

Western Europe

Great Britain

Domestic Affairs

EVENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN in 1976 and 1977 were dominated by economic developments, both favorable and unfavorable. At the end of the period, the country was in a decidedly optimistic mood, although it was doubtful whether the basic problems of productivity had been solved.

Nineteen seventy-six began promisingly enough with a gradual fall in the minimum lending rate from 11 to 9 per cent. In March, however, events took a turn for the worse. The government's general economic strategy was rejected in Parliament by 28 votes. The lending rate rose from 9 per cent in March to 15 per cent in October. The value of the pound sterling fell from \$2.02 to \$1.70, and did not start to recover until the government announced budget cuts in July and December. These cuts paved the way for a loan from the International Monetary Fund amounting to £2,300 million. The economy was also bolstered by a loan of £1,765 million from the Bank of International Settlements and a loan of £873 million from a number of British, West German, and American banks.

The ruling Labor Party dealt with the early phases of Britain's economic difficulties under the leadership of James Callaghan, who on March 16, 1976 replaced Prime Minister Harold Wilson. Callaghan had to contend with Labor's growing unpopularity. In May 1976, the Conservatives made substantial gains in local government elections; in June and July, the Labor majority was further reduced; in November, Labor lost two additional seats to the Conservatives; in December, the Opposition made more gains. Labor's losses were partially offset when a pact was made with the Liberals in March 1977.

The economic news continued to be mixed. The lending rate, which had reached 14 per cent at the end of December 1976, fell to seven per cent by November 1977. The rate of inflation at the end of 1977 stood at a low 13 per cent. Most importantly, as oil began to flow from wells in the North Sea, Great Britain enjoyed a balance of payments surplus, with reserves reaching a record level of more than \$20,000 million. However, unemployment was rampant (1.5 million people), and there was a rash of strikes.

Overall, in the second half of 1976 and in the first half of 1977, Great Britain's position in the international economy advanced, while the second half of 1977 witnessed a substantial improvement in the standard of living. A sense of well-being came to the fore, and was augmented by the celebration of the Queen's Silver Jubilee. The standing of the Labor Government correspondingly improved.

Intergroup Relations

Despite the introduction in June 1977 of an amended Race Relations Act, which made the fomenting of racial hatred a criminal offense, the extreme right-wing National Front continued to grow. Aided by unemployment and the general frustration engendered by Britain's economic problems, the National Front put forward large numbers of candidates in local government elections and parliamentary by-elections, and sometimes succeeded in beating Liberal candidates for third place. In the May 1977 Greater London Council elections, the National Front contested all but one of 92 seats, and polled 119,000 votes—more than its total in the 1974 parliamentary elections throughout Britain. The National Front won no seats, but pushed the Liberals into fourth place in 32 constituencies.

An Essex University report concluded that the National Front had become a significant factor on the British scene, and was making rapid gains. In May 1977, the Board of Deputies joined Asian and West Indian organizations in a campaign to stem the growth of the National Front.

All the major political parties expressed opposition to racism. In September 1976, the Liberal Party assembly adopted a program of action against increasing racism and fascism in Britain. In October of the same year, the Conservative Party adopted a resolution calling for restrictions on immigration, but stressing that all those entering the country should be treated as equal and welcome members of British society. In December 1977, the Labor Party, in conjunction with the Trade Union Council, announced that it was stepping up a nationwide campaign against racism; its theme was, "The National Front is a Nazi Front." In December, an all-party Joint Committee Against Racism was established by the Board of Deputies and immigrant groups.

Violence at National Front marches in London in April and August 1977 led to the banning of a march planned for Manchester in October. In January 1978, 90 Labor MPs signed a motion calling for the dismissal of a judge who had acquitted former National Front Chairman John Kingsley Read of inciting racial hatred.

Foreign Relations

Great Britain's foreign relations were dominated by a concern over events in Rhodesia. In February 1976, Lord Greenhill, former head of the diplomatic service, flew to Salisbury to determine whether there was any possibility that British influence might help promote a settlement. In September of that year, a conference of Black and white Rhodesian leaders was held in Geneva to discuss the form an

interim government might take. The meeting ended without success. In May 1977, the initiative passed to an Anglo-American consultative group which met with Premier Ian Smith, Black nationalist spokesmen, and the leaders of neighboring African countries. This also produced no immediate results, but had the advantage of involving the United States in British endeavors. Toward the end of 1977, Premier Smith took steps to reach an agreement with moderate Black leaders on majority rule.

Relations with Israel

In June 1976, for the first time, an Israeli head of state (Ephraim Katzir) was entertained by the Queen of England. In December 1977, Great Britain officially welcomed Prime Minister Menachem Begin, thus ending British ostracism of the former Irgun Zvai Leumi leader, while continuing to affirm that she would "sustain Israel on the difficult road to a lasting peace and not support any settlement which jeopardize[d] her existence or security." At the same time, Prime Minister James Callaghan, in an October 1977 address to the Board of Deputies, indicated British support for the establishment of a Palestinian "homeland of some kind," provided it did not present an "unacceptable threat to Israel's security."

In the wake of President Anwar Sadat's peace initiative, Begin asked Callaghan to urge his partners in the European Economic Community to give the Israeli-Egyptian negotiations a chance to succeed without interference. Following his meeting with Begin, Callaghan voiced satisfaction that both Begin and Sadat "recognize the need for a comprehensive settlement." In December 1977, Britain, like the United States, voiced approval of the proposals presented by Prime Minister Begin to President Sadat.

Despite assurances in February 1976 that Britain would not supply the Middle East with arms which might provoke a new Arab-Israeli war or hinder a peace settlement, British Defense Secretary Fred Mulley, in September 1977, signed a £500 million contract designed to strengthen the Saudi Arabian air force. In January 1978, Mulley also signed, with the member countries of the Arab Organization for Industrialization, a "memorandum" calling for the supply of military equipment. The Defense Ministry stated that the new agreement "should help to establish a leading position for Britain's defense industries with the AOI countries and, through them, with the Arab world generally."

A poll commissioned by the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding and published in September 1977, showed that 70 per cent of the population were sympathetic to the Jewish people, but that 43 per cent were opposed to Zionism. In the conflict over Palestine, 29 per cent said their sympathies were mainly with the Israelis, while nine per cent sided with the Palestinians. Seventy-six per cent of those polled felt that the Arabs should agree to recognize Israel. These results confirmed a trend observed by the Institute of Jewish Affairs in a survey of British public opinion polls conducted between the Six-Day War and August 1976.

The study had noted a lessening of sympathy for Israel (from 46 to 36 per cent) and a slight rise in support for the Arabs (from four to seven per cent).

Prime Minister James Callaghan, who had four Jews serving in his cabinet, assured the Labor Friends of Israel in October 1977, that "our country's devotion to Israel transcends governments. And this remains the policy of Her Majesty's Government whatever government may be in office in Israel." Michael Fidler, director of the Conservative Friends of Israel, reacted to Likud's election victory by stating: "Conservatives are naturally gratified that Conservative opinion has proved its electoral validity. However, so far as the Conservative Friends are concerned, their prime objective is friendship with the people and the State of Israel rather than with any political party." Lord Carrington, Conservative peer leader, assured the group, which claimed the support of 110 MPs, that "the next Conservative government will be committed not only to Israel's survival, but also to the achievement of a just and fair solution" of the Arab-Israel conflict. In April 1977, Jeremy Thorpe, principal Liberal Party spokesman on foreign affairs, described the Young Liberals position on the Israel-Arab conflict as "lunatic." The group, at its annual conference, had voiced approval of the United Nations' resolution equating Zionism with racism, and expressed support for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Pro-Palestinian Michael Steed was elected Liberal Party president in October.

In November 1977, the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, while saluting President Sadat's "personal courage" in going to Jerusalem, reiterated its long-held position on the Palestinians, urging the foreign secretary to "establish contact with the PLO leadership and assure them that Britain recognizes and esteems the way in which they have moved . . . towards acceptance of the need for peaceful co-existence between Israelis and Palestinians . . ." Both Zionist and pro-Arab elements in the House of Commons signed a motion welcoming Sadat's visit to Israel and congratulating both Sadat and Begin "for the new hope they have given to the world . . ."

Continual purchases by Middle East investors of British property, including London's Dorchester Hotel, popular venue for Jewish functions, aroused comment throughout the period. Exhibitions on "Palestine" and "Moslem Jerusalem" formed part of a four-month "Festival of Islam" in Spring 1976. In July 1977, Foreign Secretary David Owen opened a new Arab-British Center in London.

Britain gave only belated and reserved approval to the Israeli rescue raid at Entebbe in July 1976. Labor and Conservative members of Parliament, however, introduced motions congratulating the Israeli Government on "brilliantly and bravely confounding an act of air piracy." They also voiced condemnation of Ugandan President Idi Amin "for aiding and arming international terrorists."

In January 1977, Britain signed the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism. This came in the wake of the release of Arab terrorist Abu Daoud by a French court. Nonetheless, in August 1977, a senior British diplomat (James Craig, the British ambassador to Syria) met openly, for the first time, with a PLO

official. The Foreign Office stated, however, that Britain had not changed its policy of refusing to recognize the PLO "until it recognized the right of the State of Israel to exist."

The National Union of Students voted in December 1977 to amend its constitution to permit the suspension of student unions denying democratic rights to individual students. This came at the end of a two-year anti-Jewish campaign conducted by Arab and radical students on university campuses throughout Britain. Motions equating Zionism with racism, or condemning Israel as a racist state, were frequently passed by student unions. Attempts were made to expel Zionist groups from the National Union of Students.

Jewish student responses to this campaign of vilification ranged from attempts to defeat anti-Israel motions to appeals to the courts and the Commission for Racial Equality. In November 1977, the Zionist Federation (ZF) stated: "It is the responsibility of the Jewish community as a whole and the Zionist movement in particular to seek every opportunity to aid the students in their battle, and to ensure that adequate funds and other resources are made available to the Union of Jewish Students." In August, the Zionist Federation, in cooperation with other organizations, had established an Academics for Israel Committee, and in September had sponsored, together with the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, Union of Jewish Students, Board of Deputies, and Britain/Israel Public Affairs Committee, a "Campus Confrontation" conference.

In September 1977, the Israel Embassy in London accused the *Sunday Times* of conducting a "crude, systematic and ugly smear campaign" to isolate Israel in world opinion. This followed a renewal of allegations of torture of Arab detainees in Israeli interrogation centers. A new independent Arab daily, *Al-Arab*, began publication in June 1977.

Arab Boycott

In July 1977, Lord Byers introduced into the House of Lords a Foreign Boycotts Bill which would, if passed, make it illegal to refuse to do business on the basis of a foreign boycott. This action followed a year of protest against the Arab boycott. In February, the Anti-Boycott Coordination Committee of the Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce had called on members of Parliament to urge the Government to take a more "forthright stand in defense of freedom of trade." In March, a new all-party parliamentary group was established to bring maximum pressure on the Foreign Office and the Department of Trade. In May, another campaign was launched demanding government action against the boycott.

Despite these efforts, Secretary of State for Trade Edmund Dell reiterated in Parliament in November that while he deplored the boycott, he had no intention of acting to stop it. He stated: "No figures are available for the effect of the boycott on our trade. We are keeping a close watch on the preparation of the American regulations as regards both their possible extra-territorial impact on the United

Kingdom and their potential effect on United States firms and their trading operations. But I have no present intention of introducing similar legislation."

In July 1977 a branch of the Bank Hapoalim was opened in Manchester. This step was taken as part of an all-out effort by the Israeli Government to close the gap in the trade balance between Israel and Great Britain, by persuading British businessmen to invest in Israel. In October, the UK-Israel Joint Committee, which had been established in 1976 by the British Trade Department and the Israeli Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Tourism, noted an increase in trade between the two countries, and stated that growth prospects were good. The British delegation, however, refused to go beyond the Government's position of deploring the boycott and supplying information on it to British firms, while leaving companies free to act as they wished.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish population of Great Britain was estimated to be 410,000. Leading Jewish population centers were London (280,000), Manchester (35,000), Leeds (18,000), and Glasgow (13,000).

Synagogue marriages declined 24 per cent in 1976, according to information gathered by the Board of Deputies. The 1976 figure of 1,397 was the lowest peacetime total in this century, and showed a faster rate of decline than the national average. Two hundred marriages performed under Reform auspices accounted for 14.5 per cent of the total, while 90 performed under Liberal auspices added up to 6.5 per cent of the whole. Of Orthodox marriages, only the ultra-orthodox sector showed an increase, rising to 97, or six per cent of the 1976 total. Other studies indicated that the ultra-orthodox also had more children than the Anglo-Jewish norm (1.7 per family).

Burials and cremations under Jewish auspices, numbering 5,068 in 1976, remained constant. One trend emerging from a comparison of marriage and death rates was the decline of provincial communities. Young people (those marrying) were likely to be found in London, where it was estimated two-thirds of Anglo-Jewry lived.

Communal Activities

An anonymous gift of £500,000 to the Central Council of Jewish Social Services financed the purchase of a North-West London Day Center slated to serve an eventual 250 Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) and Blind Society clients daily. Although JWB was forced to close its Samuel Lewis convalescent home in April 1976, because of rising costs, it opened a new North London residential home in August. This

marked the end of a ten-year expansion program involving the expenditure of £14.5 million on 21 facilities. In April 1977, plans were announced for the first home to be administered by JWB for mentally-handicapped adults.

In December 1976, Prince Charles opened a £1.5 million extension to Nightingale House in Wandsworth, London, making the home, housing nearly 400 elderly Jews, the largest of its kind in the United Kingdom. In December 1977, the Duke of Edinburgh opened Edinburgh House, a new home for the aged, in Wembley, Middlesex, under Sephardic auspices.

In July 1976, Lord Hirshfield reported the establishment of the Norwood Trust to provide aid to Jewish children overseas. In May 1977, a new fund-raising organization, Norwood Aid, Ltd., was formed to support the Norwood Foundation.

In January 1976, Raymond Goldwater, chairman of the Religious Advisory Committee of Anglo-Jewish Youth, stated that aspects of the current Anglo-Jewish youth scene were "terrifying." He pointed out that only eight of the 78 full-time youth workers in the Jewish community were both professionally qualified and Jewishly knowledgeable; that 64 per cent had been in their present positions for less than two years; and that one in five vacant youth leadership positions could not be filled for lack of suitable candidates. Both in London and the provinces, no more than a quarter of Jewish youngsters were associated with any kind of Jewish or Zionist youth activity, Goldwater noted. In the wake of his comments, plans were announced for several new London youth centers.

Zionism

The final report of the Sacher committee of inquiry into the reorganization of Jewish Agency activities in Britain was published in June 1976. It described the existence of three separate Zionist educational bodies (the Department for Education and Culture, the Department for Torah Education and Culture, and the Youth and Education Department of the Jewish National Fund) as "unnecessary and perhaps wasteful," and called for the gradual replacement of Israelis by local teachers in Jewish schools.

Eric Moonman's report to the first biennial Zionist Federation meeting in July 1976 included a call for a new drive to widen and strengthen the Zionist movement within the community. Discussions were held with Reform synagogues and the Maccabi Association about affiliation with the Federation, and the Mizrahi Federation was offered "association" status. Cooperation also improved between ZF and the Joint Israel Appeal (JIA).

ZF Secretary Aubrey Litt described the year as one of "consolidation, development and expansion." He indicated that ZF was beginning to attract greater numbers of young people and intellectuals. In September, JIA launched an all-out effort to attract more workers.

In December 1977, agreement was reached in the long-standing negotiations over the distribution of slots to the Zionist Congress, which was to be held in February

1978. This eliminated the need for elections, which would have cost an estimated £100,000. Under the agreement, Herut increased its representation by 100 per cent. In addition, four parties—United Zionists, Poale Zion, Herut and Mizrachi—undertook to have students included in their delegations.

A highly successful solidarity gathering in support of Israel was held in March 1976. The gathering was sponsored jointly by the Board of Deputies, ZF, and JIA.

In December 1977, the weekly *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, official organ of ZF, ceased publication. It was to be replaced by a new monthly in May 1978.

There was a decline in *aliyah* from 511 people in 1975 to 352 people in 1976. This led to the transfer of responsibility for *aliyah* promotion from the Jewish Agency to ZF. In May 1976, the Jewish Agency Aliyah Department in London embarked on a study aimed at discovering why many would-be candidates either postponed or abandoned their intention to settle in Israel. At the same time, ZF stepped up its campaign by appointing a full-time officer whose sole responsibility was encouraging *aliyah*. In September 1976, ZF's national executive council decided to mount an *aliyah* promotion drive with the participation of an Israeli "flying emissary." In September 1977, Shalom Solly was appointed executive director of a newly-created National Aliyah and Volunteers Council. Solly saw the committee as working to coordinate all *aliyah* promotion in Great Britain.

Soviet Jewry

The plight of Soviet Jewry continued to be of great concern to British Jews. Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits stated in December 1976 that the hopes generated by his historic mission to the Soviet Union a year before had largely dissipated. Various groups, including the National Council for Soviet Jewry (NCSJ, launched February 1976), National Youth Council for Soviet Jewry (formed April 1976), Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry, and Conscience '77, sought to utilize every opportunity to convey their message to Soviet authorities and the British public. Visits by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in March 1976 and Soviet party leader Boris Ponomarev in November 1976, provided opportunities for continuous demonstrations which, in turn, sparked parliamentary and press criticism of Soviet policy.

Soviet Jews who had succeeded in leaving Russia visited Great Britain. During Solidarity Week, Chanukah 1977, eight such emigrants spoke at nationwide events. In April 1977, 6,000 marchers protested at the Soviet Embassy, demanding the release of Anatoly Shcharansky. In June 1977, hundreds of MPs were approached in a mass lobbying effort by NCSJ. The first conference organized by the interdenominational working group of NCSJ, held at Westminster Cathedral in May 1977, heard the Archbishop of York condemn Soviet authorities for denying Jews their rights.

Religion

The primary concern of the United Synagogue (US) continued to be adaptation to population shifts. The need to provide for newer communities growing in London's outer areas lay behind the introduction of a "regionalist" plan. The plan called for the mandatory retirement of individual rabbis in declining communities, and the use of regional ministers who would be paid by several synagogues. Similarly, there was to be a redistribution of resources. Thus, the £55,000 obtained from the sale of the Stoke Newington Synagogue in June 1976 was earmarked to meet synagogue building costs in London's periphery. Early in 1977, several synagogues in East London were closed.

An indication of US's intention to expand the scope of its activities in the new areas could be seen in a proposal to amend the Scheme of the United Synagogue Act, granting it the power to promote the establishment of schools. Debate on this proposal, one of 69 presented for the restructuring and merging of constituent and district synagogues, was in process at the end of 1977.

Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits proposed to transfer such general synagogue functions as education, youth, and culture from boards of management to new synagogue councils which would have both male and female elected representatives. "The proposal would enable women to participate fully in the activities of congregations," a statement in January 1978 said.

The first major study of a suburban Jewish community in Great Britain was begun in November under the direction of the Board of Deputies, to establish whether the facilities existing in the expanding community of Redbridge, outside London, would be adequate for the future Jewish population.

Vacancies on US's Beth Din were filled in June 1976 by the appointment of Rabbis Casriel David Kaplin and Isaac Lerner as full-time *dayanim*; in October 1977, Rabbi Zalmon J. Alony became Federation Rosh Beth Din.

Britain's 9,000-strong Sephardic community, organized into some ten or eleven congregations, also witnessed changes. At the annual meeting of the London congregation, in March 1977, it was decided to appoint Dr. Solomon Gaon (whose retirement as Haham of the congregation caused a furor in January) Haham of the Association of Sephardi Synagogues, comprising congregations in London and Manchester. The decision partly implemented a recommendation, made in April 1976 by a special long-term planning committee of the London Spanish and Portuguese Synagogues, that the Haham be an officer of the Association, elected by and serving it, rather than senior minister of a specific congregation. The Haham was also to head the Sephardic Beth Din which was under the Association's aegis.

The London Board for Shechita raised its fees in February 1977, despite concern about a sharp reduction in Kosher meat and poultry consumption, partially attributed to high prices. Causes of the fee rise were higher staff salaries and the costs involved in bringing the East Ham, London poultry abattoir up to EEC standards. In London, Kashrus Commission President, Frank Levine called for a merger of

Kashrut supervision by the Ashkenazic and Sephardic communities. A first step in this direction was taken in May 1976 when the London Board for Shechita began to share office space with the Kashrut Commission.

Jewish Education

Great concern was expressed over the state of Jewish education in Great Britain. While 25 per cent of Jewish children attended day schools, over 30 per cent received no Jewish education at all. Hillel Foundation Deputy Chairman Fred Worms, in June 1976, described the Jewish educational scene as "never worse." His suggestion that radical improvement be supported by a newly-created division of JIA devoted to fund-raising for education aroused controversy, despite the publication of figures evidencing a drop in the number of children provided for by the London Board of Jewish Religious Education, as well as a critical shortage of places in Jewish day schools. In October 1977, an Association for the Advancement of Jewish Day Schools was founded.

In December 1976, a group of Jewish educators proposed summoning Education Secretary Shirley Williams before the European Commission of Human Rights for alleged discrimination against Jewish schools, claiming that the department of education was breaking the law by failing to grant such schools sufficient aid. Professor S.J. Prais of London's City University and the National Institute of Economic and Social Research argued that the Jewish community was experiencing "gross inequality," with only 20 per cent of Jewish children of primary school age being granted state aid, as compared to 80 per cent of all Roman Catholic children. In July, Williams promised full cooperation in establishing improved Jewish educational facilities, by pooling students from different Jewish communities into a single student body, and by turning defunct secular schools into Jewish schools.

Reflecting the concern about Jewish education, the revised 1977 program of the Chief Rabbi's Jewish Educational Development Trust sought to promote state aid for established and newly-completed Jewish schools. The program also recognized the need for the Jewish community to assist synagogue schools in meeting operating costs, and called for scholarships to encourage undergraduates in the field of Jewish education, in-service training of teachers, and the use of sophisticated educational technology.

In March 1977, US joined with the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation and the London Jewish Students' Association in a program to provide counselling to Jewish students in 32 colleges and polytechnics in the Greater London area. In November 1977, Asher Fishman, chairman of the London Board of Jewish Religious Education, announced plans for a joint study program at Northern Polytechnic and Jews' College. In July 1976, the latter school had reported its largest graduating class (22) in 50 years. In July 1977, Dr. Irving Jacobs was appointed to its newly-established Sir Israel Brodie Chair.

Publications

The Jewish Chronicle Book Award, given in 1976 to Rabbi Lionel Blue (who, with Rabbi Jonathan Magonet, co-edited a new Reform Synagogues of Great Britain prayer book) for his *To Heaven with Scribes and Pharisees*, was enlarged in 1977 to become the Jewish Chronicle-Harold H. Wingate Literary Awards. The non-fiction prize was awarded to Chaim Bermant for *Coming Home*, an autobiography. In the fiction category the winner was David Markish for *The Beginning*.

Two considerable contributions to Anglo-Jewish history were Bill Williams' *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875* and Aubrey Newman's *The United Synagogue 1870-1970*. Varying aspects of Jewish history were presented in Magnus Magnusson's *B.C.: the Archaeology of the Bible Lands*; Joan Comay's *The Hebrew Kings*; Geza Vermes' *The Dead Sea Scrolls*; Nicholas de Lange's *Origen and the Jews*; Bernard S. Jackson's *Essays in Jewish and Comparative Legal History*; Arthur Koestler's *The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and its Heritage*; Robert S. Wistrich's *Revolutionary Jews from Marx to Trotsky*; Martin Gilbert's *The Jews of Russia: Their History in Maps and Photographs*; Richard Gutteridge's *Open Thy Mouth for the Dumb: The German Evangelical Church and the Jews 1879-1950*; H.J. Zimmel's *The Echo of the Nazi Holocaust in Rabbinic Literature*; Bradley Smith's *Reaching Judgement at Nuremberg*; and David Irving's *Hitler's War*.

The Arab-Israeli conflict figured prominently in a large number of works: Mohamed Sid-Ahmed's *After the Guns Fall Silent*; David Hirst's *The Gun and the Olive Branch*; Galia Golan's *Yom Kippur and After: The Soviet Union and the Middle East Crisis*; A.I. Dawisha's *Egypt in the Arab World*; David Vital's *The Origin of Zionism*; James Cameron's *The Making of Israel*; Sir Alec Kirkbride's *From the Wings: Amman Memoirs, 1947-1951*; Martin Gilbert's *Jerusalem Illustrated History Atlas* and *The Jews of Arab Lands: Their History in Maps*; Richard Deacon's *The Israeli Secret Service*; and David B. Tinnin's *Hit Team*.

Autobiographical and biographical works included Desmond Stewart's *T.E. Lawrence*; H.M. Blumberg's *Weizman, His Life and Times*; Robert Rhodes' *Victor Cazalet*; Lord Rothschild's *Meditations of a Broomstick*; Yehudi Menuhin's *Unfinished Journey*; Charles Landstone's *I Gate Crashed*; Evelyn Cowan's *Portrait of Alice*; and Lionel L. Loewe's *Basil Henriques*.

Among notable works of fiction were Dan Jacobson's *The Confessions of Josef Balsz*; Alexander Baron's *France is Dying*; Chaim Bermant's *The Second Mrs. Whitberg*; Wolf Mankowitz's *The Day of the Women and the Night of the Men: Fables*; Elaine Feinstein's *The Ecstasy of Dr. Miriam Garner*; and *New Writings from Israel*, edited by Jacob Sonntag.

A book of note dealing with religious themes was Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits' *The Timely and the Timeless: Jews, Judaism and Society in a Storm-Tossed Decade. A Bibliography of the Printed Works of James Parkes*, compiled by Sidney Sugarman and Diana Bailey and edited by David Pennie, was intended to coincide with Parkes's 80th birthday.

Personalia

British Jews who received honors in 1976 and 1977 included Reginald Freeson, minister for Housing and Construction, and Robert Edward Sheldon, financial secretary to the Treasury, who were made Privy Counsellors. Life peerages were awarded to Sir Frank Schon, chairman of the National Research Development Corporation; Sir Bernard Delfont, chairman of EMI Film and Theatre Corporation; Sir Lew Grade, chairman of the Associated Television Corporation; Sir Joseph Kagan, chairman of Kagan Textiles; Sir Max Rayne, industrialist; Sir Joseph Ellis Stone, Harold Wilson's personal physician; and Sir Arthur George Weidenfeld, publisher. Knighthoods were conferred on David Napley, president of the Law Society; Leonard Gordon Wolfson, chairman of the Wolfson Foundation; Judge Rudolph Lyons, circuit judge and recorder of Liverpool; Professor Otto Kahn-Freund, law scholar; Eric Merton Miller, chairman of the Peachey Property Corporation and treasurer of Socialist International; and Sigmund Sternberg, chairman of Commodities Research Unit. Leo Pliatzky, second permanent secretary to the Treasury, was appointed knight commander of the Order of the Bath; Lord Zuckerman became president of the Zoological Society; and Alfred John Balcombe was made a judge of the High Court.

British Jews who died in 1976 included: Sir Frank Milton, chief metropolitan magistrate, 1967–1975, in January, aged 70; Cyril Quixano Henriques, eminent Zionist, in January, aged 96; Jack Djanogly, leading British industrialist, in January; Professor Ernst Joseph Cohn, authority on German law, in January, aged 72; Alfred Scheur, Czech-born archaeologist, in February, aged 78; Maurice Jacobson, composer and pianist, in February, aged 80; Rabbi Dr. Ignaz Maybaum, leading exponent of progressive Judaism, in March, aged 79; Olga Somech Phillips, writer, historian and lecturer, in March, aged 74; Sid James, actor, in April, aged 62; Maurice Williams, philatelist, in June, aged 70; Sidney Bright, musician, in July, aged 71; Levi Gertner, leading Anglo-Jewish educator, in July, aged 68; Emil (Solly) Sachs, former South African trade union leader and opponent of racism, in July, aged 72; Harry Samuels, communal leader, in July, aged 82; Sam Keller, former fly-weight and bantam-weight boxer, in July, aged 90; Simon Rurka, joint treasurer, Federation of Synagogues, in July, aged 72; Osias Freshwater, real estate magnate, in July, aged 76; Dr. Leonard Snowman, physician and *mohel*, in August, aged 76; Mrs. Carmel Gilbert, vice-president, Federation of Women Zionists, in August; Dr. Meir Gertner, educator and Hebraist, in August, aged 71; Gina Bachauer, pianist, in August, aged 63; B.B. Lieberman, former Board of Deputies vice-president and treasurer, in August, aged 87; Harry Gaventa, former president, London Shechita Board, 1947–57, in September, aged 81; Millie Chissick, actress, in September, aged 95; Peter Ury, journalist and composer, in September, aged 55; Elazar Halevy, Hebrew educator and founding member of the Mizrahi Federation in Britain, in October; Cyril Bennett, program controller, London Weekend Television, in November, aged 48; Julius Newman, president, Jewish Deaf Association, in November,

aged 85; Jacob Bornfriend, artist, in November, aged 72; Rabbi Dr. Arnost Zvi Ehrman, scholar, in December, aged 62; Sir Henry d'Avigdor-Goldsmid, politician, soldier, communal leader, in December, aged 67; Dr. Abraham Roith, psychiatrist, in December, aged 49; Edward Elkin Mocatta, bullion broker, leader in the Reform movement, in December, aged 60; Eliahu Dangoor, prominent Baghdad publisher, in December, aged 93.

Jews who died in 1977 included: Rabbi Dr. Eugene Newman, minister of London's Golders Green Synagogue for over 20 years, in January, aged 63; Hugh Goitein, professor of commercial law at Birmingham University, 1930-1962, in January, aged 80; Sydney Simon Primost, author, broadcaster, in January, aged 76; Theodore Goodman, art and music critic, in February, aged 65; Camille Rachmil Honig, Yiddish writer, in February, aged 71; Isy Geiger, musician, in February, aged 90; Alan Nabarro, communal leader, in March, aged 62; Stefanie Felsenburg, psychiatrist, in March, aged 74; Liza Fuchsova, pianist, in March, aged 63; Dr. Freddy Himmelweit, virologist, bacteriologist, in March, aged 74; Aaron Harold Levy, ophthalmic surgeon, in April, aged 101; Benjamin Levin (popularly known as Issy Bonn), comedian, in April, aged 74; Dr. Ralph Jessel, deputy president, Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, in April, aged 70; Ethel Moss Levy, vice-principal and principal, Evelina de Rothschild School, Jerusalem, 1925-1960, in May; Leslie Maurice, Lord Lever of Ardwick, Member of Parliament, 1950-1970, in July, aged 72; Rabbi Yitzchak Dubow, instructor, Manchester yeshiva, in July, aged over 90; Arnold Silverstone, Lord Ashdown, joint chairman, Conservative Party, since 1974, in July, aged 65; Henry Cohen, Lord Birkenhead, physician, in August, aged 77; Professor Sir Misha Black, architect and industrial designer, in August, aged 66; Dr. Eichon Hindren, pediatrician, in August, aged 69; Jack Morrison, real estate magnate, communal worker, in August, aged 75; Isidore Godfrey, musical director, D'Oyly Carte Company, 1929-68, in September, aged 76; Marco Bolan (born Mark Feld), pop star, in September, aged 29; Isaiah Shachar, Jewish scholar, in September; Charles Solomon, journalist and mathematician, in October, aged 78; Rabbi Beresh Finklestein, scholar of rabbinic literature, in October, in mid-80's; Millie Miller, Member of Parliament, in October, aged 54; Sir Michael Balcon, doyen of the British film industry, in October, aged 81; Julius Lee, professor of endocrine physiology, in November, aged 58; Leo Schafler, former deputy general secretary, Zionist Federation, in November, aged 87; Gottfried Moller, founder of Chevrat Bikkur Cholim, in November, aged 78; Jacob Braude, communal leader, author of Jewish educational surveys, in December, aged 75; Arthur Erdelyi, professor of mathematics, Edinburgh University, in December, aged 69.

LIONEL AND MIRIAM KOCHAN

France

Domestic Affairs

NINETEEN SEVENTY-SEVEN was marked by disunity and polarization in the two political camps vying for power in the March 1978 national legislative elections: the left opposition and the so-called "presidential majority." On the left, a full schism between the Socialist and Communist parties brought to an end the "common program" initiated in 1972, and entirely changed the outlook for the elections. The left coalition, which had been considered an almost sure winner after the March municipal elections, was greatly weakened. Polls indicated that the left-wing parties would receive about 52 per cent of the vote in the first round; but would, in the absence of an electoral agreement between Socialists and Communists, be defeated in the second.

Discord in the governing majority was due primarily to friction between the formerly dominant Gaullist faction and the more moderate centrist elements, or "Giscardiens." There was personal antagonism between ex-Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, subsequently elected mayor of Paris, and both Prime Minister Raymond Barre and President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. These conflicts, however, did not result in a split; the Giscardien-Gaullist coalition held together after the defeat in the March municipal elections.

The division in the left opposition was attributable to a tactical maneuver by the Communist Party. Convinced that the problems of the French economy could not be solved through the "common program," Communist leaders felt that their participation in a left government dominated by the Socialist Party would decrease their working class support. They preferred remaining outside the government to running the risk of being the unpopular managers of a deepening crisis.

The split between the Communist and Socialist parties sent shock waves through the latter. Socialist Party leader François Mitterrand, who had believed it possible to reach an understanding with the Communists, suffered a loss of prestige and faced the prospect of having to campaign against both Prime Minister Barre and Georges Marchais, the Communist Party leader.

Foreign Relations

Leonid Brezhnev visited France in June and was received with honors. Lieutenant Colonel Ibrahim Mohammed el Hamdi, president of the Arab Republic of (North) Yemen, was in France in July. King Hussein of Jordan visited Paris in September. In the same month, Prime Minister Barre met with Soviet leaders in the Kremlin.

Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia visited France in October. Prime Minister René Levesque of Quebec Province was in France in November, as was the Shah of Iran.

In September, October, and early November, there was considerable agitation over the capture and execution of Hans Martin Schleyer, a prominent West German business leader, by the Baader-Meinhof terrorist gang. Schleyer's body was found in Mulhouse, Alsace, and it was assumed that he had been executed on French soil. The West German press criticized the French police for an alleged lack of cooperation in the search for the terrorists. On October 21, however, Prime Minister Barre visited Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Bonn, to commend his firmness in the struggle against terrorism. Ernst Croissant, a West German lawyer who defended the Baader-Meinhof gang and was accused of complicity with the terrorists, took refuge in France, where he was arrested. His extradition to West Germany provoked a storm of protest in left-wing circles.

On January 7, the DST (Territorial Defense and Security Forces), acting on an international warrant, arrested Abu Daoud, a Palestinian Arab implicated in the killing of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics. Daoud had assumed an alias and come to Paris from Beirut in order to attend the funeral services for a Palestinian bookseller. As the member of a Palestinian delegation, Daoud had been received by French government officials. It was expected that he would be extradited to West Germany or Israel, but on January 11 the Chamber of Accusation of the Paris Court of Appeals decided to free him, and he was expelled from France. The reasons given for Daoud's release were both vague and specious. In fact, the French government had decided to avoid antagonizing the Arab world. In Israel, there was great bitterness; and in France, sharp protests by Jewish and pro-Israel groups.

Relations with Israel

The May 1977 Israeli elections, which brought the Likud Party to power, aroused criticism in the media. An attempt was made to portray Menachem Begin as an extreme right-wing nationalist whose accession to power would precipitate a new Middle East war. Jewish and pro-Israel circles were embarrassed by the defeat of Israel's Labor Party. The image—already quite old and a little tarnished—of a "socialist" Israel had been obliterated. Daniel Mayer, a former Socialist minister, and ex-president of the League for the Rights of Man, who for years had written a column in the Zionist magazine *La Terre Retrouvée* ("The Refound Land"), ceased doing so, declaring that his socialist convictions made it impossible for him to continue to defend Israel under the new political order.

The Flatto-Sharon affair outraged many people. Sharon, a Jewish businessman of Polish origin, holding French citizenship, had some matters to settle with French judicial authorities. He fled to Israel, and became an Israeli citizen according to the Law of Return. France requested his extradition. While his record was being examined, Sharon became a candidate, on his own list, in the Knesset elections, and ended

up being elected an Israeli deputy by a very comfortable majority. The victory was, in part, a retort by the Israeli electorate to France's release of Abu Daoud.

In November, the Sadat-Begin dialogue in Jerusalem helped improve the latter's image among the French populace. The "rightest" stigma was erased, and Begin became quite popular. Jewish and Zionist opinion turned pro-Begin. On the other hand, the Government was quite reserved; unlike other heads of state, President Giscard d'Estaing was slow in congratulating Sadat and Begin on their mutual steps toward peace.

Arab Boycott

In June 1977, the French Parliament unanimously passed a law prohibiting racial or religious discrimination in commercial transactions. Two paragraphs in the law made the Arab boycott a crime. But a third, passed at the same time, contained an exemption clause rendering the first two inapplicable when a discriminatory practice was consistent with Government policy. Before two months had elapsed, the Government, in one of its "recommendations and communications" published in the *Journal Officiel*, interpreted the exemption clause to mean that a boycott was not prohibited if it affected relations with oil-producing countries. This meant that the Arab boycott against Israel could be honored. The reasons given for this virtual repeal of the adopted law referred to the purposes of an earlier law, passed in July 1976, which had been intended to restore France's balance of payments and improve the employment situation. Commenting on this about-face, the jurist Raymond Lindon wrote in the *Tribune Juive* of August 1977: "I believe there is only one dignified and sensible attitude for any Jew who is not ashamed of his Judaism: to deny his vote to those whose 'recommendations and communications' guarantee the return of the Nuremberg laws and the rebirth of the yellow star."

Antisemitism

Antisemitic groups disseminated literature denying the reality of the Holocaust. Two pamphlets, *The Auschwitz Lie* by Thies Christopherson, and *Did Six Million Really Die?* by Richard Harwood, were widely distributed in France, the first in an edition of 60,000 copies.

In an article in the October issue of *Information Juive*, Emile Touati cited a teaching manual used in "free" (Catholic) schools as an example of what Jules Isaac called "the teaching of contempt." Among other things, the manual stated that "the Hebrews were a poor and violent people [who] plundered the lands of peaceful folk," and that, "All Jews are . . . sustained by the hope that a savior will arrive who will assure their domination of the world."

Toward the end of the year, in Dijon, Jewish merchants were anonymously accused of trapping young girls and women in their shops and selling them into

white slavery. As in the past, the League Against Anti-Semitism protested, the Jewish community complained, and the mayor offered some soothing words.

In the intellectual sphere, two developments were significant in terms of their antisemitic connotations. The works of Louis-Ferdinand Céline, which had hitherto not been discussed on either radio or television because of their violently antisemitic nature, were lavishly praised on both media. Céline's hatred of Jews was either ignored or minimized. An exhibit on the life and works of André Maurois at the Bibliothèque Nationale (National Library) did not mention the Jewish origins of this celebrated writer.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish population of France was estimated to be 650,000. Paris was the leading Jewish center with a population of 300,000. Other important Jewish communities were Marseilles (65,000), Nice (20,000), Lyons (20,000), and Toulouse (18,000).

Communal Activities

The Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU, United Jewish Philanthropic Fund), which collected money for domestic needs, and the Appel Unifié des Juifs de France (AUJF, United Jewish Appeal of France), which raised funds for Israel, suffered severely from the economic recession. Julien Samuel, secretary general of FSJU, who had also served as director of the magazine *L'Arche* (The Ark) since it began publication, retired, and was named the organization's honorary president. Samuel had been active in Jewish life for 30 years, and had played a key role in rebuilding the French Jewish community after the second World War.

On October 30, approximately 65,000 people attended "Twelve Hours for Israel," a celebration in the vast area around the Palais des Expositions de la Porte de Versailles in Paris. The FSJU leadership, fearing that elements on the left might take political advantage of a large gathering, had opposed the event. At the sixth session of FSJU's National Council in November, President Guy de Rothschild sharply criticized the rally's organizers for having bypassed the FSJU, and warned of the danger of a split in the French Jewish community.

The election of delegates to the Zionist Congress evoked little excitement. Organized Zionism had never been a potent factor on the French Jewish scene. According to official figures, 50,000 voters selected candidates from six lists. The first list was a coalition of four parties: the General Zionists, the United Zionist Federation, Mizrahi, and Herut. This bloc, which supported the Begin Government, was thought likely to win the majority of French Zionist votes. The extreme left wing

of Mapam, led by singing star Herbert Pagani, was the only group that mentioned recognition of "national rights of the Arab people of Palestine."

In the religious sphere, there were two positive developments. Numerous new synagogues were established in the Paris area and in the south of France. The Lubavitch Youth Organization increased its ranks, drawing new members from non-observant and quite assimilated families.

Another youth group of a more political nature, Betar, the Zionist Revisionist youth organization, was revitalized as a result of the popularity of Menachem Begin.

Publications

Two books, written by Jews, made a sensation as part of the post-Marxist "new philosophy." They were André Glückman's *Les Maîtres-Penseurs* ("The Master Thinkers"; Grasset) and Bernard-Henri Lévy's *La Barbarie à Visage Humain* ("Barbarism with a Human Face"; Grasset).

Among literary works of Jewish interest were Claude Vigée's poems, *Délivrance du Souffle* ("Deliverance from Breath"; Flammarion). A former professor at Brandeis University who now teaches at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Vigée won the 1977 Paul Burkhardt Prize for European literature, awarded by the city of Basel. Another winner of an international prize for literature, this one awarded in Germany, was novelist Manès Sperber, for *Le pont inachevé* ("The Unfinished Bridge"; Calmann-Levy), a memoir continuing his *Porteur d'eau* ("Water-Carrier"). André Chouraqui, former deputy-mayor of Jerusalem, was awarded a gold medal by the Académie Française.

A selection of stories by the classic Yiddish writer, J.L. Peretz, *Métamorphose d'une Mélodie* ("Metamorphosis of a Melody"; Albin Michel) was published in a translation by Joseph Gottfarstein. A selection of poems by the Israeli Yehuda Amichai, translated by Liliane Touboul, was issued by Publications Orientalistes de France. Sociologist Albert Memmi, known for his *Portrait d'un Juif* ("Portrait of a Jew"), wrote *Le Désert* ("The Desert"; Gallimard), an oriental legend. Raymond Levy's *Schwartzenmurtz ou l'esprit de parti* ("Schwartzemurtz or Party Spirit"; Albin Michel), a satire on Communist circles in the post-Stalinist backwash, is generously sprinkled with a mixture of Jewish humor and French wit.

Among new books on Israel were *Retour de Jérusalem* (a translation of Saul Bellow's *To Jerusalem and Back*; Flammarion) and *Sur Israël* ("On Israel"; Albin Michel), by the famous Swiss-German novelist and playwright Friedrich Dürrenmatt. In the last days of December, because of the Sadat-Begin meeting in Jerusalem, a biography of the Israeli prime minister was rushed into publication: Victor Malka's *Menahem Begin, la Bible et le Fusil* ("Menahem Begin, the Bible and the Gun"; Editions Media).

Jean Lacouture's *Léon Blum* (Seuil), while not directly concerned with the Jewishness of this French politician, does show the significance of this aspect of Blum's personality. In France's highly politicized climate, the book became a best seller.

Léon Poliakov's *L'Europe suicidaire* ("Suicidal Europe"; Calmann-Levy) was the most recent volume in his monumental history of antisemitism.

Answers by France's Chief Rabbi Jacob Káplan to questions asked him by Pierre Pierrard resulted in *Justice pour la foi juive* ("Justice for the Jewish Faith"; Centurion). Through the events of Kaplan's own career, the book traces the history of the French Jewish community since the 1920's. André Amar, a militant French Zionist and former Jewish resistance fighter, who until very recently had been considered indifferent to religion, made a surprising turnabout in *Moïse* ("Moses"; Editions du Rocher). In *Les Juifs et le monde moderne* ("Jews and the Modern World"; Seuil), Annie Kriegel, the eminent historian and sociologist who turned from Communism to Zionism, examines the perplexities of the modern Jewish experience. *Clefs pour le Judaïsme* ("Keys to Judaism"; Seghers) by André Neher, is a didactic and dialectical introduction to Jewish humanism. *Le Récit de la disparue* ("The Story of the Woman Who Disappeared"; Gallimard) by Shmuel Trigano, deals with Jewish theology and philosophy. Trigano is at home in the world of the Kabbalah, but expresses his ideas in a modern fashion.

Personalia

Armand Lunel, a Provençal Jewish writer, died on November 3 in Monaco. Born in Aix-en-Provence in 1892, he was a novelist and chronicler of the old ghettos of the papal states of Avignon and Carpentras. In 1926, he won the Théophraste-Renaudot Prize for *Niccolo Peccavi ou l'affaire Dreyfus à Carpentras* ("Niccolo Peccavi or the Dreyfus Case in Carpentras"), and in 1976 the Académie Française Prize for his entire oeuvre.

Professor Georges Friedmann died in December at the age of 71. A philosopher and sociologist, he won his greatest fame for research on assembly-line labor. After the establishment of the Jewish state, Friedmann became actively interested in Israeli affairs and made several prolonged trips to the country. One of his books, which attracted a good deal of attention, was *Fin du peuple juif?* ("The End of the Jewish People?").

ARNOLD MANDEL