis into the open, spilled over into January 1969 when the "Christmas truce" gave way to bloodshed and street clashes. This continued sporadically during the spring and summer until, on August 12, the Orangemen's march through Belfast, commemorating the siege of Londonderry, led to full-scale riots. Police used teargas against residents of the Bogside Catholic district of Londonderry, who fought back with petrol bombs. Smaller riots broke out in ten other towns and, on August 14, British troops moved in and took the place of the Protestant-dominated Royal Ulster Constabulary in the cordon around Bogside. Intensified rioting followed in Belfast, with hundreds of houses and factories being burnt out. The city came eventually under the control of the army which succeeded in separating the Protestant and Catholic populations and imposing a reduction in tension. By the end of the year, Ulster was at peace, but armed soldiers still policed the country.

Britain and Israel

A curious sense of slow-motion development toward deterioration has characterized Anglo-Israel relations during the past year. This has also been blended with a sense of noncommitment, in accordance with the Wilson government's policy of disengaging from areas outside Europe. In this it has undoubtedly been in tune with public opinion. A public opinion poll in March showed that pro-Israel sympathy was almost back to the high level it had reached on the eve of the six-day war. Hand in hand with it went a decline in support for the Arab cause. But, two months later, although sympathy

for Israel still ran higher than for the Arabs, the biggest segment of opinion sympathized with neither side, or had no opinion. In September only 2 per cent of the public thought Britain should supply arms to the Arabs, and 22 per cent supported the supply of arms to Israel; 45 per cent felt that neither side should be armed by Britain, this notwithstanding the fact that a small shift back to sympathy for Israel also took place. Even so, only 36 out of every hundred actively sympathized with Israel, compared to 59 in 1967.

At a political and diplomatic level, the British government's dedication to the idea of Four Power talks was evident from the start. In March Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart told the House of Commons that "some degree of urgent persuasion by the Four Powers" was needed to produce a Middle East settlement. But he did not think an imposed solution could work if it was something both sides, or even one side, bitterly hated and were told they must accept. The answer lay "somewhere between a 100 per cent free acceptance by the parties concerned and 100 per cent imposition, which is impossible." In Stewart's words, "one could hope for a settlement that in the end would be accepted by the parties concerned with a certain amount of grumbling all round, and a situation in which some of the governments concerned would be able to tell their populations that responsibility for the bits of the settlement they did not like lay on the shoulders of the Big Four." The Foreign Secretary asserted that it should not be too difficult to spell out the Security Council Resolution of November 1967 in the form of a workable calendar, timetable, or package. It was incumbent on Israel to be more forthcoming on the refugees; but, if the Arab countries wanted her to do that, this made it all the more important that they make clear beyond all doubt that the idea of destroying or waging future war on Israel was abandoned.

Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Goronwy Roberts, winding up the debate, said the government was anxious for the Four Power talks to begin as soon as possible, and that Britain was ready to take part, without conditions or limitations of agenda. An imposed settlement would not last. Any settlement must be agreed, if it was to be durable, just, and honorable. The Jarring mission, Roberts continued, was crucial in the search for a solution, and the government had given the UN envoy unqualified support throughout, and still hoped he would be able to get the beginnings of an agreement in his present round of talks. There was some indication, he said, that the parties concerned were somewhat more responsive and more concrete in their replies to Jarring's questions. For this reason, Stewart welcomed King Hussein's "peace plan" of April, offering Israel the terms of the November 1967 Security Council resolution in return for the complete withdrawal from occupied territory. Of course, differences still existed over the extent of the withdrawal and over Israel-Arab agreement on secure boundaries. But the Hussein plan appealed to Britain, through its compatibility with the concept of the Four Power talks, around which it generated further optimism.

This stance was adhered to unremittingly despite visits by Israel Prime Minister Golda Meir in June and by Foreign Secretary Abba Eban in December. It was clearly spelled out by Prime Minister Harold Wilson in June at the Congress of the Socialist International:

Two years have passed since the war of June 1967, but peace has yet to be achieved. We believe that peace can be achieved only through the conclusion of a general political settlement; that the passage of time will not make it easier; and will probably make it harder, to conclude such a settlement; and that the basis for a settlement which would be fair to all concerned exists in the Security Council resolution of November, 1967.

That is why we are participating in the Four Power talks which are now taking place in New York. We have no wish to impose, or to join in imposing a solution on the parties. We do believe, however, that Four Powers may be able to help Dr. Jarring in his task of promoting agreement and assisting efforts to achieve a settlement. . . .

Britain has made it clear that no lasting settlement for the Middle East is possible without a clear and effective guarantee for the security and integrity of Israel.

That is part of the resolution which Britain moved in the Security Council over eighteen months ago, a resolution which, taken in its entirety, as it must be, would provide the basis for an overall comprehensive political settlement dealing with all the problems of the area, all the real grievances of all the parties to the dispute.

But if this position remained unchanged, definite deterioration took place in relation to Jerusalem and, above all, the supply of Chieftain tanks. In July, Lord Caradon, British representative at the U.N., warned Israel against taking unilateral decisions on the future of Jerusalem and, more specifically, demanded that Israel rescind all the measures taken to incorporate East Jerusalem into Israeli territory. In September Britain supported at the UN a Moslem resolution which, by implication, blamed the Israelis for the al Aqsa mosque fire.

During the year it also became clear that Britain was still refusing to supply Chieftain tanks to Israel—at least for the time being. The original hesitation on this score at the beginning of the year was reinforced in the autumn and winter by the pro-Egyptian coup in Libya in September against the King Idris regime. Although the latter's successors called for the "urgent and unconditional evacuation" of the British and American bases and threatened a projected £130 million defense contract with Britain, there were reports already in September that Britain was endeavoring to sell tanks to the new revolutionary regime. In these circumstances, it was natural that Eban on his December visit to London should declare at a press conference: "Sometimes the reasons behind a decision of a government to do something, or not to do, are even more disquieting than the decision itself, important as it may be." This was a clear reference to the British argument that withholding the Chieftains, while not vital to Israel's security, was essential to British economic and financial interests at the present time.

On the more positive side, Britain protested to Syria about the Boeing hi-jacking in September; and to Lebanon following a number of terrorist attacks on Jewish and "Zionist" property in London (September). Responsibility for the attacks had been claimed by the Lebanon-based Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Record British exports to Israel at £102 million contrasted with a decline from £44 million to £39 million in Israeli exports to Britain. This was attributed mainly to the decline in the total of polished diamonds and mineral fuels. Israel Fashion Week in London in October broke all records with sales of more than £1 million, against less than £750,000 in 1968.

In June a first-ever Anglo-Israeli cultural convention was signed. It was to remain in force for an initial four years, and provided for exchange visits by university professors, scientists, and technologists; exchange training programs and courses by suitably qualified university graduates and scientific and technical personnel; and exchanges in the fields of the arts, education, and sports through visits or exhibitions. Under the terms of the convention, there also was to be a two-way expansion of studies in the language and literature of each country in the educational institutions of the other, including the establishment of professorial chairs in the universities and of educational and cultural centers. Moreover, consideration was to be given to mutual recognition of educational diplomas, degrees, and certificates, and encouragement to cooperation among the professional organizations and the educational, scientific, and cultural institutions in both countries.

The Press

Center of controversy has been the publication by the London *Times* and other national papers, on the second anniversary of the six-day war, of a four-page advertisement on Palestine, sponsored by the London office of the League of Arab States and issued by the Anglo-Jordan Alliance. It was headed, "The tragic Israeli-Arab war, June 5, 1967, Second Anniversary," and read: "The committee of the Anglo-Jordan Alliance, on behalf of members and friends, salutes the Palestinians rendered homeless and those in occupied territory." There followed the names of five M.P.s, Mrs. Margaret McKay, William Wilson, David Watkins, John Ryan, and David Ensor. Also printed in the advertisement was this quotation from Shelley's poem "Rosalind and Helen": "Fear not the tyrants shall rule forever,/Or the priests of the bloody faith;/They stand on the brink of that mighty river,/Whose waves they have tainted with death." The nine articles in the advertisement dealt with various aspects of Palestinian and Arab history, the refugee problem, the liberation movement, and world opinion. Contributors included Anthony Nutting, Ian Gilmour, M.P., Sir Geoffrey Furlonge, Sir Harold Beeley, and Christopher Mayhew, M.P.

The *Times* explained that it accepted the advertisement for publication "in accordance with its traditional policy," but did not vouch for any of the

facts or opinions expressed. In a lead article on the Middle East, published on the same day, the publication described the advertisement as "extremely partisan" and added: "It is certainly not the sort of publication that is helpful. It is not calculated to bring a settlement any nearer." However, so great was the storm of protest that the *Times* editor apologized and explained that "owing to a misunderstanding—there were two separate Palestine advertisements on the same day—this advertisement, with its grossly offensive quotation from Shelly, was not submitted for editorial clearance, which is the invariable practice of the *Times* on political advertisements. If it had been,' the editor continued, "it would not have been published, and its publication is much regretted."

The *Daily Mail's* managing editor, E. V. Mathewman, commenting on its printing of the advertisement, said that the policy of the paper was not to apply censorship to advertisements, unless there was something obscene about them or they were breaking the law. A letter complaining about the poem in the advertisement was published in the *Mail*, and was followed by a footnote expressing its regret for having unintentionally offended some of its readers. The footnote added that the *Mail* believed "it would be wrong to censor advertisements other than for legal reasons, as this would be a denial of its policy to give as much freedom as it can to everyone in its columns." Ensor, one of the signers of the advertisement, apologized, but the three others, Watkins, Wilson, and Ryan, refused to dissociate themselves from it. Gilmour's article on the role of Jews in Britain was referred to the Race Relations Board as "likely to have an unsettling effect on race relations." But the Board rejected the complaint on the ground that the discrimination alleged did not come within its jurisdiction (July).

The *Times* again showed a certain schizophrenia in its reporting from Israel. Thus, in October, its foreign editor, Edward Hodgkin, headlined a report "Grim Reports of Repression in Israel-Occupied Lands." But, in November, staff writer Patrick Brogan wrote, in what was by no means a pro-Israel report, that, although he thought the Israeli army and police may not "be hampered by civilian scruples" when dealing with terrorists—and explained that the security situation was much too serious for that—he nevertheless conceded that there was no torture. Brogan wrote: "Except for the few unavoidable psychopathic individuals, the Israel army and police are too sane and disciplined for such aberrations. Real torture is the fruit of a corrupt society, and this is not a charge that can be made against Israel."

A cartoon, depicting Israel as a dollar-dominated state, in the September monthly bulletin of the Movement for Colonial Freedom (MCF), also aroused attack. Under the dollar sign symbolizing Israel was a reference to Israel Week held in some South African towns to promote the sale of Israeli goods. MCF chairman Stan Newens, Labour M.P., apologized, and the cartoon led to the resignation of a number of its sponsors, including a member of the government. The same publication contained a cartoon of a man in a bowler hat, whose double face bore the inscription: "Apartheid-

Zion Nazi system." Immediate protests came from Mapam, an affiliate of MCF; from Sidney Goldberg, secretary of both Poale Zion and the Labour Friends of Israel, and from a number of Labour M.P.s who were sponsors of the movement.

British Broadcasting Corporation

BBC again was accused of bias in its presentation of Jewish and Israeli affairs. Although, for example, a BBC-TV program in April on Syrian and Iraqi Jewry was considered a fair presentation, a program later that month on Arabs in the Israel-occupied areas, in which Israel was accused of violating the 1949 Geneva Convention on the treatment of population in occupied territories, was widely thought to be unfair. In both cases, the commentator was Keith Kyle, political and international affairs advisor to BBC, also known as a speaker under the auspices of the Council for the Advancement of Anglo-Arab Understanding. As a result, Abba Eban cancelled a TV interview he was to have held with Kyle in May. The balance was restored to some extent when opportunity was given to Kyle's critics, in July, to confront him on two separate occasions in the studio. With Kyle in the chair, a confrontation between Tel Aviv university professor Zvi Yavetz and Professor Yusaf Sayigh—who refused to appear in the same studio—representing the Palestine Liberation Organization was widely held to have resulted in a verbal victory for the Israeli. A week later, Kyle met four of his Jewish critics in the studio in a "Talkback" program.

At the end of the month and in August controversy over the BBC's reporting of current events moved to the diplomatic sphere. Eban protested to British Ambassador to Israel John Barnes over the quality of BBC news reports; in London Israeli Ambassador Aharon Remez made a similar protest to the director general of BBC. It was argued, in particular, that BBC News bulletins gave equal weight to Arab and Israeli military communiqués despite the credibility gap between them. BBC conceded that this was the case in short news bulletins, hurriedly prepared, but argued that in longer programs it paid due attention to Israeli assessments of the news.

In May a BBC-TV item on Negro antisemitism in New York was condemned by the president of the Board of Deputies as "a vilification of Jewry."

JEWISH COMMUNITY

No substantial change was reported in the estimated 410,000 total of Anglo-Jewry.

Intermarriage

Concern with social questions dominated Anglo-Jewry in 1969. Criticism of lavish *bar mitzvah* ceremonies, the formation of a Jewish adoption ad-

visory service, the aged in conditions of disintegrating family life (help for the aged was said in September to account for 65 per cent of the work of the Jewish Welfare Board), the unmarried mother—all these won attention; but predominant was the incidence of intermarriage.

The raw material came from a pioneering study by S. J. Prais and Miss M. Schmool, *Statistics of Jewish Marriages in Great Britain 1901–1965* (published by Board of Deputies of British Jews), as amplified by a *Jewish Chronicle* enquiry. This showed that the incidence of intermarriage increased dramatically just after the Second World War and is still increasing, though latterly at a slower rate. Until 1939, the rate of synagogue marriages was broadly in line with the general marriage rate in the country. The situation changed in 1949, when the synagogue rate fell to 7.2 per thousand, against a general rate of 8.6. In 1965, the last year covered by the study, the Jewish rate was 3.9, as against 7.8 for the population as a whole, exactly half. During the past three years, the number of synagogue marriages has remained constant, while the general marriage rate has gone up by 9 per cent. Even granting a somewhat lower Jewish than general marriage rate, and granting that the number of Jews has been slightly overestimated, there still should have been something like 2,800 Jewish marriages in 1965. There were 1,765. It therefore follows that some 2,000 Jewish men and women married outside the synagogue.

Almost all of these 2,000 presumably married in a registry office. Exactly how many of them married Jews is impossible to say with any degree of certainty; but it is reasonable to assume that when two Jews marry in Britain, they almost invariably marry in, or through, a synagogue. This is because of the general tendency for members of minority groups not to contract civil marriages alone, but also religious marriages. Thus, at a reasonable guess, 1,500 of the 2,000 married non-Jews, i.e., between 25 per cent and 30 per cent of the Jewish men and women who married in 1965, married out. Taking into account an approximate 225 conversions, the total is reduced to some 1,300. Few of the resulting alliances will raise their offspring within the community.

The same picture was presented in a report published in May by the statistical and demographic research unit of the Board, based on its annual routine compilation of marriage statistics. The report put the number of synagogue marriages in 1968 at 1,823, compared to 1,817 in 1967. As its authors point out:

In the general population, marriages have been rising in recent years, reflecting the "baby boom" towards the end of the Second World War.

The average number of marriages in England and Wales for the last three years (1966–68) was nine per cent higher than in the previous five years (1961–65). But there has been no such rise in the Jewish community; the average number of synagogue marriages in the years 1966–68 was 1,829, merely one-third of one per cent higher than in the period 1961–65. The average number of synagogue marriages in 1961–65 was 1,823.

On the basis of "a total Jewish population estimate of 410,000" (the figure accepted by the research unit), the synagogue marriage rate for 1968 was 4.3 per thousand, whereas in the general population the marriage rate for the same year was almost double: 8 per thousand. The number of marriages in the central-Orthodox group and in Sephardi and Reform congregations remained unchanged in the 1960's. It declined among the Liberals, and rose among the ultra-Orthodox.

The future holds out little promise of change, according to a survey of 155 Jewish university students conducted by Vera West (*Jewish Journal of Sociology*, December 1968). Fifty-six of the students indicated willingness to marry a non-Jew, and 17 were uncertain. Perhaps more significantly, 7 of the 33 students from Orthodox homes declared themselves willing to marry out, and 21 of the 59 whose families, while not fully Orthodox, were affiliated with the Jewish community.

Further point was given to this analysis by the publication, in April, of the annual report of the demographic unit attached to the Merseyside Jewish Representative Council. Only 17 marriages were solemnized in Liverpool in 1968, and the pattern of birth and death rates suggested that 30 years later, the Jewish population of Liverpool will have dropped by at least 1,000 from its present 7,500 (by 12-15 per cent).

This and cognate situations provoked a conference on the small communities, held in London in October, which, however, produced nothing beyond a working group to consider establishing a permanent council of small communities. Of 87 communities invited to the conferences, only 48 were represented.

Jewish Education

As so often, the picture of Jewish education remained remarkably patchy, but not without hope. Dr. Jacob Braude calculated that 35 per cent of the Jewish children in Britain received no Jewish education at all. Of the remainder, 15 per cent were enrolled in Jewish day schools; 30 per cent received Sunday school education (i.e. a few hours per week) and 20 per cent received more regular education, though still within a part-time framework. There was a drop of more than 230 pupils at Hebrew classes under the London Board of Jewish Education between 1967 and 1968. But, at university level, encouraging developments took place. In October the Leonard Stein lectureship in medieval Hebrew was instituted at Oxford, with R. A. May, head of the Hebrew collection of the Bodleian library, its first holder; at Sussex university, Chaim Raphael, civil servant, author, and historian, was appointed to a newly established research fellowship in Jewish social history. At Glasgow university, the framework of modern Hebrew studies within the department of Hebrew and Semitic languages was widened to include Israeli studies; the latter was also incorporated in several of the university's higher degrees. Lecturers were appointed in Aramaic and

Canaanite studies. A notable innovation was the appointment of a full-time Jewish chaplain at Oxford, the first being Rabbi Sidney Leperer, formerly teacher at Carmel College.

At a more primary level, the report of Rabbis Simcha Teitelbaum and Joseph Kaminetsky (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 322), published in April, condemned the inadequate physical facilities for Jewish schooling in Britain; the low status and payment of teachers; inadequate textbooks, and the sheer absence of schools in such localities as Ilford, South London, Manchester and Leeds. Their positive proposals were directed at overcoming these handicaps, in particular by shifting the emphasis of development from Hebrew classes to day schools, awarding higher salaries to teachers, and establishing a permanent teacher training school. Lastly, the report proposed the establishment of a "special educational office within the Office of the Chief Rabbi." The proposals were criticized as ill-adapted to English conditions, as a repetition of earlier remedial measures, and as overambitious. However, the report was adopted in June, and Sir Isaac Wolfson, president of the United Synagogue, pledged moral and financial support, which would cost £3 million. In July it was announced that a director of Jewish education was to be appointed under the aegis of the Chief Rabbi's office. The Chief Rabbi also announced that a special director was to be appointed for adult education programs.

In the meantime, in March, the critical financial position of the United Synagogue's London Board of Jewish Religious Education was highlighted in its proposal asking the United Synagogue to cover a deficit of £24,275. In July the board announced that it would introduce sex education for girls, and that modern Hebrew, with the use of Israeli textbooks, would be taught for the first time on a regular basis. In November the board further announced that those pupils in its schools, who did not enter for examinations, would receive far more attention than hitherto. Other projects included a new school for the Yesode Ha-torah schools, Stamford Hill (May); a Torah center in Edgware, London (June); and a major appeal by B'nai B'rith for £1 million for extending the work of the Hillel Foundation and renovating some of the older Hillel houses in Great Britain (June).

A major innovation in November was the establishment at the state-owned Trent Park College of Education, Cockfosters (near London), of a three-year course in Jewish studies for training state-recognized teachers. In April Minister of State for Education Alice Bacon held out the possibility that Judaism might be taught in state schools.

The Leo Baeck College, the Progressive movement's rabbinical school, celebrated its thirteenth anniversary in September. Earlier, in April, it launched an appeal for £500,000.

Fifty Jewish students received scholarships to study at Israeli universities in the coming academic year (August).

JEWS' COLLEGE

This institution was to play an indispensable role in the plan for a revised educational system by acting as a teachers training center. However, there were no positive signs to indicate that in other respects the college had overcome its difficulties, or was at least on the way to doing so (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 321). The student body continued to remain at a low level in terms of numbers and quality. The tendency for the general academic pursuit of Jewish studies to develop rather in the university world was intensified, if anything.

Two further incidents occasioned criticism: The first was the announcement, in July, of the appointment of an Israeli rabbi who lacked a secular degree (although he did possess an Israeli rabbinical diploma) as a tutor in Talmud. It was felt that this appointment heralded the transformation of the college from a university-type institution into something more like a *yeshivah*. The second was the choice of a successor to Rabbi Dr. J. H. Zimmels, head of the college who retired at the end of 1969. Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jacobovits, who was to be acting head until a replacement was found, suggested Rabbi Dr. Nachum Rabinovitch, a Canadian rabbi and lecturer in mathematics at Toronto university, for the post (November). But the latter aroused disquiet by the assertion that "a man identifying himself with Jews' College identifies himself with the traditional point of view." Also, the salary offered to Rabbi Rabinovitch, £6,000 annually excluding fringe benefits, vastly exceeded—in fact more than doubled—that of the two senior lecturers at the college, both of whom had been on staff for more than 20 years.

In December the college's most senior staff member, Dr. N. Wieder, head of its recently established department for post-graduate studies, announced that he was leaving to take up a post as lecturer in Hebrew and Jewish studies at University College, London.

Chief Rabbinate, United Synagogue, and Religious Life

In most respects, no marked change, or even suggestion of any such change, characterized Anglo-Jewish religious life. However, the Chief Rabbi could justly claim, as he did in an interview given in June after his first two years in office, that, though religious divisions were as great as ever, they were "far less acrimonious." The proposal to hold two separate Israel Independence Day services, Orthodox and Progressive, thus passed without incident, although the Board of Deputies in February voiced hope for a combined service. Finally it was arranged that the two services would be held on successive days so that those so minded could attend both: the Orthodox on April 22, the Progressive on April 23. Evidence of decline came from the dearth of applicants for the ministerial department of Jews' College, as reported in July by Dr. Zimmels, the poor attendance at syna-

gogue annual meetings in May (70 out of 1,300 at St. John's Wood), and a United Synagogue indebtedness of over £665,000 entailing interest charges of £60,000 which resulted from failure of a number of congregations to repay capital loans. In November the treasurers of the United Synagogue announced an urgent review of the situation, which was all the more needed as the lack of capital prevented the building of new synagogues in outlying areas.

In July ministers, readers, and other paid officials of the United Synagogue constituent synagogues were given a 10 per cent salary increase, retroactive to January 1, 1969. In December it was announced that, beginning January 1, 1970, the same increase would be given to ministers, readers, secretaries, and part-time officials at district synagogues of the United Synagogue.

In April the Chief Rabbi declared that British residents who became converted to Judaism abroad would not be recognized or accepted by the London Beth Din of the United Synagogue unless their proselytization was found, on full investigation, to be satisfactory to the Chief Rabbi and Beth Din. This ruling was intended to deal with those persons who, unable to qualify for conversion in Britain, resorted to rabbis or some small organizations abroad.

In December the way was cleared for the rebuilding of Bayswater synagogue, after the United Synagogue withdrew its opposition to this step. This was the sequel to months of litigation in the High Court between the United Synagogue and representatives of the synagogue.

In November the Association of Sephardi Congregations decided to prepare for the establishment of its own Beth Din. As in the case of catering licenses, this was further evidence of separate Sephardi organizational endeavor.

In December Dr. E. Kirzner officially resigned as *rav rashi* of the Federation of Synagogues.

Rabbi J. D. Rayner was elected chairman of the Council of Reform and Liberal Rabbis (October). This took place amidst suggestions that Liberal and Reform movements might well unite. Both groups were united in the World Union for Progressive Judaism, both trained their rabbis at the Leo Baeck College, and both cooperated in many day-to-day tasks.

Shehitah and Kashrut

Although the National Equine Defense League of Carlisle issued a leaflet attacking "the cruel Jewish ritual method of slaughter," controversy over *shehitah* was less acute than in previous years. Instead, a committee to study *shehitah* and other forms of slaughter was formed in July under the auspices of the British Veterinary Association comprising representatives of 13 interested organizations. A place was reserved for the Board of Deputies, but Dr. Homa, chairman of the Board's *shehitah* committee, refused to participate on the ground that the committee's membership was not

exclusively scientific but consisted of "representatives of various organizations some of whom are known to be prejudiced against *shehitah*." In the meantime, the Glasgow Board of Shehitah donated £2,000 to the Shehitah Defense Campaign, organized by the Board of Deputies and the National Council of Shehitah Boards.

At a more domestic level, the London Beth Din agreed to examine trainee *shohetim*. This followed a three-year refusal to do so on the grounds that the post of chief *shohet* was vacant. *Kashrut* came into controversy in October when the Sephardi Kashrut Authority granted a license to a non-Jewish London hotel to provide banqueting facilities for the Jewish public. This provoked immediate protest from the caterers licensed by the Chief Rabbi. It was argued that such expansion into non-Jewish establishments would diminish the revenue of caterers who had "built up reputations and given considerable service to the community and had contributed to Jewish education and to other spheres to a considerable extent."

Philanthropy and Fund Raising

British Jewry's reputation for generosity was well maintained. The December launching dinner of the Joint Palestine 1970 Appeal reached a record total of £2 million. The Kol Nidre appeal in which Sephardim participated for the first time also reached a record total, £200,000. In September Victor Waddington, joint treasurer of the Central British Fund, argued that British Jewry must raise £1 million to do its share to aid the 3.5 to 4 million Jewish refugees in the world. In the past, the total had only been £200,000. At its 150th anniversary banquet in May the Jewish Blind Society raised £152,000 and was able to report a record income of £259,000 for the year. The Wolfson Foundation presented £420,000 to the Hebrew University. On the other hand, the Jew's Temporary Shelter's income again fell short of expenditure. This because it had to provide a higher than average total of more than 10,000 "night-unit accommodations" in the year ended April 1969 (September).

Relations with Jews Abroad

In April a petition organized by the Board of Deputies and bearing 100,000 signatures was presented to the Foreign Office on behalf of the persecuted Jewish communities of Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. In August the execution of 15 Iraqis, including two Jews, on spying charges provoked the Board and representative Jewish bodies to denounce "a wilful act of savagery and an offense against the precepts of justice." On similar grounds, Prime Minister Wilson was urged in November to intervene with the Syrian government to release the two Israelis from the Boeing hi-jacked in August.

Anglo-Jewry was also active in defending the cause of the Soviet Jews. In February Soviet Jewry Week saw an impressive number of meetings

at major universities in the United Kingdom. In October and again in December the Universities' Committee for Soviet Jewry organized marches and protests. But the most impressive manifestation of sympathy doubtless was the Board of Deputies special communal conference on Soviet Jewry in June. This brought together 350 representatives from 70 communal organizations all over Britain, as well as from France and the United States. With only one dissident, the conference passed a resolution calling on the Soviet government to remedy the grievances of its Jewish citizens, to permit the emigration of Jews who applied for permission to go to Israel and to other countries, and to "order the release" of Jews unjustly imprisoned for "alleged bourgeois-nationalist Zionist propaganda."

Publications

Autobiographical, biographical, and semi-autobiographical publications in 1969 included Leonard Woolf's *The Journey Not the Arrival Matters*; Robert Henriques' *From a Biography of Myself* (edited by Veronica Henriques); Bernard Kops' *By the Waters of Whitechapel*; Emrys Hughes' *Sydney Silverman: Rebel in Parliament*; and E. Silberschlag's *Saul Tchernichovsky, Poet of Revolt*. A special place belongs to the political memoirs of Harold MacMillan, *Tides of Fortune 1945-1955*. From a former opponent of the 1939 White Paper, the memoirs shed much light on the Eden plan for a Baghdad pact against Soviet expansionism and the British negotiations with Nasser on the eve of the Suez campaign. A notable biography was James Ogden's *Isaac D'Israeli* which revealed Lord Beaconsfield's father as a genuine pioneer in literary history and psychology. Even more enlightening was *The Secret Lives of Lawrence of Arabia* by P. Knightley and Colin Simpson, for it produced apparently irrefutable evidence from recently released Cabinet papers of the conflicting nature of the promises made by Britain to Jews and Arabs in World War I.

Studies of contemporary affairs included Emile Marmorstein's *Heaven at Bay*, a study of what the author calls the "Kulturkampf" in Israel, whose roots he sees in the struggle between the Haskala and the traditionalists; Hugh Schonfeld's *The Suez Canal*, a centenary study; Walter Laqueur's *The Struggle for the Middle East*, a study of Soviet policies in the Middle East, 1958-68, and Joel Cang's *The Silent Millions*, subtitled *A History of the Jews in the Soviet Union*. A most valuable new venture was Martin Gilbert's *Jewish History Atlas* which, however, was stronger in its portrayal of migration and settlement than in its attempt to illustrate in map form such subjects as "Napoleon and the Jews" or "Nine Prominent Jewish Thinkers."

In fiction, Chaim Bermant added to his reputation as Anglo-Jewry's foremost comic novelist with his *Here Endeth the Lesson*.

A notable contribution to the economic history of Anglo-Jewry was Goronwy Rees' *St. Michael, A History of Marks and Spencer* tracing the

development of one of the top retail enterprises from its beginning on a pushcart in Leeds marketplace to its present importance.

An interesting development in the publishing field was the decision of Weidenfeld & Nicolson, a major British publisher, to establish a subsidiary company in Jerusalem which would produce not only Hebrew translations of the firm's English publications, but also publish Hebrew books, original works as well as translations. On the other hand, the long-established Jewish bookshop of Jack Mazin in Berwick Street, London, closed down.

An unwelcome development was the publication of *Mein Kampf* (out of print since 1949) by Hutchinsons despite protests by the Board of Deputies, the Bavarian government, and one of the editorial directors of the firm. However, a spokesman argued that proceeds from the publication, to be produced in a limited edition at a high price, would go to libraries and scholars.

The *Jewish Chronicle* book award was given jointly to Chaim Raphael for his *The Walls of Jerusalem*, a study of the reaction in Midrash to the fate of Jerusalem under the Romans, and to Thomas Wiseman for his novel *The Quick and the Dead* about a Viennese Jew and a young woman before the Second World War.

In the field of Jewish journalism, a notable innovation was the establishment, in October, of the *Jewish Chronicle* Trust, intended to safeguard the independence and integrity of the paper by placing ultimate decisions regarding editorial matters in the hands of independent trustees. The legitimate interests of the shareholders would be safeguarded, but they would lose some important powers. To achieve these aims, two new companies have been formed, both subsidiary to the Jewish Chronicle Ltd. One, to be called Jewish Chronicle Newspaper Ltd., will assume ownership of the goodwill, copyright, and title of the newspaper itself, but will leave in the hands of the parent company everything not strictly appertaining to the paper. The second, the Jewish Chronicle Trust Ltd., has been given fundamental powers of policy control. The purpose of these companies is to prevent the newspaper's board of directors from taking certain vital actions without the approval of the trust company. The directors cannot sell the paper, appoint or remove the editor or managing director, or cease publication unless the paper is unavoidably, persistently, and substantially unprofitable.

The first chairman of the board of trustees will be Lord Goodman, and the members the Hon. H. L. H. Cohen, a former president of the Jewish Welfare Board; Chaim Raphael, formerly a high official at the Treasury and now a research fellow at Sussex University; Dr. J. B. Segal, Professor of Semitic Languages at the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University; and three nominees of the *Jewish Chronicle* board: Viscount Samuel, Ellis Birk, and David Kessler.

In July the British branch of the World Federation of Jewish Journalists was formed. It has a membership of some 70 professional journalists, work-

ing for national daily and evening newspapers and provincial daily and weekly journals, as well as freelance writers. The chairman of the new organization is David Pela (deputy editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*), and the secretary-treasurer is Gerald Smith, also of the *Jewish Chronicle*.

Zionism and Aliyah

Concern with public relations dominated British Zionism. This was one of the points criticized, in a May speech in London, by Yaacov Morris, deputy director of the information department of Israel's Foreign Ministry. He also castigated British Zionism for "neglecting its basic task of creating a real movement of young Zionists." The first point, at least, was to be remedied by the appointment, in July, of David Jacobs as full-time public relations director to the Zionist Federation. A month earlier, Ari Avner was appointed a new counselor for information at the Israeli Embassy in London to deal with all aspects of Israeli public relations apart from press and broadcasting (with which the press counselor, Moshe Arad, would continue to deal).

The British Zionist Federation celebrated its 70th anniversary in April, and Habonim, the Zionist youth movement, its 40th anniversary in May. The appointment of an education officer, with headquarters at the Jewish Agency, and the establishment of an education center for all youth movements in Britain to coordinate the existing educational activities of Zionist and non-Zionist youth, were announced in November.

Whatever the degree of self-questioning to which British Zionism subjected itself during the year, there was no doubt of willingness to emigrate. The total reached a record 1,796, which would bring the number of British settlers in Israel to over 17,000. The number of emigrants in 1969 could have been even higher, an Agency official said, if a housing shortage in Israel had not slowed down the process. The average waiting period for a prospective immigrant family was up to six months, slightly longer than in previous years. Single persons were dealt with much more quickly. In September the Jewish Agency announced plans to settle British newcomers in groups.

Despite the substantial increase in numbers, the composition of British settlers in Israel remained substantially unchanged in the past three years. People in the working age group, between 18 and 49, continued to account for about two-thirds. However, there was an increase in the number of professionally trained: In the first seven months of the year 122 people with academic qualifications emigrated, only 21 fewer than in the whole of 1968. There also was a slight increase in the number of families, as compared to single persons. Unmarried girls still outnumbered boys, but only slightly. The ratio dropped from two to one to almost even.

Jewish Agency officials in London admitted that the emigration boom was caused principally by the changed attitude towards Israel since the six-day

war. But new methods applied by the Agency's immigration department also contributed. For example, the British Aliyah Movement, with an Israeli emissary in charge, increased its propaganda in 1969. It set up about a dozen groups of people committed to emigrating within three years. Working almost exclusively with volunteers, the movement relieved the immigration department officials of much of the burden of propaganda. A more recent innovation was the opening, in the winter, of three immigration information centers, in Golders Green, Stamford Hill, and Ilford.

Race Relations and Antisemitism

A compendious report, *Colour and Citizenship*, produced under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, for the first time brought factual and informed enlightenment to bear on the immigration question. The over-all verdict was one of qualified optimism—"the room for manoeuvre remains wide"—but it did not fail to identify critical areas in housing, employment, and education, where discrimination and lack of facilities not only caused friction with the local population, but also caused positive disadvantage to immigrants. Thus, the report warned that present policies in immigration and integration were inadequate and called for further government intervention in these areas, together with the establishment of guidelines for the dissemination of the true facts concerning immigration and their treatment in the news media.

Organized Anglo-Jewry felt itself concerned in the main with the report's recommendation for the repeal of Section 6 of the 1965 Race Relations Act, which made it a criminal offense to publish written matter or to use words in public that are threatening, abusive, or insulting, and that are likely to stir up hatred against anyone distinguished by color, race, or ethnic or national origins. The report argued that this section was unjust in that it penalized the less educated and left free the more sophisticated racist, and that it also gave a false impression of the purpose of race relations legislation, which was conciliatory. However, the home secretary agreed with the representation of the Board of Deputies that the section was valuable and that it had had "a salutary effect, particularly in the distribution of literature which is racially offensive" (November).

On the wider issues (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 318-19, 326-27) Anglo-Jewry was silent. True, in March (before the publication of the report), the Zionist Federation at its 70th conference passed a resolution condemning Enoch Powell's view, that it was impossible to integrate colored immigrants with the population, and supporting struggle against any form of radical discrimination. But a more accurate index to feeling was probably the report issued by the Board of Deputies in October on the part taken by British Jews in race relations. Eight hundred questionnaires on race relations and intergroup activities were distributed to deputies, youth groups, synagogues, and other bodies, but only 40 replies were received. The report

also stated that "enquiries to Jewish Youth Groups in schools also had an inadequate response." This, of course, did not take account of the work of individual Jews. On the other hand, the report of the committee on race relations, set up by the Board of Deputies, urged Anglo-Jewry to fight prejudice and discrimination whatever its source, and to work actively with local and national organizations to this end (October).

Powell's contribution to the debate was a call, in June, for the assisted repatriation of immigrants. But any appeal it might have had for Conservatives was stemmed by Tory leader Edward Heath's declaration at his party conference in October: "We are not going to press them; we are not going to harry them; we are going to do everything to prevent a climate being created which will make them wish to leave against their own free will."

It thus remained true that penetration of racist thinking into official Conservatism was limited. But this by no means applied to fringe right-wing groups. Indeed, it was argued, e.g., in the annual report of the defense committee of the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen (AJEX), April, that "dedicated antisemites are growing strong, attempting to build a nation-wide organization on the basis of colour prejudice." On the other side, one or two spokesmen for the Black Power movement suggested that Jews in America and Britain were the object of colored attack because they had lost their identity through the acquisition of economic power and forgetfulness of earlier suffering.

The same AJEX report also noted a continuing decline in anti-Jewish activities by extremist groups; that daubings appeared only infrequently as, for example, swastikas on Leicester synagogue in August. This was to some extent borne out by the results of municipal elections in May. The National Front (see below) put up 28 candidates. None was elected, but in some boroughs, particularly in the North, some secured as much as 18 per cent of the votes. Colin Jordan, leader of the extremist British Movement, was fourth out of five candidates (282 votes) at a parliamentary by-election in Ladywood, Birmingham, in June.

More menacing perhaps was the coalition of several right-wing groupings, League of Empire Loyalists, British National party, Greater Britain Movement, Racial Preservation Society, National Democratic party, into the National Front, which now claimed 10,000 members. The Front's program called for the abolition of the 1965 Race Relations Act, repatriation of colored immigrants, independence from "foreign money," free enterprise, opposition to the Common Market and a foreign policy aligned with the former "White dominions," including Rhodesia and South Africa. The Front claimed that "there is no Jewish question," so far as it was concerned. But the AJEX report justly regarded it as "dangerous," bearing in mind the presence of known antisemites in leading positions. It was also stated in November by the vice chairman of the defense committee of the Board of Deputies that "the problems of prejudice in trade facing the community today are just as bad as, if not worse than, they were during the Nazi era."

It was this general situation that gave point to the Board of Deputies' approval in August for the appointment of a Jewish defense and public relations "supremo." The defense committee's recommendation to this effect explained that "at a time of real growth in the strength of activist organizations in this country propagating racial strife and discrimination, the Board is not sufficiently equipped with personnel or means to deal with any critical anti-semitic campaign or with the extension of positive work in the field of Jewish defence." In November this was coupled with the Board's condemnations of "militant activities" by unnamed Jewish activists against Arabs, pro-Arabs, and British racialists.

At the very end of the year, the immigration Appeals Act gave to aliens, who were refused entry into Britain, the right of appeal before Home Office panels of adjudicators.

Anglo-Israel-Arab Relations

Actual violence or the threat of violence by Arabs against Jews or against "Zionist" property, together with an intensification of pro-Arab propaganda, has marked the year. It was likely that the latter would prove more significant, and concern at its effects was prominently expressed at the Board of Deputies meeting in December. Arab propaganda has taken various forms. It penetrated into such leading charitable and social organizations as Young Oxfam, Save the Children Fund, and the United Nations Association; in the political field, a group of Liberals for Palestine came into existence; in the Labour party, the membership of the Labour Middle East Committee, chaired by Christopher Mayhew, M.P., increased from 18 in January to 23 in October. A notable recruit for the Arab cause was Michael Foot, former editor of the Left-wing weekly *Tribune* and still associated with the journal. Two other organizations also developed renewed strength: The Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, founded immediately after the six-day war, has become the main forum for "respectable" pro-Arabs advocating a political solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is what distinguished it from the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), composed of most of the members of the General Union of Arab students (with about 30 branches at the universities) and a variegated collection of British and Commonwealth New-Left groups dominated by Trotskyites and Maoists. It was supported by two (Israeli) émigré groups, Matzpen and Imperial News, which became the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee. PSC advocated the liberation of Palestine through guerrilla warfare, and looked upon the Arab-Israeli conflict in terms of Vietnam. Their aim was "to organise all solidarity activities with the struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation against Zionism and imperialism." Unlike Mayhew's Labour Middle East Committee, PSC rejected the November 1967 Security Council resolution and the Four-Power talks.

Pro-Arab support also stretched to the extreme right. In July, *Candour*,

a publication of the National Front, claimed that the Arabs should be told that "there are still real men living in these islands if they would take the trouble to seek them out." The Front also acclaimed "the traditional friendship between Britain and the Arab nations." In August it was reported that 30 Left-wing British students were among about 145 students from Europe and the United States who were flown to Jordan to join al-Fatah.

Mayhew received £50,000 from the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi to establish an Arab Friendship Foundation in Switzerland, as reported in October. Mrs. Margaret McKay, president of the Anglo-Jordan Alliance, got £40,000 from the same source for the purchase of a house in London to serve as a cultural and recreational center for Arab students. This was one of Mrs. McKay's less controversial actions. In July the general committee of the Clapham Labour party dissociated itself from the views expressed in the advertisement in the *Times* (see above). In October she was warned by the Labour chief whip and chairman of the Parliamentary Labour party to be more guarded in her references to the Middle East. This was provoked by her reported New York remarks that the existence of 62 Jewish M.P.s made it impossible for the government to be anything but pro-Israel.

How successful are all these activities? Some measure may perhaps be seen in the movement of public opinion, noted earlier. But a Trafalgar Square demonstration in Palestine Week in May was attended by about 2,000 people and dominated by non-Arab Maoists. Similarly, a protest march through London organized by PSC in November attracted only about 1,000 people. At the Labour party conference, in October, it was noted that over 300 people attended the meeting organized by the Labour Friends of Israel, and 100 the one organized by Mayhew's Labour Middle East Committee. Actual violence has been very limited. It has so far been confined to the bombing of the offices of the Zim shipping line in London, in August, in which one staff member was injured; and a number of attempts at arson in Jewish-owned stores in London. A special watch was kept on 57 synagogues during the High Holy Days, but no incidents were reported. At year's end, a court case revealed a plot to blow up a Boeing aircraft "belonging to a foreign country."

Personalia

Honors and appointments bestowed on British Jews included a peerage for Sidney Bernstein, chairman of the Granada Group, and knighthoods for publisher George Weidenfeld, treasury official Samuel Goldman, caterer Julian Salmon, Nobel Prize-winner professor Ernst Boris Chain, and leading television entrepreneur Lew Grade. John Silkin, former government chief whip, was appointed minister of public building and works; Former Minister of State to the Board of Trade Edmund Dell was appointed minister of state to the department of employment and productivity; Reginald Freeson, former parliamentary secretary, became parliamentary secretary of housing and

local government. Leslie Freeman was elected chairman of the Greater London Council, and Baroness Birk was appointed chairman of the Health Education Council. Professor Eugene Grebenik was appointed principal of the Civil Service College. John Gross's book *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters*, won the 1969 Duff Cooper Memorial prize, the award given biennially for the best book in the fields of history, biography, politics, or poetry.

Anniversaries included the 80th birthday of Lady Rose Henriques, veteran social worker; Lord Sieff, life-long Zionist and philanthropist; and of Moritz Fleischmann, a former leader of the Viennese Jewish community and now an active member of the Board of Deputies, Jewish National Fund, and founder of the Association of Jewish Refugees from Austria; the 88th birthday of Harry Sacher, one of the founding fathers of British and Manchester Zionism; the 90th birthday of Sir Robert Mayer, noted for his work for youth concerts and his executive membership of the Council of Christians and Jews; the 85th birthday of Emanuel Shinwell, once a Clydeside radical and trade union organizer, later a Labour cabinet minister and now elder statesmen of the Labour party.

Among notable British Jews who died in 1969 were: Neville Laski, Q.C., distinguished lawyer and communal leader, president of the Board of Deputies, 1933-39, president of the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews Congregation, 1961-67, in London in March, at the age of 78; Brigadier Ernest Benjamin, C.B.E., commander of the Jewish Brigade group in World War II, in March, at the age of 69; Lionel Wolman, one of Britain's leading neuropathologists, in Sheffield in April, at the age of 48; Jack Green, noted philanthropist, in London in May, at the age of 73; Alderman Cecil Harris, former lord mayor of Leicester, in London in May, at the age of 70; Solomon Hanstater, past president of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, in London in June, at the age of 94; I. W. Goldberg, a prominent honorary officer of the United Synagogue, in London in July, at the age of 75; Rabbi Dr. Harold Reinhart, minister of the Westminster Reform synagogue, pacifist, and leading exponent of Progressive Judaism, in London in August, at the age of 78; Leonard Woolf, one of the few remaining members of the "Bloomsbury Group," co-founder with his late wife of The Hogarth Press, and, in his later years, author of several noted volumes of autobiography, in Sussex in August, at the age of 88; Joseph Goldberg, a life-long civil servant in the financial department of the Crown Agents for the Colonies, in Nice in September, at the age of 83; Eugen Felix, formerly prominent in the Zionist Revisionist movement, in London in September, at the age of 77; Harry Henig, communal and Zionist worker in Leicester and nationally, in Leicester in November, at the age of 84; Lawrence Jacobs, well-known communal worker, in London in November, at the age of 69; Air Commodore Abraham Briscoe who, as a physician, held the highest rank attained by a Jew in the Royal Air Force, in London in December, at the age of 76;

Geoffrey Raphael, a Metropolitan Stipendiary Magistrate, in London in December, at the age of 76.

The year has taken a particularly heavy toll of Jewish scholars. Among the most outstanding who died were: Elias Avery Lowe, authority on the palaeography of old Latin manuscripts and reader in palaeography at Oxford (1927-48), in August, at the age of 89; J. G. Weiss, professor of Jewish studies at University College, London, director of the Institute of Jewish Studies, and world authority on the history of Hasidism, in London in September, at the age of 51; Cynthia Crews, reader in romance philology at the University of Leeds and authority on Ladino, in September, at the age of 63; Paul Winter, a New Testament scholar whose *On the Trial of Jesus* (1961) created a worldwide stir, in London in October, at the age of 65; S. Stern, fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and university lecturer in the history of Islamic civilization, in Oxford in November, at the age of 48.

LIONEL KOCHEN

France

THE MAJOR POLITICAL event of 1969 was the departure from office of President Charles de Gaulle and his replacement by Georges Pompidou, a Gaulliste torn between the moral imperative of "continuity" and the tactical need for change. Although there was no change of regime in the proper sense of the term—France still was the Fifth Republic—the end of the essentially monarchical rule of the former chief of state constituted a major change in the system.

On January 17, in the course of a visit to Rome, former Premier Georges Pompidou said in an interview that, when the time came, he would be a candidate for the presidency. On January 22 General de Gaulle told a cabinet meeting: "It is my duty and intention to fulfill my mandate until the end of my term."

At the beginning of February President de Gaulle announced that there would be a referendum in the spring on regional reform and the reorganization of the Senate. The date was later fixed for April 27. Widespread strikes, from March 4 to 6, followed the failure of a conference of representatives of the government, employers, and trade unions to reach an agreement.

On March 11, in a speech over radio and television, President de Gaulle declared: "The referendum will be a choice between progress and disorder." The three leading trade unions, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT), and Force Ouvrière, came out against the referendum. So did the Socialist and Communist parties and the PSU (unified Socialist Party, a left Socialist group). Alain Poher, president of the Senate and a member of the Radical party, also called for a "no" vote.

On April 10 President de Gaulle delivered an ultimatum over radio and television, declaring: "It is obvious that the continuation of my mandate or my immediate departure will depend on the response of the country." A number of political leaders of the center and right came out against the referendum; one of them was de Gaulle's former Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. On April 25 the chief of state, in another radio and television address declared: "If I am repudiated by a majority of you, I shall at once cease to exercise my functions." Thus, in a sense, the referendum became a vote on the continuation of de Gaulle as president of France, and its avowed purpose, administrative decentralization and the reduction of the powers of the Senate, a side issue.

On April 27, the day of the referendum, 12,007,102 voted "no" and 10,907,753, "yes." That night de Gaulle announced: "I am ceasing to exercise

my functions as president of the Republic." Alain Poher, president of the Senate, served as interim president. Elections were set for June 1, and if none of the candidates received a majority on the first ballot, the run-off between the two with the largest votes, was to take place on June 15.

On April 29 Georges Pompidou announced his candidacy for the presidency. The Socialist Party nominated Gaston Defferre, the mayor of Marseilles, while Alain Poher came forward as the candidate of the Center. (Defferre made it clear that he did not expect to win and that he planned to support Poher in the run-off.) The Communist party's candidate was the veteran Jacques Duclos; PSU nominated its leader, Michel Rocard, and Louis Ducatel was the candidate of a small right-center group. The Trotskyites also offered a candidate, the young Jewish intellectual Alain Krivine who was doing his compulsory military service at the time. Krivine, taking advantage of the opportunity which his candidacy gave him, appeared on radio and television to deliver violent attacks on Israel in the context of his campaign of revolutionary propaganda; he called for the dissolution of its structure as a state.

The campaign was vigorous but not particularly violent. On the first ballot, Pompidou led with 44.47 per cent of the votes; Poher, with 23.31, eliminated Duclos, with 21.27, for second place. Despite the active support of Pierre Mendès-France, who had broken with PSU, Defferre received only 5.01 per cent, while Rocard got 3.61, Ducatel received 1.27 per cent of the vote, and Krivine 1.06.

On the second ballot, Defferre supported Poher and Ducatel endorsed Pompidou; the Communists, PSU, and the Trotskyites called on their supporters to abstain. Pompidou received 58.21 per cent of the votes, Poher 41.69; approximately one-sixth of those who voted on the first ballot abstained or cast blank ballots on the second. During the entire campaign period General de Gaulle vacationed in Ireland. The Jewish vote, both in the referendum and the presidential election, was anti-Gaullist on the whole; many Jews cast their votes for Poher.

A new government was formed with Jacques Chaban-Delams, mayor of Bordeaux, as premier. Its composition indicated a tendency to broaden the government by including some centrists. However, the Gaullists, themselves, showed some fissures. The Union Democratique du Travail (UDT), an ultra-Gaullist splinter group hostile to President Pompidou and the government, was launched by two left-wing Gaullists, Louis Vallon and former Justice Minister René Capitant. In the foreign policy field, these dissidents campaigned for a more pro-Arab attitude.

There was also some disagreement within the official Gaullist movement between those whose primary loyalty was still to the former president and his policies, and those who accepted the leadership of Pompidou. Maurice Couve de Murville, who had served de Gaulle as foreign minister and had been his last prime minister, was a leading representative of the first group. As a minister, he had been required to resign his seat in parliament. He was

not included in the new cabinet, and when he attempted to reenter parliament in a by-election on October 26, he lost the previously Gaullist district in which he ran by more than 2,000 votes to PSU leader Michel Rocard. Members of the new government gave him no active support in the campaign, and showed no noticeable sorrow at his defeat.

According to a public opinion poll in November, 51 per cent of the French regretted the departure of de Gaulle, but 62 per cent opposed his return to power.

French-Israeli Relations

On January 6 the French government, under General de Gaulle, reacted to the Israeli raid on Beirut airport in December 1968 by extending the embargo on arms shipments to Israel to cover all military supplies. Uncompromising Gaullist supporters justified the embargo on the ground of Israel's refusal to cooperate in Four-Power peace efforts. De Gaulle was convinced that the raid on the Beirut airport was designed to assure the failure of this international effort.

Strong adverse reaction to the embargo was not confined to Jewish circles. Aside from Gaullist publications, almost all journals of opinion criticized the decision. De Gaulle's Foreign Minister Michel Debré attributed negative press coverage to Israeli influence on French newspapers, and thus on French public opinion. "It is no slander whatever," he declared on French radio, "to recognize a fact, or to know that, under a free regime, there are what we may call pressure groups."

However, protests against the embargo came even from Gaullist deputies, such as Jacques Hébert, vice president of the National Defense Commission and a reporter on armaments questions, as well as from Pierre-Charles Krieg and Claude Marcus (a Jew), UDR deputies from Paris. Among the French intellectuals who voiced their protest were Jean-Paul Sartre, in an interview published in *Le Fait Public* ("Public Reality"), and the Nobel laureate physicist, Alfred Kastler, in a speech delivered at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. In February, the Association for French-Israeli Friendship, on the initiative of General Pierre Koenig, established within its organization a French-Israeli Solidarity Committee against the embargo.

Militant anti-Zionist groups, ranging from Communists and Left Gaullists to Leftists of various other persuasions (Trotskyist, Maoist, anarchist), were reinforced by a feeble fraction of the feeble extreme right, the semi-illegal group led by the quasi-fascist agitator Pierre Sidos. The more "proper" extreme-right, the Alliance Républicaine led by attorney Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour, was rather pro-Israel. At the annual festival of the Communist daily *L'Humanité*, which drew tens of thousands of Communist sympathizers, al-Fatah had a display booth.

In January, in the midst of, and somewhat in contrast to, Franco-Israeli tensions, there was a French request to the Iraqi Government that the

people condemned to death in Baghdad be granted clemency, but, of course, without result. Also, in March, the French government informed the United States and Israel governments that it no longer believed complete evacuation of the occupied territories was an indispensable precondition for a settlement of the Middle East conflict.

Relations with Lebanon were characterized by France's insistence on underlining her special solicitude for that country. At the 1969 New Year's Day reception for diplomats, General de Gaulle spoke pointedly of "the special feelings of friendship France has always had for that country." Later in the year, the Pompidou government was to acknowledge, in principle, the sale of ground-to-air missiles to Jordan.

Initially, the Pompidou government gave the impression that it would moderate de Gaulle's rigidity somewhat, and would show itself a little less anti-Israel. This impression was confirmed when, at the UN, the French delegate abstained from voting on anti-Israel resolutions on which, under de Gaulle, he would probably have voted with the USSR and the Arabs.

In an interview, in July, Georges Pompidou gave some indication of a possible modification of the embargo to authorize the delivery of purely defensive armaments. In September, Israel participated in the Paris international fair. One month later, the eventual reimbursement of Israel's payments for undelivered Mirage jets was considered; but Israel was not disposed to accept this solution of the problem. And in Brussels, in October, France voted that Israel receive preferential treatment in her negotiations with the European Common Market.

In November, Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann told the French parliament that the embargo on arms to Israel would not be lifted. In the same month, Henri de Lipkovski, secretary-general for foreign affairs, on a visit to Saudi Arabia, officially declared that General de Gaulle's Middle East policy would not be changed, adding, in a clear allusion to Israel: "We refuse to countenance international relations based on cynicism and violence." General Koenig, speaking for the French-Israeli Solidarity Committee, publicly protested that such an attitude was contrary to hopes that French-Israeli relations would improve under the Pompidou government, and, by its manifest intention, nullified France's role as an arbiter between conflicting parties in the Middle East. A sentence, attributed to de Lipkovski, that "France believes in the justice of the Arab cause," and was later denied.

The end of 1969 was marked by the escape to Israel, formally legal but fundamentally irregular, of five gunboats embargoed by the French government. This incident created new tension between France and Israel, and led to the recall, at the demand of the French government, of Admiral Mordecai Limon, the Israeli naval attaché in Paris and head of the Israeli purchasing mission in Europe. Also, in December, PSU broke off relations with the Israeli Mapam, with which it had previously had fraternal ties, accusing it of complicity with the intransigent Israeli nationalism of General Moshe Dayan.

Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism

It was difficult to distinguish between traditional antisemitism and the virulent and aggressive anti-Zionism of the Leftists. The latter constantly denied being antisemitic but, sometimes in spite of themselves, they necessarily introduced anti-Jewish themes into their propaganda. Thus in Lyons in October 1969, some anti-Israel propaganda of Iraqi origin that was outright anti-Jewish in character, was distributed by CGT, the pro-Communist trade union organization. Protests from LICA (International League against Antisemitism) brought no disavowal from the Communist leadership.

In November 1969 a gang of Jewish students broke into a university building in the Latin Quarter of Paris and violently broke up a meeting of Leftist students who came to see an anti-Israel Arab film. None of the organized Zionist youth groups assumed responsibility for this raid, and all disavowed it.

A resolution adopted by the Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne (Organization of Jewish-Christian Friendship) in November vigorously opposed the neo-antisemitism of the anti-Zionists, and specifically condemned *Témoignage Chrétien* (Christian Testimony), a group basically engaged in pro-Arab, anti-Israel activity.

THE ORLEANS RUMOR

At the beginning of May a report spread in Orleans, some 60 miles from Paris, that several women disappeared and that six Jewish merchants drugged them or gave them injections in their fitting-rooms, smuggled them out through cellars, and sent them into prostitution abroad. The rumor grew until, by the end of the month, it took on a somewhat menacing character for the "guilty ones." Several of them saw their stores deserted and felt themselves engulfed by a climate of madness. They thought it necessary to alert the police. In reality, nothing happened. No women disappeared in Orleans. The entire story was concocted by word of mouth. It was possible to spread and blow up the maddest, most grotesque, most infamous rumor and to create such hysteria in the best-balanced city, often chosen by pollsters as representative of the most typical of French opinion.

In the present case, there was no basis for prosecution, or even for a formal complaint because of the complete anonymity, and, at the same time, the large number of the spreaders of this sinister and stupid rumor. There were no newspaper articles, no leaflets, no posters, no inscriptions on walls. Everything was a matter of whispers passed on and inflated by housewives, men about town, schoolchildren, and people in the street. Silent groups of idlers stood in front of the shops of the accused Jewish merchants, but there were no demonstrations. This surrealistic and medieval atmosphere coincided with the election campaign. In fear of shocking the public, the police, the municipal authorities, and the press at first maintained silence

about the whole affair. Orleans was a Gaullist city. The Left, especially the Communists, attempted to exploit the situation in a classical anti-fascist campaign intended to arouse the fears of the voters. But there was not the slightest evidence of fascism. At a meeting of the extreme right in Orleans during this period, the agitator Pierre Sidos made no reference whatsoever to Jews in his address. It seemed to be a case of a collective psychosis which developed spontaneously on the basis of age-old anti-Jewish prejudices. And it was precisely this spontaneity which made it so disquieting.

The Jewish community and the organizations against racism—the Communist-influenced MRAP (Movement against Racism and Antisemitism and for Peace) and the politically neutral LICA—made representations and published protests. The municipal police issued a communiqué stating that no women or young girls disappeared in the city. Rumor then accused the police and the municipal authorities of collusion with the perverse Jewish merchants. An investigation of the origin of the whole affair traced it back to stories, published in various magazines in France and abroad at various times, describing how young women were kidnapped for the white slave trade, but without any mention of Jews. The “Orleans rumor” gradually faded away and died out by itself as the summer vacation approached. Its last echoes—still whispered—were insinuations that the affair was started by the Jewish merchants themselves in order to compromise morally their Christian competitors. The sociologist Edgar Morin discussed the affair in his very interesting book *La Rumeur d'Orléans* (Editions du Seuil).

After the retirement of General de Gaulle in April, Nouveau Régime, a small group of Left-wing Gaullists, published in its organ an article saying that the Jews of France, acting on behalf of Zionism, were responsible for the defeat of the referendum. But the major Gaullist organizations immediately disavowed the perpetrators and expelled them from the Gaullist organization Gauche-Vième République (Left-Fifth Republic).

A theological book with anti-Jewish tendencies, *Judaïsme et Christianisme* (“Judaism and Christianity”), by Denise Judant, a woman converted from Judaism, was refused the *imprimatur* by the Catholic hierarchy.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Communal, Educational, and Social Activity

During 1969 some new Jewish refugees arrived in France, both from Eastern Europe, especially Poland and Czechoslovakia, and from North Africa, Morocco and, above all, Tunisia. They were relatively few in number, since the massive departures had taken place in previous years, and not all of them made themselves known to the Jewish community organizations. They nevertheless represented an additional responsibility for the welfare services. In addition to refugees, some 1,500 children of needy

Jewish families were regularly aided by the organizations affiliated with the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU; United Jewish Philanthropic Fund).

In 1969 there were 61 functioning community centers in France. Three were just opened in Clermont-Ferrand, Montpellier, and Amiens; the last combined a community center and synagogue.

FSJU set up a secretariat-general of Jewish clubs and cultural groups to supervise the cultural activities of various associations whose approximately 1,000 members remained outside the community centers because of their social status. (The centers were frequented mainly by the lower classes.) For the most part, these groups were organized on a professional basis: technicians, physicians, teachers, etc.

There were, in 1969, eight Jewish primary and secondary schools, with an enrollment of about 2,500 students. There was a new Orthodox lycée, the Torah-Emeth, in Sarcelles, a Paris suburb with some 4,500 Jews. Also, about 3,500 students, not all Jewish, studied modern Hebrew in *ulpanim*, in Paris and the provinces. A school for staffs of Jewish vacation camps trained some 200 students. These camps had a total enrollment of 12,000 children. Some 400 students attended courses conducted by the Centre Universitaire d'Études Juives (CUEJ; University Center of Jewish Studies). "Days of Israeli Science" took place November 12-14, under the cultural agreement between France and Israel. On those days, Israeli university professors lectured at the Collège de France, University of Paris, faculty of science, and Pasteur Institute.

An information service on Israel and the problem of the Middle East was set up under the auspices of the FSJU, with the cooperation of other groups. It sought to counteract the Arab propaganda which strongly influenced non-Jewish as well as Jewish high-school and university students by arranging informative lectures on various aspects of the Israel and Middle East situation. Information forums of this type were held in Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, and Grenoble.

AUJ (United Jewish Appeal, collecting funds for Israel) had 37,000 contributors in 1969. It received 33 million francs, an increase of 24 per cent over 1968. AUJ was composed of 150 committees, with 1,500 volunteer workers.

Aliyah

French *aliyah*, which began to get under way after the six-day war, continued in 1969. It involved about 6,000 mostly young persons, including students and recent university graduates. But there were also many proletarians of North African origin among them.

Students

Disturbed by the progress of Leftist anti-Israeli propaganda and ideology even among Jewish students, the Union des Étudiants Juifs (UEJ; Union

of Jewish Students) decided to bar from membership those not recognizing Israel's right to exist as an independent state. This was a defensive reaction against infiltration by elements favorable to Arab nationalism. Another reaction to anti-Israel Leftism and the general Leftist tendency which strongly affected Jewish students, including Zionists, was the establishment of a group of dissidents from UEJ. This group, calling itself the Front des Étudiants Juifs, was politically closest to the Herut party in Israel.

A conference of French Jewish students on "Jewish Youth, Israel, and the Revolution" was held from October 30 to November 2 at Strasbourg, under the auspices of the World Jewish Congress and the Jewish Agency.

Religion

A new regional consistory was set up for the area Toulouse-Pyrenees. Several new synagogues were established in the Paris area, as well as in the provinces. The 125th anniversary of the synagogue of Colmar was marked by a solemn ceremony in which France's Grand Rabbi Jacob Kaplan took part.

In October Strasbourg's Grand Rabbi Abraham Deutsch retired, leaving the post vacant. The city's Sephardi rabbi emigrated to Israel. Jean Morali, Grand Rabbi of Nancy, took over the grand rabbinate of Nice, which had been vacant for several years.

A large number of works on Israel were published in Paris in 1969, most of them controversial and more or less anti-Israel in tone. *Le sionisme contre Israël* ("Zionism against Israel"; Editions Maspero) by Nathan Weinstock, an old member of Hashomer Hatzair, was a dull Trotskyist thesis on Israel and Zionism. *Pour les Fedayin* ("For the Fedayin"; Editions de Minuit) by Jacques Vergès, a lawyer who was often the defense attorney for members of the Algerian National Liberation Front at the time of the Algerian war, firmly supported the Arab terrorists and glorified their exploits. The book's preface, written by Jerome Lindon, its publisher and a leading Paris Jewish personality who, until recently, was a Zionist sympathizer, was equally favorable to al-Fatah. *Israël sans Sionisme* ("Israel without Zionism"; Editions du Seuil) by the Israeli Deputy Uri Avnery was a plea for the "de-Zionization" of Israel. In *Isaac et Ishmaël* ("Isaac and Ismael"; Editions Privat, Toulouse), Eliane Amado-Levy-Valensi attempted a psychoanalytical explanation of Arab hostility to Israel.

Among new French novels, Albert Cohen's *Les Valeureux* ("The Brave"; Editions Gallimard) appeared as a sequel to *Belle du Seigneur* ("Beauty of the Lord") and added to the renown of this great Jewish writer, too long unrecognized. *La Dispersion* ("The Dispersion"; Mercure de France) by Serge Doubrovsky revealed a very original avant-garde writer. The book was an evocation of a Jewish childhood in Paris during the occupation. Lucien Elia's *Les ratés de la Diaspora* ("Failures of the Diaspora"; Flam-

marion) offered new enrichment of oriental Jewish inspiration; it was a lively account of the life and vicissitudes of a Jewish family in Syria.

A noteworthy contribution in the field of Jewish scholarship and theology was Henri Sérouya's posthumous *Les étapes de la philosophie Juive* ("The Stages of Jewish Philosophy"; Fasquelle); Sérouya was a historian of Cabbala and Jewish mysticism. Two studies of the thought of the Maharal of Prague, *Dieu parle aux hommes* ("God Speaks to Men") by Theo Dreyfus and *Le Messianisme juif* ("Jewish Messianism") by Benjamin Gross, were published by Editions Kleinsieck. The Prix Narcisse Leven, given annually by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, was awarded in 1969 to Jean Bourdeillette, former French ambassador to Israel, for his book *Pour Israel* ("For Israel"), which appeared in 1968.

Press, Television, Cinema

The semi-monthly *Bulletin de Nos Communautés* of Strasbourg became a weekly, and was now called *Tribune Juive*. In its new form, it functioned as a regular organ of Jewish information and thought, with numerous reports, many letters from readers, and very pertinent political commentaries. It was religiously Orthodox, and at the same time "progressive," with marked sympathy for the ideas of the Left—except with regard to Israel; its editor, Rabbi Jean Grünwald, and the whole editorial staff were Zionists. In a sense, it was a sort of French *Jewish Chronicle*, but with a much smaller circulation than that of the Anglo-Jewish weekly.

The weekly Jewish program on French television, conducted by Rabbi Josy Eisenberg, was on a high level and held the interest of hundreds of thousands of viewers. It made a substantial contribution to the understanding of Judaism among non-Jews. In addition to this program, a major television broadcast in October was dedicated to the Jews of France, and included interviews with French Jews going to Israel to settle. This program had considerable public response.

The growth of interest in Jewish affairs on the part of a sector of the French public, which was related to its interest in, and sympathy for, Israel, more or less ceased, and even declined. Thus a very fine film dealing with the Beilis trial based on Bernard Malamud's novel "The Fixer," proved a complete fiasco in Paris and had to be withdrawn quickly. It must be admitted that episodes from the Jewish past did not arouse the curiosity of a public interested only in what it felt to have immediacy, such as matters concerning Israel or, at certain times, some related to the time of Nazi persecutions. An adaptation of Roger Ikor's *Eaux Mêlées* ("Mixed Waters") on French television in December brought many responses for and against assimilation, from both Jewish and non-Jewish viewers.

Personalia

Isaac Schneersohn, president of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation and founder of the memorial to the unknown Jewish martyr, died in Paris in July, at the age of 90. He was born in Russia and belonged to the family of the Lubavitcher *rebbe*. He settled in France in 1920, and became a businessman. As a refugee in Grenoble during the Nazi occupation of France, he conceived the idea of systematically gathering all documents dealing with the persecution of Jews and their resistance. He and a group of devoted colleagues thus started the archives of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation. In 1952 he began to promote tirelessly the idea of a great memorial to the Jewish martyrs who died in Nazi extermination camps. He succeeded in gaining the support of French President René Coty and the queens of England and Belgium. Four years later the monument, erected in the old Jewish quarter in the heart of Paris, was dedicated. Schneersohn also edited the review of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, *Le Monde Juif*, founded after the liberation.

The sculptor Constant (Joseph Constantinovski), who was known under his pen name Michael Matvéev, died in Paris in September, at the age of 74. Born in Jaffa, then under Turkish rule, Constant spent his youth in Russia and went to Paris to complete his education. As a sculptor in wood, he attained great renown and success, although they were slow in coming. After many showings in Paris, he recently exhibited his work in Israel. He also wrote several successful novels, as well as *Les hommes du 1905 russe* ("The Men of 1905 in Russia"), a book dealing with the Russian revolutionaries of 1905.

ARNOLD MANDEL

Belgium

Political Situation

THE REVIVAL of the language battle between the Flemings and Walloons, the Flemish- and French-speaking Belgians, led to the fall, on February 7, 1968, of the Center-Right coalition government of the Social Christian party (PSC Catholic) and the conservative Party of Liberty and Progress (PLP; former Liberal party). It had been in office since March 1966 under the premiership of Paul Van den Boeynants, a Catholic party leader in Brussels.

Flemish members of the Socialist Christian party, pushed by Flemish extremists, asserted that negotiations to transfer the French-speaking faculties of the Catholic University at Louvain, which is in the Flemish-speaking part of the country, to a town in the French-speaking section several miles away did not progress according to the governmental program.

Conciliation efforts having failed, an election, normally due only in 1969, was called for March 31, 1968. The three traditional parties lost votes: The Social Christians (PSC) retained 69 of their 77 seats, but remained the largest party in the 212-seat chamber. The Socialist party won 59 (a loss of 5), and the Party of Liberty and Progress, 47 (a loss of 1). The Volksunie (AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 455), the Flemish nationalist party, gained 8 seats, bringing to 20 its representatives in parliament. In Wallonia, the "Rassemblement Walon," and, in Brussels, the "Front Démocratique Français" (FDF) gained votes and together obtained 8 seats. The Communist list received 3 per cent of the votes cast, giving them 5 seats.

A list presented by Jean-Pierre Debaudt, a former member of the SS during the Nazi occupation, whose platform advocated the return of the Belgian war criminal Léon Degrelle, convicted to death in absentia and now living in Spain (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 379), was banned a few days before the election.

The progress of parties advocating federalism dividing the country into French- and Flemish-speaking states showed the desire of a large segment of the population for a new political structure in Belgium.

The gains of Flemish nationalists came as no surprise to the Antwerp Jews. Some leaders of the Volksunie were making a special effort to point out that they were not antisemitic, and that they failed to understand the concern of the Jews. However, Jews generally were somewhat suspicious of these friendly statements because Volksunie had in its ranks a number of former Nazi collaborators. The question remained whether the moderate

leaders would be able to restrain the extremist groups which had set up paramilitary units and trained for street fighting. Volksunie favored amnesty for all war criminals in Belgium.

After 132 days of parliamentary crisis, the longest in Belgian history, in which the major parties sought to find a platform on which a new coalition could be formed, a Center-Left government of the Social-Christians and the Socialist party took office. The new premier was Gaston Eyskens (PSC), a bilingual professor of economics at Louvain University and twice before premier. Pierre Harmel remained minister of foreign affairs. The program worked out in negotiations between party leaders greatly extended economic, educational and cultural autonomy of the Flemish and Walloon regions.

In general, the Jews were satisfied with the composition of the new government, since Eyskens, Minister for Scientific Developments Theo Lefèvre, and other ministers often publicly expressed their sympathy for Israel, especially during the community's solidarity campaign in June 1967.

Economic Situation

The years 1968–69 showed a favorable economic development. Exports were up 22 per cent, the national income of the population increased, and unemployment figures were kept within reasonable limits, averaging 50,000. However, the ministry of labor was cautious in the recruitment of more foreign laborers to prevent competition with the local labor market.

Some difficulties arose in Antwerp, the world diamond center. The cheaper labor of India, with its established diamond industries, competed with diamond workers in Antwerp. The result was unemployment among the city's highly qualified and well paid specialists (cutters, cleavers). In recent years, many young Jews who had been attracted by the high wages in the industry lost their jobs and were obliged to look for openings in other fields. Government anti-inflation measures, which restricted bank credits, also caused difficulties in the diamond trade (about 90 per cent of Antwerp's Jews were connected with diamonds, either as merchants or workers).

After the devaluation of the French franc in August 1969, the Belgian franc was thought to be vulnerable, and an increase in the export of capital from Belgium followed. But since the Belgian economy, with its high exports of industrial goods, was sound, the Belgian franc very soon regained its stability.

When the Deutsche Mark (DM) was revalued in October 1969, the Belgian council of ministers discussed the possibility of revaluing the Belgian franc, but finally decided against it.

Neo-Nazism

The 7th conference of the Brussels-based International Union of Former Resistance Fighters (UIRD), which had a membership of more than 500,000 former deportees and underground fighters, was held in that city March 31

to April 8, 1968. It was attended by 70 delegates from 14 countries, among them Peter Burstein, the president of the Association of Victims of Nazism, Emmanuel Brand of Yad Vashem, Samuel Bornstein, president of the War Veterans' Association, and Stefan Granek, a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, all from Israel. Hubert Halin, UIRD general secretary, declared that the gains of Volksunie in Belgium's election gave new impetus to the revival of neo-fascism in other European countries, and asked the union's members to be vigilant.

Roger Katz, president of the former Jewish resistance fighters' organization in Belgium, revealed that an obituary notice in the German neo-Nazi youth publication, *Der neue Aufbau*, indicated that German neo-Nazis were fighting in the ranks of Arab terrorists against Israel. In April 1969 Major General Albert Guerisse, UIRD president, protested that some Belgian papers compared Arab terrorism to World War II resistance movements, which he called an insult to the war victims.

The combined efforts of UIRD and Simon Wiesenthal, head of the Documentation Center of the Association of Jewish Nazi Victims in Vienna, brought about the arrest of Julien Van Doren, a war criminal and founder of the Hitler Youth in Belgium, who had been sentenced to death in absentia in October 1947. He was taken into custody by the Austrian police in October 1968 in Bad Gastein, where he lived under an assumed name. Belgium's request for his extradition was not as yet granted.

On October 27, 1968 some 6,000 persons from all parts of Flanders marched through the streets of Antwerp, demanding amnesty and the reinstatement of civil rights for former Nazi collaborators. There were clashes with counterdemonstrators, members of Belgian patriotic organizations and Jewish youth groups. On the same evening, windows of the Romi Goldmuntz Synagogue and of Jewish shops were broken. The offices of the Zionist organization were watched when threatening letters were received. The Antwerp city council expressed its sympathy to the Jews, and promised to do its utmost to prevent further anti-Jewish action in the city.

In February 1969 protests by patriotic organizations led to the veto by the city council of Stokene, a small locality in West Flanders, of a project submitted by the Vlaamse Militante Orde and the St. Martensfonds, two neo-Nazi movements, for the erection of a "park of honor" as a memorial to a former Flemish SS member who had fallen on the Eastern front in World War II.

Communal Relations

As said before, the reassuring statements by Volksunie leaders in the pre-election period did not allay the doubts of the Jews. In a press interview in May 1969, Georges Mahler, honorary secretary of the Shomre Ha-dat congregation and president of B'nai B'rith in Antwerp, told the Amsterdam weekly publication *Vrij Nederland* and the Jewish weekly *Nieuw Israelitisch*

Weekblad that Flemings were traditional antisemites whose thinking was influenced by the Nazi "Blut and Boden" (blood and soil) theory. The Antwerp Jewish leaders were in complete disagreement with Mahler, and their attacks moved him to explain that he did not speak in the name of any Jewish organization. He also resigned from his communal posts; B'nai B'rith refused to accept his resignation.

The fact of the matter was that the Antwerp city council, headed by Mayor Lode Craybackx, who, in 1964, was condemned for an antisemitic outburst (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 379), and the provincial government under Governor André Kinsbergen, who was of Jewish origin, were now very sympathetic toward the Jewish population, trying their utmost to find satisfactory solutions to Jewish communal problems. Business contracts, such as on the diamond stock exchanges and others, were based on courtesy, understanding, and mutual respect. Non-Jewish personalities, some of them intimate friends of Antwerp Jewish leaders, attended Jewish gatherings.

Christian-Jewish Relations

It was the task of the Sub-commission for Christian-Jewish Relations, established in November 1968 by the Belgian Bishops' Conference and headed by Prime Minister Eyskens and Professor Luc Dequeker of Louvain University, to take action against any form of religious antisemitism in preaching, education, the press, radio, and television. It sought to improve relations between Jews and Christians by giving Catholics an objective knowledge of, and respect for, Judaism and by abstaining from any form of proselytism. Its work resulted in the removal, in May 1969, of anti-Jewish inscriptions on 18th-century windows and tapestries in the St. Michels Cathedral at Brussels.

Protests by Jewish organizations led to the elimination of antisemitic passages and to some text changes in the Flemish television presentation of a puppet play, *Passie van Onze Heer* ("Passion of Our Lord").

Middle East

The hanging of Jews in Iraq in January 1969 called forth strong protests by the Jews of Belgium. In Antwerp, about 4,000 persons walked silently through the main street where the diamond exchanges and all Jewish shops were closed. Many non-Jewish shops joined to express sympathy. At a mass demonstration in Brussels, Henri Simonet, Socialist M.P., and Senator Norbert Hougardy of the Party of Freedom and Progress, joined the crowd of about 6,000. In parliament, Socialist member Victor Larock asked Minister of Foreign Affairs Pierre Harmel to make representations to Iraq to prevent future hangings.

The bombing attack carried out by two Arab youths on the El-Al airline office in Brussels in May 1969, in which two employees were injured, was unanimously condemned by the Belgian press and public. The perpetrators

escaped, but, since then, Jewish communal and Israeli offices, as well as synagogues, were under constant police protection.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The estimated Jewish population of Belgium remained at about 40,000. Some 24,000 Jews lived in Brussels, 13,000 in Antwerp, and the rest were scattered in small towns in the provinces.

Some 250 new immigrants from North African and East European countries came to Belgium in 1968–1969. According to the Service Social Juif in Brussels, 73 of them asked for assistance in 1969. In Antwerp, the Centraal Beheer (Jewish Central Welfare Agency) aided 90 immigrants: 40 in 1968 and 50 in 1969. Some 150 to 200 persons left Belgium to settle in Israel. Another 100 Brussels and Antwerp youngsters went to Israel for one year of study or work in *kibbutzim*; some of them decided to remain there.

In Antwerp, the Jews continued to be concentrated in a few residential districts where Jewish communal life was very active. They were not assimilated Jews, and intermarriage was extremely rare. However, they did have contacts with communities abroad, and often married Jewish boys or girls living in other European cities.

Antwerp Jews were not against the Flemish language. The communal organizations and institutions carried on their correspondence in Flemish. Also, the only Jewish weekly in Belgium, *Belgisch Israelitisch Weekblad*, as well as the two monthly information bulletins of the Centraal Beheer were written in Flemish.

Instruction in the two large Jewish day schools (Yesode Ha-torah, which was Orthodox, with Agudath Israel orientation, had 1,700 students, and the Tahkemoni school, which was traditionalist with Zionist orientation, had 700 students) was in Flemish. But though the children, in consequence, read, wrote, and spoke Flemish, they frequently used French or Yiddish among themselves and with their parents, a fact which drew some criticism from non-Jews.

Since the establishment of a Flemish university in Antwerp in 1966, the number of Jewish students steadily grew, and, in September 1968, they formed their own association. The university put at their disposal rooms for conferences and granted an annual subsidy in an effort to attract Jewish students to studies in the Flemish language.

The situation in Brussels was entirely different. Jews lived all over the city and were assimilated. An estimated 40 per cent of the Jews married outside their faith. This was especially pronounced among students. However, there has been a revival of Jewish consciousness and a decrease in mixed marriages since the six-day war. In this connection the work of the two Israel-oriented youth centers, the traditionalist Centre des Jeunes and the Centre Laïque, were very important.

Community Affairs

The Centrale d'Oeuvres Sociales Juives, the fund-raising agency for the Brussels community, raised \$180,000 in 1968 and \$200,000 in 1969. These funds were allocated to 15 beneficiary agencies, including Le Service Social Juif, the home for the aged, children's vacation camps, and scholarship funds. However, the Brussels and Antwerp communities were hard hit by the decision of the Joint Distribution Committee to drastically cut its 1968-69 allocations and to terminate its relief program for local welfare needs in 1970.

A consultative body to study administration and programs of the Brussels community, established by the Centrale d'Oeuvres in 1967, set up a scheme for recruiting and training young Jewish lay leaders, a new and stimulating project for a European community. The Centrale's director, Arie Goldberg, aroused much interest for this program at a meeting of European community executives in London in May 1969, and the Council of European Community Services submitted it to its member organizations for possible institution in other communities.

The failure of a special fund-raising campaign seriously imperiled the completion of a memorial to the more than 25,000 Jewish martyrs, who had been deported by the Nazis from Belgium, at Anderlecht, a suburb of Brussels. In January 1969 the deeply concerned Jewish community leaders decided to appeal to Premier Eyskens before abandoning the project. Upon Eyskens' advice, the council of ministers voted a grant of \$500,000 for the completion of the memorial.

In Antwerp, the cornerstone of a new community center, the largest in Europe, was laid in September 1968; it was to be completed in May 1970. The construction cost of one million dollars was provided by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and by the Romi Goldmuntz Foundation established by an Antwerp Jewish philanthropist who died in May 1960.

Religious Affairs

Azriel Chaikin, a 38-year-old Polish-born Orthodox rabbi of Copenhagen, Denmark and head of the Scandinavian Orthodox communities, was appointed rabbi of the Orthodox Brussels Congregation Mahazique Ha-dat in September 1968. The post had been vacant for more than a year.

A meeting of the Standing Conference of European Rabbis was held in Brussels, July 14, 1969, under the chairmanship of Sir Israel Brodie, former chief rabbi of the United Kingdom. Topics of discussion were student activities in the various countries, *shehita*, and other religious problems. The chief rabbis of Belgium, West Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Roumania and France attended. Observers from the United States included Rabbi Zev Segal, president of the Rabbinical Council of America, and Rabbi

Samson R. Weiss, executive vice president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

Relations with Israel

In July 1968 Amiel Najjar, for ten years ambassador to Belgium and head of the mission to the European Economic Community (EEC, Common Market), was replaced by Moshe Alon, former Israeli ambassador in Argentina.

A Belgian-Israeli cultural agreement came into force January 21, 1968. It provides for the exchange of professors, research workers and students, and of art exhibits, etc. A mixed commission of four Belgians and four Israelis met annually to work out the year's detailed program. The European office of Histadrut was transferred from London to Brussels in July 1968, with Chanan Lehman of the Israeli office as director. An Israeli tourist office, opened in Brussels in September 1968, organized lectures throughout the country.

After a three-year pause in negotiations regarding Israel's application for association with the Common Market (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 324), the Belgian council of ministers, in October 1969, authorized the resumption of discussions with Israel for a new preferential customs agreement, but not for Common Market association. Talks were opened primarily because negotiations were going on simultaneously between EEC and the United Arab Republic and Lebanon. Still, Israel expressed satisfaction that at least a new step forward was made. On November 14, 1969 a new list of Israeli manufactured goods and agricultural products (grapefruits, oranges), for which lowered tariffs were expected, was submitted to the commission.

Personalia

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Diamond Club in Antwerp, high Belgian awards were given to prominent Jewish diamond dealers, who were also active in Antwerp Jewish life. Among them were Nathan Ferstenberg, vice president of the Central Jewish Welfare Board, who was made *Officier de l'Ordre de Leopold*; Mayer Nutkewitz, vice president, and Osias Rosshandler, treasurer of the Central Jewish Welfare Board, who were made *Chevaliers de l'Ordre de Leopold II*.

The Jewish communities in Brussels and Antwerp mourned the death of several prominent community leaders: Isaac Frejlich, originally from Cracow, president of the Congregation Machsiké Hadass and of the School Jesoda Hatora, passed away after a long sickness in Antwerp in March 1968 at the age of 77; Phil Hecht, banker and stock exchange broker and founder of B'nai B'rith in Antwerp, died in Antwerp in June 1968, at the age of 69; Abram Domb, active resistance fighter in Belgium in World War II, president of the Keren Kayyemet le Yisrael in Brussels, member of the executive of the Belgian section of the Jewish World Congress, first

vice president of the association of former Belgian Resistance fighters, died in Brussels in August 1968, at the age of 63; Jechanon Wolf Holzer, vice president of the Jewish Central Welfare Organization and president of the Home of the Aged Commission, passed away in Antwerp, in January 1969 at the age of 72; Raymond Moos, a commander in charge of the Belgian forces in Great Britain in World War II and, since 1946, honorary secretary on the board of directors of the Brussels Jewish community, died in Brussels in February 1969, at the age of 67; Leopold Noudel, secretary of B'nai B'rith, board member of Service Social Juif and Centrale d'Oeuvres Sociales, died in Brussels in May 1969, at the age of 62; Jules Kare, treasurer of the B'nai B'rith in Antwerp, board member of the Antwerp section of the Friends of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and major in the Headquarters of the Allied Forces in World War II, died in Antwerp in June 1969, at the age of 65.

HERBERT KELLNER

Italy

THE MOOD AMONG Italian Jews in 1969 was one of general malaise, precipitated by a political situation that was more confused and unstable than any in recent years.

Political leaders had been confident that the last general elections, in May 1968, would create stability and permit the development of a long-range organic, Center-Left inspired program during the ensuing five-year term of the parliament. However, by the end of 1969, little more than a year and a half later, Italy had already had three short-lived governments. The interim government of Christian Democrat Giovanni Leone, lasting from the elections to the end of 1968 (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 350), was followed by a Center-Left coalition that survived from January to July 1969, and was, in turn, followed by a one-party Christian-Democrat (the majority group within the coalition) regime, formed by exponents of the numerous, contradictory trends in the party. And this government managed to remain in power only because the other three parties of the Center-Left exercised parliamentary abstention.

The July crisis was provoked by a split of the Italian Socialist party (PSI), the major partner in the coalition government, into its two original components—the Social Democrats and the Socialists. After months of semiparalysis, both in the party itself and in the government, the final break was brought about by bitter dissension between former Social Democrats and Socialists over relations with the Communist party. In some cities, the slender majority of former Socialists in the PSI leadership practically guaranteed their joining with the Communists (PCI) in municipal councils. As a result, the former Social Democrats, who could not tolerate such a situation, resumed independent action.

In the 1968 elections, PCI received almost 27 per cent of the vote, at the expense of the Socialists (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 349). PCI has been trying for some time to enter the government, a goal reemphasized at the February party congress and by its two principal spokesmen, Luigi Longo and Giorgio Amendola. Communist party governing bodies took one step in this direction by decisively breaking with a policy espoused by four people in the hierarchy, who took Maoist positions, and even published an independent magazine, *Il Manifesto*, to express their views. The Central Committee expelled the four rebels from the party when they refused the leadership's request, and a subsequent order, to cease publication and submit to "self-criticism," and denounced the party's "reformism" to boot.

The Christian Democrats too, were torn by rivalries. Mariano Rumor,

Emilio Colombo, Flaminio Piccoli, Aldo Moro, and Arnaldo Forlani were competing for power within the party; Amintore Fanfani, Moro, Colombo and Rumor were vying for the presidency after 1971. In 1969 alone, there were three changes in the key post of party secretary: Rumor, Piccoli, and Forlani.

The permanent political crisis was fully reflected in Italy's social and political life. Bloody confrontations with the police marked wage disputes in such agricultural sections as Avola in Sicily, in old industrial centers like Milan, and in newly industrialized areas like Battipaglia near Naples, where a government-subsidized industrial complex, the Alfa Sud, was being built. The country very often was paralyzed by strikes in factories, public utilities, such as railroads and postal system, and in other, privately-owned services.

The terms of several important offices expired, but municipal and regional elections had to be postponed from fall 1969 to spring 1970. Parliamentary discussion of significant problems was delayed, especially of the sorely-needed basic university reforms and a bill introducing limited divorce (*piccolo divorzio*; AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 468). The Christian Democrats joined right-wing parties outside the coalition in opposing the latter, but, this time, the Liberal party of Italy, usually aligned with the right, joined the secular forces in supporting it. At the end of November it was finally approved by the Chamber of Deputies, and now awaited passage by the Senate.

The minority government, led by Premier Rumor, was by its very nature and self-definition, temporary. The probability was that it would last until the beginning of 1970, when a new political grouping would have to emerge, either from the local and regional elections or, as expected, directly from a new general election before the reopening of parliament.

Foreign Minister Aldo Moro's ambition was to become the leader of the left-wing Christian Democrats. Thus, while foreign policy remained oriented toward a unified Europe and participation in NATO, renewed emphasis was put on establishing ties with the Communist world. Moro and President Giuseppe Saragat visited Yugoslavia in October, and there were proposals that Italy recognize the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic.

The year 1969 ended in tragedy, in an atmosphere of gloom, fear, and uncertainty. On December 12 an explosive device detonated in a Milan bank, leaving 16 dead and at least 100 wounded. At about the same time, explosions occurred in other parts of the city, as well as in front of the Altare della Patria in Rome. Early investigations failed to yield the slightest sign of who, or what organizations, perpetrated the crime in Milan; only later, after mass arrests of members of leftist and rightist organizations, did the police arrest several youths who belonged to anarchist groups.

The public was horrified by the bank bombing, but also deeply worried

about its immediate social and political consequences. Mostly, people felt they were at the mercy of some mysterious group that wanted, at any cost, to undermine public confidence in existing institutions, and thus pave the way for a radical change in the regime. And, indeed, the continuing crisis of Italian society, shaken by mass strikes and led by a weak minority government, did not dispel their fears.

Catholic Church

As part of the church's general liturgical reform specifically ordered by the Ecumenical Council, a papal decision in May virtually eliminated the cult of saints for whom there was no chronology or sufficiently documented historical testimony on their good works, and reduced the celebration of many other saints to purely local festivities. In all, about 200 church figures were affected.

Baptismal and marriage rites were also being revised; the accent in marriage was placed on equality of men and women in conjugal relations.

In October, an Episcopal synod in Rome discussed ways to broaden the prerogatives of bishops in national churches. The synod also wanted collegiality and co-responsibility in church management. One group of bishops demanded a broader base for papal elections as well. At the same time, also in Rome, there was a conference of priests from several countries, whose essential purpose was to oppose the centralism and bureaucracy of Rome.

Fitting into this framework of new Catholic developments was the sometime acrimonious dispute between Father Enzo Mazzi, the "red priest" of the Isolotto parish in a Florentine working-class district, and the city's Archbishop, Ermenegildo Cardinal Florit (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 352). One of the major issues in the dispute between Mazzi and the Catholic hierarchy has been the question of the Church's function in modern society, the contrast between its mission to the poor and disinherited, on the one hand, and the splendor, formalism, and bureaucracy governing its policy, on the other. After Mazzi was removed from his post as parish priest, the Cardinal took the trouble to go to the Isolotto church to say mass, but most of the faithful gathered across the street in the square where Mazzi conducted a service. The Isolotto community was the one that compiled and published a revised edition of the catechism.

Opinion on Pope Paul's trip to Uganda was divided: some people praised his courageous intentions, others said that the head of the Catholic Church should have gone to Biafra instead.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Altogether there were about 34,000 Jews in Italy in 1969, with 13,000 living in Rome, the country's largest Jewish community. To these must be added several hundred persons who were not registered with the communities, and about 2,000 Libyan refugees who immigrated after the June 1967 war (another 1,000 had already left Italy for Israel and other countries). Only the Rome community remained demographically vital. Elsewhere in Italy, deaths among Jews almost always exceeded births. For example, the growth of the Milan community (about 9,000) was the result of in-migration and, particularly of immigration. In Turin, Florence, Trieste, Venice, and Leghorn the population (ranging from 600 to 1,800 each) was slowly decreasing. The other small communities, where the remaining Jews were mostly old, showed a dramatic numerical, and therefore organizational and cultural, decline.

Recent studies presented at the fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies, held in Jerusalem in August, indicated somewhat of a decline in the social and professional mobility of Jews in Italy during the past two generations. Demographic characteristics and immigration made for the continued preponderance of merchants among Jews, especially in Rome and among immigrants. Nevertheless Jews were heavily represented in the most highly qualified liberal professions, industry, and management. But precisely these people were most likely to leave the ranks of the Jewish community, because of intermarriage, disaffection, or the belief that their Jewish origin was irrelevant or, indeed, for political reasons (as the Middle East crisis).

Communal Activities

This situation accounted in large measure for the failure of the communities and the Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane to develop a firm basis and an active, well-programmed Jewish life. On the whole, the efforts of Jewish organizations were limited to the administration of their institutions, such as Jewish schools, and to reactions to events and circumstances imposed from without. Among the latter were coordinated demonstrations in January, protesting the hanging of Jews in Iraq. In almost every community Jews conducted silent demonstrations culminating in a night vigil in front of the Iraqi Embassy in Rome. The following day, Jewish shops throughout the city remained closed until noon. However, another wave of executions during the summer aroused nowhere near the same reaction because most Jews were away on vacation. Even a press release from the Unione, expressing indignation and contempt for the assassins, found only a very faint echo.

The Unione also took an interest in the fate of about 300 Jews who were in Libya at the time its king was overthrown by a revolutionary council in September, and of whom there suddenly was no news. (Although practically

all Libyan Jews had left the country, many still had powerful economic interests there, and refugees in Italy made more or less frequent visits). Through competent authorities, the Unione received rather reassuring information about their fate, i.e., that only two Jews were arrested, and that they were released within a few days.

Locally, on April 3, the Casale Monferrato synagogue in Piedmont, once the seat of an important Jewish community, was reopened with an official ceremony. The artistic value of this historic building prompted the authorities to complete the necessary restorations. In Leghorn, on January 26, the Sephardi synagogue, which had been transplanted there from Ferrara, was officially opened. It had been severely damaged by the Nazis and fascists.

Youth

In the course of time, assimilation, international political events (especially in the Middle East), and the usual problems of young people and university students have produced critical attrition in the Jewish youth organizations.

For the Federazione Giovanile Ebraica d'Italia (FGEI; Federation of Jewish Youth in Italy), the largest youth group in the country, 1969 was a very difficult year. From the very outset it had to face an unprecedented crisis. Having failed to settle some strong disagreements about organizational structure at its 1968 congress, FGEI was forced to call a special meeting. The organization was still torn by ideological dissensions created by the six-day war, and especially by internal disagreement over how closely to identify itself with Israeli government policies for achieving peace in the Middle East. Indeed, several times since the war, these problems brought the organization almost to the breaking point. Some youth centers had become completely independent—among them the important Kadimah in Rome, which now included more Libyan refugees and young workers than university students who at first had been a clear majority. Other groups no longer sufficiently cooperated with the central organization, with the result that even such basic activities as attendance at the FGEI's traditional summer camp have suffered serious decline.

The special congress in April, fully aware of these problems, steered clear of any kind of maximalism, once again proposing a general reorganization and plans for reaching youths who stood aloof from Jewish activity. The congress also criticized the inability of the Unione to reach the Jewish public, the inadequate preparation of rabbis, and the poor quality of education at Italy's rabbinical seminaries. As the key to restoring peace in the Middle East, the FGEI congress advocated the establishment of two independent national states, one Israeli and the other Palestinian. At the same time, it condemned the anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism of the extreme Left (the Communist Party and PSIUP, Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity), which had, in fact, become allied with right-wing antisemites.

In FGEI and in other youth groups, such as Hashomer Hatzair and Bnei

Akiva, there was a renewed impetus toward *aliyah*. On the other hand the Associazione Giovanile Ebraica Milanese (AGEM), the fanatically pro-Israel oriented Milan splinter group (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 355-56), broke up after barely two years of existence. In early November FGEI, Bnei Akiva, and Hashomer Hatzair held a meeting at Leghorn to plan concerted action among Jewish youth in light of the tensions created by the Middle East crisis. The three groups decided to work toward more intensive collaboration on the local level.

Continuing, perhaps completing, its organizational decline, FGEI emerged from its very poorly attended 22nd Congress in December as a "federation of movements," all ideologically autonomous. By renouncing its characteristic political-cultural stand, it also brought to power a new leadership of precisely some of those elements which had split from the Federation to form AGEM.

A group that distinguished itself in 1969 was the Maccabee Sports Association which, despite financial difficulties, managed to send a large representative team of 54 athletes and their aides to Israel for the Maccabiah. (Italian sports authorities gave them significant help.) The team won three gold, four silver, and three bronze medals and took tenth place in the final scoring for the entire competition.

Middle East Crisis

The Italian government continued to maintain its position of substantial impartiality between the contending parties, and continued to encourage a solution within the United Nations framework. As representative of United States interests in Syria, the government played a part in the liberation of two Israeli passengers on the TWA jet hijacked to Damascus (p. 500). However, the support of the Arabs' struggle, and particularly the Palestinian terrorist organizations, by most of the Left throughout the world, made for an especially disquieting situation in Italy. For here the Communist party alone had 27 per cent of the national vote and, together with PSIUP votes, reached 30 per cent. Many meetings on the Middle East problem, either initiated by these two parties or made possible through their support, took place in 1969: To mention only the most important, in Rome on May 28, in Palermo on November 22 and 23, were delegates from "progressive" Arab countries and al-Fatah participated in the "Mediterranean Conference, '70." Conferences of this type, some more and some less, served as rehearsal sessions for anti-Israel and anti-Zionist oratory. Not rarely, they featured Communists of Jewish origin, who were the most relentless opponents of Israel and Zionism. The organizers of one of very many such meetings in Rome, on November 30, wanted to form a cortège to march through the heavily Jewish-populated section surrounding the Jewish quarter. The Jewish community leadership was deeply divided over whether the proper response to this provocation was violence or prudence;

but, in the end, the procession did not take place. A very important workers' protest demonstration was going on at the same time, and the authorities demanded that the anti-Israelis not stir up further trouble.

There was a possibility that the PCI and PSIUP anti-Israel campaign, and the Arab propaganda they supported, could become the source of renewed antisemitism in Italy. Their vast following and their system of communications—newspapers, magazines, manifestos, a party apparatus, local political groups, and so on—could be used to polarize significant numbers of people. More and more, their continuous, coarse attacks against Israel and Zionism were designed to arouse visceral reaction affecting even some Jews. Because the Italian masses were generally not too well informed about, or critical of, the Middle East situation, a spreading anti-Zionist mentality could in time be translated into an antisemitic mentality by simply equating the Jew, Israel, and Zionism to imperialism. Symptoms of this development have already appeared: graffiti on walls in several cities, threatening letters, and so on.

On the whole, then, support of Israel's rights has noticeably weakened, even in the more independent press. (Basically, this is because an occupier awakens unpleasant associations among Italians, and can therefore never be *simpatico*.) It can be said that Italian Jews were fully aware of the oppressive atmosphere and the general malaise, and sometimes overreacted to factual reality. During Rosh Ha-shanah and Yom Kippur, for example, young Jews set up a tight security control at the entrance to the synagogue. There was a growing inner conflict in many Jews who, because they did not join the *aliyah* in time, now sought to compensate with community and pro-Israel activity.

Rightist Antisemitism

There were episodes of "old-time" antisemitism in 1969. To give but a sampling: On April 28 the Jewish cemetery in Ferrara was desecrated; on September 2 a Molotov cocktail was thrown at the gate of the Parma synagogue; on September 30 small Arab propaganda pieces were found in the mailbox of the Trieste community; in Siena, near the Jewish community center, unknown persons set fire to a floral wreath honoring Jews deported to concentration camps. However, in contrast to the leftist political antisemitism, this type of rightist antisemitism, though a matter of concern for its eventual effects on person and property, seemed to serve no precise political purpose that could attract a real following today.

Apart from these episodes of antisemitic violence, there were other fascist or antisemitic throwbacks. Luigi Cozzi, the priest of a small country parish near Udine, wrote *The Star, the Cross, the Swastika*, a condensation of all the usual anti-Jewish accusations, including his final judgment that the Jews themselves bore the real responsibility for Nazism and the extermination of the Jews. Community leaders felt that Italy's penal code (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 339) made the success of legal action against this kind of

publication largely impossible and that such action therefore would serve only to give publicity to antisemitic authors who could not hope to get it otherwise. A new edition of *Mein Kampf* was issued by the neo-fascist antisemitic sheet, *La Sentinella d'Italia* ("The Italian Sentinel"), and printed in San Marino. Another antisemitic book was *L'ebreo nero* ("The Black Jew") by D. Sanzo (Trevi).

On April 30 Fabrizio Fabbrini, a law professor at Florence University and Catholic conscientious objector, was given a suspended two-month jail sentence by a lower appeals court for disturbing a Catholic religious service. He had been arrested in April 1968 for interrupting the sermon of Riziero Troini, a well-known antisemitic Rome parish priest who repeated the canard of collective Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus. He was acquitted by a magistrate's court in September. Fabbrini was retried when the public prosecutor appealed the case, and the court reversed the decision. Fabbrini subsequently appealed the sentence. The priest's statement, and especially his motive for making it, evoked unfavorable comment even among members of the Catholic hierarchy, for whom the Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Michele Pellegrino became the spokesmen. It should be remembered that the Italian penal code provides greater protection for the Catholic faith than for others, and makes disturbance of a Catholic religious function a criminal offense (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 339).

The Italian television broadcast several installments of *The Acts of the Apostles*, a series on the Gospels directed by Roberto Rossellini. The episodes were presented in an ambiguous, unpleasant form that did nothing to refute old accusations against the Jews. A protest by the Unione della Comunità had its effect: RAI-TV's (Italian radio-television) president promised the Unione president that, in future, all programs dealing with Jews would first be submitted for rabbinical approval.

Jewish Education

The structure of Jewish education remained unchanged in the 1968-69 school year. There were 511 children attending kindergarten in eight cities; 1,915 were enrolled in 8-year primary programs (two cities offered only five-year schools and four other communities had schools up to the eighth grade), and 227 pupils attended intermediate classes in Milan. Counting in 169 pupils in Talmud Torahs, and 12 students of the Collegio Rabbinico, attendance at Jewish community schools totaled 2,834. Several hundred other children attended classes in ORT vocational schools.

Publications and Culture

Developments in the community affected the Italian Jewish press in 1969. One of the two newest periodicals, *Atzma'ut* ("Independence"), issued by the Milan splinter youth group, ceased publication soon after its sponsoring group dissolved. The other, *Quaderni del Medio Oriente* ("Middle

East Notebooks"), published by the Ebrei di Sinistra (Jews on the Left), suspended publication for a number of months, and was issued again in November, when the more pro-Israeli members left the organization. Even *Ha-Tikvah*, the FGEI monthly, did not appear in September and October because of financial difficulties, and came out again in November in reduced size. Other periodicals were issued regularly: *La Rassegna mensile di Israele*, a cultural monthly supported by the Unione, with a circulation of 1,000; *Israel*, a privately published weekly with a circulation of 2,200; *Karnenu*, the organ of Keren Kayyemeth le-Ysrael, a 9,000 circulation bi-monthly, and *Shalom* and *Bollettino della comunità di Milano*, the monthlies of the Rome and Milan communities, respectively, with circulations of about 5,000 each.

Among the books published by Jewish organizations were *Una via verso l'Ebraico* ("A Road to Hebrew Language") by C. A. Viterbo (Federazione Sionistica Italiana) and *Sukkot* by Augusto Segre (Unione della Comunità).

Books by Jewish authors included: *Apocalisse sull' Europa* ("Apocalypse Over Europe") by Gina Formiggini (Izzo); *Ebraismo Sefardita—Storia degli Ebrei di Spagna nel medio evo* ("Sephardi Judaism—The History of the Jews of Spain in the Middle Ages") by Federico Steinhaus (Forni); and *Piu morti, piu spazio: Tempi di Auschwitz* ("The More Dead, the More Room: The Auschwitz Era") by Corrado Saralvo (Baldini and Castaldi; preface by Pietro Nenni).

In the general anti-Zionist atmosphere, the Communist publishing house, Editori Reuniti saw fit to republish *The Jewish Question* by Karl Marx.

Longanesi announced the first critical edition in Italian of Adolph Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, with a preface by Saul Friedlander. After the Union of Italian Jewish Communities interceded with the German embassy (the German government holds publication rights), the publisher let it be known that he was disposed to donate the profits from the sale of the book to Jewish organizations. This proposal was rejected.

Einaudi published in translation Norman Cohn's *Licenza per un genocidio: i protocolli degli anziani di Sion: storia di un falso* ("Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion"). A letter in the official Communist daily *L'Unità*, which had commented favorably on the book, asserted that "a review like this could be bad for the Arabs."

Isaac Bashevis Singer's *La Famiglia Moskat* ("The Family Moskat") (Longanesi) won the Bancarella prize (awarded to the year's best seller); and the anti-fascist Socialist writer Ignazio Silone was awarded the 1969 Jerusalem prize by that city's municipality.

The range of activity of the Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (CDEC, Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation) constantly broadened, especially in making available evidence for the trial of Nazi war criminals and assisting students and researchers working on Nazi-

fascist persecutions, Israel, and the Middle East. For example, CDEC made a crucial contribution to the doctoral dissertation of a young nun, *Ricerche sulla comunità israelitica di Milano dal 1938 al 1945* ("Study of the Milan Jewish Community from 1938 to 1945).

Personalia

Among the Italian Jews who died in 1969 were some who had distinguished themselves either in community life or in other fields: Vittorio Levi-Minzi, vice president of the Trieste community, at Trieste in January; Arturo De Benedetti, with whose death the old community of Nizza Monferrato, in Piedmont, was completely extinguished, at Nizza Monferato in January; Dr. Elio Arieti, honorary president of the Pisa community at Pisa in January; Dr. Ugo Levi, for many years president of the Turin community, at Turin in April, and Giacomo Camerini, former president of the Parma community, at Parma in May. Dr. Mosé Di Segni, former advisor to the Rome community, who had been a volunteer on the Republican side in the Spanish civil war and a physician with the partisans during the anti-Nazi resistance in Italy, died in that city in July. The Trieste community lost its chief rabbi, Dr. Paolo Nissim at Trieste in September. Professor Roberto Menasci, superintendent of city schools, died in Leghorn in September; Attilio Milano, historian of Italian Jewry, and for some years contributor to the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, died in June in Tel Aviv where he lived some years; he remained tied to Italy by his work and family. Among his most noted books, aside from *Storia degli ebrei in Italia* ("History of the Jews in Italy"), were *Il ghetto di Roma* ("The Rome Ghetto") and *Bibliotheca historica italo-judaica* ("The Italian-Jewish History Library").

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