The AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK for 1976 presents a comprehensive account of Jewish life in the United States and abroad. It features several articles:

Professor Henry L. Feingold's "The Condition of American Jewry in Historical Perspective: A Bicentennial Assessment" discusses the historian's task of recording the development of the community and its ability to act effectively on issues of major Jewish concern. "Religion in Israel," a thoroughly documented study by Zvi Yaron, deals with the historical reasons for, and current manifestations of, the religious dispute in the State of Israel. The problem exists, he demonstrates, because modernity has made for a paradoxical situation in Jewish life — the rise of Jewish nationalism and the simultaneous erosion of religion.

The volume further contains tributes to two great American scholars: Leo Strauss, philosopher of modern political thought, by Professor Ralph Lerner, and Harry Austryn Wolfson, historian of ancient and medieval philosophy, by Professor Isadore Twersky.

(Continued on back flap)

$15.00
American Jewish Year Book
HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN, 1885–1975
Editor, American Jewish Year Book, 1919–1949
At a time when the United States is celebrating its bicentennial, Professor Henry L. Feingold’s assessment of “The Condition of American Jewry in Historical Perspective” will be of special interest. It deals with the historian’s task of recording the evolution of the Jewish community in a free society and with the effect of this process on our ability or inability to sway American policy on issues of major Jewish concern. The special emphasis is on the United States’ failure to rescue the Jews from the Nazis.

In his significant study of “Religion in Israel,” Zvi Yaron discusses the history and the contemporary manifestations of the dispute over religion in Israel.

Other special articles in this volume are “Leo Strauss (1899–1973),” by Professor Ralph Lerner of the University of Chicago, and “Harry Austryn Wolfson (1887–1974),” by Professor Isadore Twersky of Harvard. These are tributes to two extraordinary and eminent American scholars who knew and respected each other.

Among other than regular reviews of the year are Fred Massarik’s “Basic Characteristics of the Greater New York Jewish Population,” as they emerged from the National Jewish Population Study; a second article by William Korey on “The Struggle Over the Jackson Amendment,” which carries to the final Soviet rejection the attempt by Congress to link the question of the right of Soviet citizens to emigrate with trade benefits to the USSR, and a brief history and description of the small Jewish community of Alaska.

The essay on the literature of Jewish public affairs by Professor Harold M. Waller of McGill University covers the three-year period ending December 1974.

We deeply mourn the death of Harry Schneiderman, for three decades
editor of the American Jewish Year Book, whose knowledge, craftsmanship, and kindness inspired those of us who were fortunate enough to have him as mentor and have continued his work.

We wish to thank our colleagues for their cooperation: Reva Craine, for technical assistance and preparation of the directories, necrology, and index; and Harry J. Alderman, director of the Blaustein Library, his staff, and Mrs. Lotte Zajac for their aid in providing reference material. Rabbi Naftoli Richter prepared the calendars. Don Rosenfield read proof.

The Editors
# Table of Contents

**PREFACE**

v

**CONTRIBUTORS**

x

**SPECIAL ARTICLES**

The Condition of American Jewry in Historical Perspective:
A Bicentennial Assessment
Religion in Israel
Leo Strauss (1899–1973)
Harry Austryn Wolfson (1887–1974)

Henry L. Feingold 3
Zvi Yaron 41
Ralph Lerner 91
Isadore Twersky 99

**UNITED STATES**

Politics and Intergroup Relations
The United States, Israel, and the Middle East
The Struggle Over the Jackson Amendment

Milton Ellerin 115
George E. Gruen 140
William Korey 160

**COMMUNAL**

The American Jewish Community Responds to Issues of the Day: A Compendium

Geraldine Rosenfield 171

vii
## Selections From the Literature of Jewish Public Affairs, 1972-74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALASKA</td>
<td>Harold M. Waller</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEMOGRAPHIC</td>
<td>Israel Haber</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Population in the United States, 1974</td>
<td>Alvin Chenkin</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Characteristics of the Greater New York Jewish Population</td>
<td>Fred Massarik</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANADA</td>
<td>Bernard Baskin</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATIN AMERICA</td>
<td>Naomi F. Meyer</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Walter Rehfeld</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTERN EUROPE</td>
<td>Lionel and Miriam Kochan</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>Arnold Mandel</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>S. Awraham Soetendorp</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Julio Dresner</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL EUROPE</td>
<td>Friedo Sachser</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>Friedo Sachser</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Germany</td>
<td>Peter Friedlinger</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EASTERN EUROPE</td>
<td>Leon Shapiro</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>Karl Baum</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>Leon Shapiro</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Misha Louvish</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISRAEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH AFRICA</td>
<td>Gustav Saron</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS / ix

AUSTRALIA  
  Sam Lipski  425

WORLD JEWISH POPULATION  
  Leon Shapiro  434

DIRECTORIES, LISTS AND NECROLOGY

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS  445

NATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
United States  448
Canada  485

JEWSH FEDERATIONS, WELFARE FUNDS, COMMUNITY COUNCILS  488

JEWSH PERIODICALS
United States  502
Canada  509

NECROLOGY: UNITED STATES  511


REPORT OF JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA  556

SPECIAL ARTICLES IN VOLUMES 51–75 OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK  571

INDEX  575
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The Condition of American Jewry in Historical Perspective: A Bicentennial Assessment

by Henry L. Feingold

For America's Jews the intensive activities in preparation for the bicentennial celebration are somewhat disturbing. The fact is, their ancestors were present at the creation of the republic, and they can even lay claim to having contributed to its founding. Yet today, two centuries later, with their numbers swelled from barely 3,000 to nearly six million, there exists no fully adequate account of their history in America. American Jews are preoccupied with their present condition, but the connection between how they once were and how they are today escapes them. This indicates a lack of concern about their past that is not without significance.

Into the vacuum has stepped a new genre of literature whose ingredients are journalistic alarmism and a simplified reading of complex sociological phenomena. A year seldom passes without some new gloomy readings of the community's condition. While these vary greatly in perception and quality, they share in common a failure to appreciate the perspective of history. It is the lack of such perspective which gives an unreal, distorted ring to their analyses. Surely, if there is any truth in their dire assessment of the present state and the future of American Jewry, then that condition did not suddenly emerge full-blown in the 1970s. It has historical roots that must be exposed if a balanced analysis is to emerge.

The penchant for self-scrutiny has a history of its own. The need to keep an authoritative current record of Jewish life was first recognized by Cyrus Adler, who initiated the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK in 1899. First produced by the Jewish Publication Society, and since 1908 by the American Jewish Committee, it probably is the most complete compilation of data on demography and organization produced by any American subgroup. In 1911 the New York kehillah inaugurated an inventory of Jewish religious and secular organizations, which appeared six years later as the Communal Register. These early studies, particularly the latter, were probably designed more to satisfy the needs of planners than of prophets. Building an expensive community center, an American Jewish preoccupation during the 1920s, could not simply be left to guesswork. One had to know where the Jews were and where they were going.

Preceding today's prophets were Jewish thinkers like Horace Kallen, who were sensitive to the special problem of Jewish survival in a "melting pot" culture. These conceived of new survivalist ideologies and rationales which might arrest the process of dissolution. That was what Kallen's concept of cultural pluralism was intended to do. Like Chaim Zhitlowsky before him and Mordecai Kaplan, who was his contemporary, he envisaged a partial voluntary recreation of a corporate status. Judah Magnes, who founded the New York kehillah in 1908, was motivated by a similar idea. The older survivalists imagined and hoped; contemporary ones agonize.

The rise of the Cassandra-like critiques of today can be traced to the fact that the passage of time has served further to crystallize the dilemma of survival in America and to the Holocaust and the growing insecurity of Israel. The Holocaust, especially, has generated a catastrophe perspective.

Basic to much of the new critique is a species of thinking which may, for convenience' sake, be classified as sociological. To be sure, it contains other varieties of thinking, but above all it is the product of the sociological imagination. Data are deployed to buttress some preconceived generalization regarding what is viewed as an imminent threat to the viability of American Jewry. In the terminology of Max Weber, the approach involved is nomothetic. It seeks to classify what is common in the human experience and then postulates certain laws or generalizations from it. For example, the acculturation process, a source of much anxiety for survivalists, is viewed as an experience undergone by all subgroups in America, with certain variations. The process, rather than American Jewry's unique response to it, is primary, for its inevitable result is the disappearance of the

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subculture as a distinct entity. Only rarely is there evidence that certain differentiating historical experiences may lead to a qualitatively different response to the pressure of acculturation.

The critique is customarily subtly prescriptive. It seeks to warn Jews of real or imagined dangers and prescribes remedies. If, for example, a record number of Jews are marrying out of the faith, then the prescription, often unspoken, is to devise “programs” to “deliver” stronger Jewish identity. Many of the analysts are involved in Jewish organizational life. Institutional self-interest is not always to be precluded.

There was ample proof on the nation’s campuses during the late 1960s of sociology’s ability to attract bright students, and probably a high proportion of Jews. The attraction of Jewish thinkers to sociology, especially the politically relevant kind, is not new. It was already discernible in the final decades of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th, when sociology earned the reputation of being a Jewish science. This became especially marked in the United States in the 1930s with the convergence of German refugee scholars, who happened to be Jewish, and American Jews, whose Depression experience had awakened an interest in the “classes and the masses” as well as in the phenomenon of antisemitism. Eventually a number of thinkers, largely Jewish and more or less tending toward sociology, became especially interested in examining the American Jewish community. No doubt most were motivated by a concern for, and genuine interest in, things Jewish. But American Jewry was also fertile ground for sociologists. The core problem of sociology, after all, is the passage of communities from traditionalism to modernity. Besides, there had come into existence special subdisciplines dealing with pariah groups, intergroup relations, acculturation, religion, and power and authority. In 1958 the Jewish Journal of Sociology, published by the World Jewish Congress in London, was introduced.

Contemporary analysis of American Jewry is ambivalent, because to

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3By the 1960s an estimated 700 of the 12,000 members of the American Sociological Association were of Jewish origin, as were a quarter of the editors and upper-echelon staff members of the two leading professional journals, the American Sociological Review and the American Journal of Sociology, and half of the officers of the Society for the Study of Social Problems. See Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., “Jewish Academics in the United States: Their Achievements, Culture and Politics,” American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 72 (1971), pp. 89-128; “Sociology,” Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 15, cols. 62-70.

4The first two were Samuel Joseph and Louis Wirth, who were joined in the postwar period by a larger group including Aaron Antonovsky, Werner Cahnman, Nathan Glazer, Sidney Goldstein, Milton Gordon, Seymour M. Lipset, Seymour Leventman, Earl Raab, Arnold Rose, Peter Rose, Bezalel Sherman, Marshall Sklar, Leo Srole, Charles Stember, and Melvin Tumin.
survivalists the normal measure of success means failure. The statistics describe a relatively prosperous American Jewry, which in its income and occupational profile compares favorably with the nation's high-status Protestant founding groups. Jews worship and socialize freely in their synagogues. They participate enthusiastically in politics: they follow the domestic and foreign news, they vote, and increasingly they run for office. They are generous in their support of the candidates they like. In short, American Jews have done well in the terms set down by the host culture.

Success has, in a sense, borne out the dire warning of the 19th-century opponents of the emancipation. The evidence shows that the more successful American Jews are, the weaker become their religious and cultural ties to Judaism—though assimilation is slower for Jews than for other whites. But generally, secularization is running its course, with all that that implies for survival. Demographically things do not look well. A low birth rate over four decades, a growing rate of intermarriage, and the demise of the East European Jewish community, which might have compensated for the American Jewish demographic lag, may presage a time when the critical population mass required to sustain a distinctive American Jewish culture may cease to exist. The growth of the intermarriage rate, itself a reflection of dwindling Jewish particularity, makes these figures more worrisome. In addition, the accumulation of evidence on the state of the faith shows that Judaism, like other American religions, is becoming nominal. Moreover, the influence of the overweening Christian culture continues to Protestantize the faith. Attendance remains high on holy days, but there is confusion on which is holiest. The most popular Jewish festivals are Hannukah and Passover, which, incidentally, correspond neatly with Christmas and Easter. The number of Jewish children receiving a Jewish education worthy of the name grows proportionately smaller. The Jewish family, once a principal agency for cultural transmission, no longer demonstrates a special ability to withstand the corrosive effects of modernity.

Even the wholesome picture of the active Jewish role in the political process assumes ominous shadings in the new critique. There is the general fear that Jews are politically too conspicuous, and there is apprehension regarding Jewish political behavior. It is imagined that the disintegration of the liberal coalition, with which Jews cast their political lot, has left them in a vulnerable political limbo and without a true understanding of their

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Demographers estimate that it requires a birth rate of 2.1 per family to assure replacement. American Jewry, efficient contraceptors, come perilously close to that. The Princeton University fertility study of 1960 shows that the cumulative fertility rate of Jewish women, 45 years and above, is 2.2.
group interest. For some, the continued strong influence of the political Left is evidence of a sustained tendency for self-destructive political behavior. Still more disturbing for some is the unresolved Middle East problem, which, they fear, may yet disinter the agonizing "dual loyalty" question and feed a new antisemitism.

In sum, we learn that while things go well for American Jewry on the temporal level, beneath the surface there is a deep uncertainty about the ability of a distinctive Jewish community to survive in the benevolently absorbent atmosphere of America. Statistical projections seem to indicate a decline of the Jewish community in America. Local philanthropic federations and Jewish organizations concentrate on programs to reverse the trend by "teaching" the culture. But thus far no substitute for actually immersing the young in a living culture has been found. Small wonder then that the new seers, unlike the prophets of old, find little hope for redemption.

* * *

What light can the historian cast on the condition of American Jewry today? It should be noted at the outset that in the contexts both of world and of American Jewish history, this pessimistic view is one-dimensional. Since adversity has been a frequent occurrence in Jewish history, no great prescience is required to predict a recurrence. What is more difficult and challenging is to explain how the Jewish people survives it. The sociological style is peculiarly ill-suited to confront the problem of survival, partly because the object of the critique is to sound the alarm, but also because it is not prepared to confront the idiosyncratic character of Jewish history. Yet the clue to the future of American Jewry may lie in its exceptionality, rather than in what it holds in common with other cultures in America. It is precisely in this area where the historian makes his contribution. He is better prepared than the sociologist by training, and perhaps by disposition, to confront what is unique in the Jewish condition.

That is so because, at its best, the historical approach is idiographic. It is aware that, given societies organized by men, the permutations and combinations of events are so innumerable that generalizations based on common features can be made only at great risk, and predictions not at all. Historians are sensitive to the nonrepetitive character of the flow of events. Each episode, each personality is viewed as different and earns examination in its own right. In one sense the historian's modus operandi is the reverse of the sociologist's. When a synthesis is made, it is the last step in the historical method; and conclusions are accepted with considerable trepida-
tion and tentativeness, if at all. For the Jews, the approach which is most
prepared to deal with their exceptionality, the locus of their peculiar ability
to survive, will prove most fruitful.

Jewish historiography has in fact been open to the insights of sociology,
but it prefers its data to its method. It was a sociologist, Max Weber, who
first demonstrated how profitable the new discipline could be in yielding
insights into the Jewish experience. His lead was followed by Simon Dub-
now, who, in the preface to his Weltgeschichte, called for close scrutiny of
the social institutions Jews had established in their autonomous communi-
ties in Muslim and Christian lands. Salo W. Baron has stressed the need for
a historical demography.

We know virtually everything that is statistically verifiable about Ameri-
can Jewry, but tables and demographic projections leave no room for his-
torical contingency. The case of German Jewry clearly illustrates that his-
tory has an uncanny way of upsetting the most precise of statistical
projections. In 1911, in Der Untergang der deutschen Juden, Dr. Felix
Teilhaber gloomily predicted the demographic disaster facing that commu-
nity. In the years that followed the demographers predicted with certainty
that, barring unforeseen circumstances, German Jewry would have all but
vanished by the end of the century. The prediction came to pass well before
that time, but not for the reason given. The demographers could not foresee
that the pathological antisemitism of one individual could be amplified by
the totalitarian state and imposed on a people prepared by history to accept
it and act upon it. The population trend was not allowed to fulfill itself;
German Jewry was annihilated. A complex series of historical contingen-
cies, which could not have been foreseen, intruded and wrote its own
conclusion to the history of German Jewry.

Another case in point is contemporary Soviet Jewry, whose new-found
militancy might become a decisive factor in Jewish history. Yet one rarely
sees mention of the possibility of a Russian Jewish revival in the Jewish
journals of the 1940s and 1950s. Had the survivalists been permitted to
study the condition of Soviet Jewry in those years, they would have found
little cause for hope of continuance. Everything pointed to dissolution.
However, the Soviet leadership so mismanaged the nationality question—
and this no statistical table could have shown—that its regulations and
persecution actually tended to cause disaffection and strengthen national
awareness. In a sense, we owe the renewal of Jewish identity in Russia, such
as it is, to the fact that upwardly mobile Jews were prevented from freely
merging into Soviet society. Of course, the story is more complex than can
be told here. It is only used to illustrate that a development which has
become an important item on the American Jewish agenda was virtually unheralded by the prophets, unforeseen by the experts.

The role of the discipline of history in explaining the condition of American Jewry is not confined to methodology and suitability for locating a community’s defining exceptionality. History is simply more at home in the Jewish experience and owes much of its conception of time to its roots in the Jewish religious ethos. The religious literature of Judaism consists partly of historical narrative which, despite its didactic, retrojective character, furnishes archaeologists with amazingly accurate clues. Since ancient times, Judaism has been linked to a historical vision of redemption. The vision of the Prophets is essentially one of historical restoration. They constantly remind the people of Israel of the Covenant, of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage, of their possession of the Promised Land, and, finally, of the divine consummation of their history at the end of days. Not only are these historical reminders the touchstone of the religio-historical narrative; the force giving Jewish history its movement is a jealous God acting upon a special people that seems constantly in rebellion against His commandments. The Jewish God acts in and through history.

From one point of view, the Israelites were the first people with a relatively modern historical consciousness. Not only did history inform their religious ethos, but also their very idea of historical time departed markedly from that of other peoples of the ancient Near East. Whereas the latter saw in their history a cyclical, fatalistic sameness, ancient Israel insisted on a rhythmic progress to a divinely ordered better world. It was a teleological view, to be sure, but the idea of purpose in history, the notion that society was destined for something better, was revolutionary. For static societies to learn that change was possible, even preordained, was unsettling.

It may be that the relationship of Jews to their history contains a clue to their mysterious survival as a people. Jews have customarily displayed a special talent for historical accretion. The seminal events of their history, from the Exodus to the Holocaust, are deeply embedded in their religious culture. By cherishing and internalizing their history they were able to retain a strong sense of peoplehood, which sustained them through their frequent uprootings and rerootings. The sheer length of time Jews have acted and been acted upon in history is a deterrent to relinquishing the tradition—a fact the new prophets might consider when they sound the alarm over the rapid acculturation of American Jewry. The millennia of

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history weigh each succeeding generation with a special sense of responsibility to the past.

At the same time, Jewish survival poses a historical problem. It is a standing reminder to synthesizers like Marx and Toynbee of the fallibility of the very conception of nomothetic or historical law. The problem goes beyond survival. Jews seem to play a disproportionately active role in contemporary affairs. Caught in the interstices of major historical events, they continually find themselves in the spotlight. It turns out that the "Jewish question," a perennial in Western history, is not a question at all, but an exasperating historical condition, for, as nations discover, Jews are not as malleable as other peoples.

Jews then are a people which has learned to use its history as a cultural cement, while at the same time posing a seemingly insoluble historical problem. The puzzling fact is that, at some time in the last few decades, history's central position in the Jewish cosmology, at least its American aspect, was subsumed by a new critique stemming primarily from sociology and the newer social sciences. One ought not to be surprised at the unseating of the historical discipline. It seems to have occurred everywhere and may be part of the temper of the times. But, in addition, the weakness of the American Jewish historical enterprise may at least in part account for the failure of the historical perspective to make its weight felt.

PROBLEMS IN JEWISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

There is something in the historian's craft which makes the writing of the history of a still vital community problematical. Historians prefer subjects that have stopped moving long enough to allow themselves to be examined. That is the reason why the colonial period in American Jewish history is the most exhaustively researched. However, the time factor alone cannot explain the apparent failure of the discipline to contribute to American Jewry's constant self-scrutiny. Managerial, methodological, and theoretical problems are contributing factors.

The Jewish Historical Enterprise

In earlier periods, before history succumbed to the need to be "scientific," it was not uncommon for one historian of unusual fortitude and ego to compose a historical tour de force, reflecting the intellectual prowess of the
author and giving high priority to artistry of prose. Since then, historical writing, especially American historiography, has changed considerably. Works covering the entire historical canvas are seldom undertaken; specialization is now standard, having become necessary because the enormous increase in original and secondary sources has made it virtually impossible for one historian to master an entire field.

The writing of such "specialized" history cannot be undertaken without specialized supportive institutions. Aspiring historians must undergo professional training, usually at a major university or professional research agency. Training facilities in the field of American Jewish history are being developed. The Jewish Theological Seminary has recently established such a program, which is funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. But, for the most part, professionals in the field have received their training in some other area. A most hopeful sign is the number of graduate students who are choosing some aspect of American Jewish history for their field of research. In some ways this is a belated interest. The American Jewish Historical Society (AJHS) founded in 1892 by Oscar Straus and others, is among the oldest historical societies in the nation, but it was a marginal enterprise, on the periphery of the Jewish community, for the first half century of its existence. It was housed in one small room of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and few knew of its existence.

Its annual *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (PAJHS) attracted various kinds of contributors. Some, like Leon Huehner, Max J. Kohler, Cyrus Adler, and David de Sola Pool, were gifted amateurs whose work stands up well. Others were antiquarians interested in some quaint historical happening or in lineage or, more typically, in evidence of the Jewish contribution to the development of the nation, which they thought would help legitimize the community. The sundry manuscripts and artifacts which the Society collected over the years were stored in a warehouse, and largely inaccessible to researchers. The wave of professionalization of the historian's craft, which occurred during the early decades of this century, affected the Society only marginally. It took the catastrophic events of World War II to pass to a reluctant American Jewry the mantle of Jewish leadership and, incidentally, to rouse the historical field from its torpor.

The 1954 tercentenary set off a wave of productivity. Numerous contracts for local Jewish histories were awarded, and the American Jewish Committee commissioned a bibliographical inventory produced by Moses Rischin, who became a leading professional in the developing field. Oscar Handlin's
survey, *Adventure in Freedom: Three Hundred Years of Jewish Life in America* (New York, 1954), was generally considered only partly successful, although a careful reading reveals many new insights. The new works supplemented books written in the 1930s and 1940s, so that by the 1960s the field of American Jewish history had been transformed from the humble enterprise it once was. In the last decade there has been a perceptible increase in the number of competently written works, free of the “heroes” who once peopled the historical narrative.

A network of supportive institutions is probably the surest manifestation of the continued vitality of the community’s cultural and intellectual tradition. Yet their development has not reached the stage where a continuing historical perspective of American Jewry can be generated. Part of the problem lies in training scholars who are equally expert in American, American Jewish, and Jewish history. All three areas are spanned by the specialization. The best work is now being done by a small cadre of professional historians who were trained in other areas of history. A second group of researchers, usually with little or no professional training, concentrate primarily on local and congregational history. Many are history buffs who simply enjoy “doing” history, or rabbis, community leaders, and founders who feel they must record the history of their communities lest it be lost to posterity. Of growing importance is a third group drawn from doctoral candidates who select a dissertation topic dealing with a problem or theme in American Jewish history. A third of the articles in the *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* (as PAJHS was renamed in September 1961) originate with this group. A number of these young scholars would certainly seek to enter the field if university teaching posts were available, but prospects here remain gloomy.

A program must be initiated to prepare and then nurture a community of scholars exclusively focused on American Jewish history as a specialization. At present no training facilities exist, nor is there a market for such specialists. In an address to the 72nd annual meeting of the AJHS, in May 1974, the Society’s president, Abraham Karp, suggested a Center for the Study of Jewish Life and Institutions in America. He saw such a center as primarily devoted to interdisciplinary teaching and research, thus creating the nexus of scholars needed to generate a historical perspective on the American Jewish condition.

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Much of the progress in American Jewish historical research is attributable to a parallel development in the archival substructure: the systematic discovery, preservation, and cataloguing of original source material on which the writing of history ultimately rests. There are two major repositories in the field. The American Jewish Historical Society has emerged as an important research center since it moved into its new building on the Brandeis University campus in 1968. It possesses more than 1,300,000 documents from the year 1572 to the present, and its Quarterly features articles and reviews of high professional quality.

In 1947 Jacob R. Marcus, a pioneer in the field, established at Hebrew Union College, in Cincinnati, a second repository, the American Jewish Archives (AJA), and, a year later, a journal with the same name. In organization, staffing, cataloguing of their 250,000 volumes, and size of staff the College’s Klau library and the AJA are probably the best of their kind.

Several other collections, much more limited in scope but equally important in their fields, should be mentioned here. A remnant of the rich prewar East European historical tradition, transplanted from Vilna in 1940, is institutionalized in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. It publishes two journals, the YIVO Annual and (in Yiddish) YIVO Bleter, whose articles frequently deal with American Jewish historical themes, especially East European immigration. When YIVO’s holdings of some 316,500 volumes are fully catalogued and duplication eliminated, and its archival material processed, they will be uniquely valuable.

The Leo Baeck Institute, founded after World War II with the aid of West German reparations, is the repository of the history of another community that has ceased to exist, the Jewish community of Germany. Here, too, scholars will find a wealth of material once its 40,500 volumes, 100,000 documents, and 500 manuscript volumes of unpublished personal memoirs and records of all kehillot have been suitably recorded.

Among the more specialized libraries and archives are those of the Jewish Theological Seminary, which contain much material on local congregations and communities; of the Bund, which specializes in material relating to the Jewish labor movement; the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library; the Gottesman Library of Yeshiva University; the Zionist Archives, and the Blaustein Library of the American Jewish Committee, all in New York City. At the same time, certain major American Jewish agencies, such as the Joint Distribution Committee and numerous local federations, have chosen to retain possession of their files, thus making research more diffi-
cult, though qualified researchers are customarily permitted access. Many universities now offering courses in Jewish studies are also rapidly building up Judaica library resources. But, except for Harvard University whose Judaica collection is one of long standing, these are not yet sufficiently extensive for full-scale research. 8

A valuable supplement to existing Judaica materials is being developed in the form of recorded interviews with important living historical sources. Thus far the use of new oral-history techniques has been sporadic. But a major effort in the field was the establishment in 1969 of the American Jewish Committee's William E. Wiener Oral History Library which has been taping and collecting interviews with American Jewish personalities.

Before the historian can have the full benefit of the Judaica collections held by the various libraries and archives, a number of serious problems must be solved. Most of the libraries are extremely short-staffed, and few librarians have had adequate training for their specialized tasks. As a result of this, and a lack of housing facilities which has left a good portion of holdings stored in boxes and inaccessible, much of the material still awaits cataloguing. There is, too, no systematic microfilming of deteriorating books, journals, and archival materials. Records of important agencies like the landsmanshaften are either decaying or are being discarded because there is no organized acquisition program or space for them. Equally troublesome is the wasteful duplication of effort resulting from lack of coordination. For example, both YIVO and the Bund solicit material on Jewish labor, and YIVO and the American Jewish Historical Society collect extensively on Yiddish theatre and other art forms.

No matter how rich the archival holdings, they remain useless to scholars without certain finding aids, such as guides to archival holdings and a formal system of exchange of data. Indicative of the need for such tools for the researcher is a recently completed survey of archives users, which found that an estimated 25 per cent of the respondents reported some difficulty in obtaining the material they needed. A newly published guide is helpful, but it will necessarily remain incomplete until all archives take inventory of their holdings. 9 In the meantime, a start has been made by individual individual

8For a fuller discussion, see Charles Berlin, "Library Resources for Jewish Studies in the United States," AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 75 (1974–75), pp. 3–53, and Exploratory Survey of Archives and Research Libraries in Jewish Studies and Reports on the Jewish Cultural Fields, both produced by the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, from which the data in this section are gleaned.

9See Philip Mason, Directory of Jewish Archives (1975).
libraries to produce guides to their own materials. The American Jewish Archives has a 4-volume catalogue of its holdings, and a 16-volume listing of the extensive collection of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library is now in print. Other archives are planning to follow suit.

In the meantime, however, much Judaica Americana material, which undoubtedly contains important clues and microcosmic detail to establish fully the connection between America and its Jews, remains inaccessible to researchers.

Many of these problems have been taken up by the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, which acts as coordinator for the major repositories through its Committee for Archives and Research Libraries in Jewish Studies. Financing the necessary work, however, remains a major roadblock. In 1974 the Foundation helped support over two hundred researchers in the field of Judaica. But the scale of its effort in light of what needs to be done is too small, perhaps beyond the capacity of private philanthropy. For this reason, much hope is being placed in federal programs like those sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and funds formerly available under the Ethnic Heritage Studies Law of 1974.

Publication of Research

The health of any academic field is in some measure dependent on the number of publishing outlets, largely because scholars are pressed for various professional reasons to publish or perish. In this respect, the researcher in American Jewish history is probably more fortunate than most other scholars. In addition to several publishing companies specializing in Judaica, and also two journals (American Jewish Historical Quarterly and the American Jewish Archives exclusively devoted to historical monographs), there are a number of journals and annual publications sponsored by the various Jewish organizations—Judaism, Midstream, Commentary, Jewish Social Studies, Leo Baeck Yearbook, Jewish Frontier, Jewish Review, Jewish Spectator—as well as popular Anglo-Jewish publications which occasionally feature such articles. The Association for Jewish Studies is about to launch yet another journal which will publish articles of general, and almost certainly American, Jewish historical interest.

10These are indexed by Jacob Marcus in an indispensable guide, An Index to Scientific Articles on American Jewish History (Ktav, 1971).
Writing the History of American Jews

Problems of archives, libraries, and training are managerial and technological and can be solved, in principle, by buying the needed goods and services on the open market. Problems of methodology and philosophy are less easily solved. Writing the history of American Jewry is qualitatively different from writing the history of other American groups. The American Jewish community, whose sense of peoplehood is historically rather than spatially derived, experiences the strong pull of two separate historical traditions, whose basic assumptions and methodologies are frequently incompatible. American Jewish history is an episode in the long stream of Jewish history as well as an integral part of the history of America. The community shares the fate of both, and in its history, as in real life, the possibility of conflict is a real one. There exists a kind of duality in the posture of American Jewry, which is reflected in the historiographical problem. On the one hand, there is the immediate environment, which exerts a strong pull to merge fully into the host nation's culture. On the other hand, there is the mysterious force of the long-range patterns and rhythms of world Jewish history, which binds Jews everywhere together and constitutes the vitality of Judaism.

Therefore, while American Jewish history cannot be understood without reference to the national culture of which it is part, it must also be viewed in the context of this collective Jewish presence in history. But what this presence is and how its characteristic manifestations might be isolated and verified is a baffling problem for Jewish historians. For much of their history Jews have had no claim to a territorial space or sovereign national power which might serve as concrete evidence of such a presence in history. Their dispersion among the nations has created a problem of identity and definition that permeates all Jewish historiography. Without some definitional binding theme to explain their unity and continuity in time, the Jewish historian is in constant danger of losing focus, and the historical enterprise itself is always on the verge of fragmenting into separate components. One can identify Italians by simply noting that they are people historically linked to the land of Italy. But for Jews, who have traditionally lived in the space of other people, no such identification is possible.

Jewish historians have thus been compelled to seek identity in the realm of ideas. They postulate some unique inner driving force carried by the

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Jewish people, which pushes the Jewish collectivity forward through history. Idealistic forces not only identify but explain Jewish unity and continuity in history. In ancient times, Jewish history was God-centered. The Jewish people was His agent, and His transcendent presence moved Jewish history. Jewish history was focused on some predetermined goal and, unlike the Greeks', it did not neatly separate religion and philosophy from history.

During the 19th century Jewish historians began to desacralize Jewish history. But the change created by the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* historians actually was not radical. They merely transmuted God-centeredness and messianism into secular equivalents. Both Nahman Krochmal and Heinrich Graetz continued to view Jews as the bearers of a unique religious idea. For them Jewish history was largely the history of Judaism, bound together by the idea of a single transcendent God and a religious ethos. Graetz, influenced by Hegel and German ideology, conceived of a Jewish *Volksseele* (collective soul) which was basically spiritual in character. The idea of a religious definition happened to fit neatly into the post-Emancipation context, for the new secular societies were actually willing to accept a degree of religious disparity. One could be a “German citizen of Mosaic persuasion.” What could not be abided was a unifying thread based on a secular nationalist concept. That would have raised embarrassing questions of dual loyalty, as Zionism later did.

Precisely such a postulation is at the heart of Simon Dubnow’s philosophy. Although he rejected the idea that Jewish history is guided by divine providence, he did not completely reject the idea that Jews were basically a spiritual nation whose collective identity was maintained, at least in part, by religion.

There have been other attempts to find a unifying thread running through Jewish history. The Zionist historian Ben Zion Dinur finds it in the perpetual Jewish longing for the land of Zion. Such Palestinocentrism raises more problems than it answers. The reappearance of a spatial dimension, with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, has actually complicated defining the parameters of Jewish history. Is the citizen of Israel a carrier of Jewish history or of a separate history of Israel? What happens to the considerable minority of Israeli citizens who are not Jewish?

It is only with Salo W. Baron that the quest for the single thread running through all of Jewish history is abandoned. Baron conceives of a continuing relationship between either national or religious Judaism and the Jewish

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12 For an incisive summary of these concepts, see Michael A. Meyer, *Ideas of Jewish History* (New York, 1974), pp. 1–42.
people, but he also observes that the idea of Judaism itself has signified different things at different times in its long history. Baron stresses the host culture and society. He has done much of his mature writing in America, where the impact of the host culture is particularly strong.

**A Methodological Dilemma**

The fact that the Jews possess an independent historical consciousness while living in dispersed communities among the nations poses a methodological problem. Host cultures naturally develop their own myths and symbols, and their own notion of what in their past is worthy of preservation and admiration. For various reasons, the events and personages so selected cannot always be equally accepted by the Jews living among them, who may read the sources differently. The Romans viewed Titus, the Flavian general and later emperor, affirmatively. But in the rabbinic sources his name rarely appears without the epithet *ha-rasha* (the wicked), since he is held responsible for the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple.¹³

Similar conflicting interpretations can be drawn from American history. General Ulysses S. Grant, who has gone down in American history as a rather poor president but as a "blood-and-guts" general whose bludgeoning tactics broke the military might of the Confederacy, was also responsible for promulgating Federal Order Number 11, the only instance of collective punishment of Jews in American history. Populism, which can be seen as a rural-based reform impulse that justly opposed the excesses of early industrialism and finance, which were mitigated during the later Progressive and New Deal reform periods, was also, because of its nativism and its bias against the city and banking, susceptible to antisemitism. Henry Ford, the cranky genius of mass production and mass marketing, was also the sponsor of the most virulent antisemitic propaganda in the 1920s. Looking at the same sources, Jewish and non-Jewish historians may see different historical realities.

**Periodization of Jewish History**

No less baffling for the Jewish historian is the problem of periodization, required by historians for organizing and shaping their historical narra-

How a historian chooses to break up the stream of time renders important clues to his particular view of history.

The problem of finding a periodization scheme for Jewish history relates directly to the problem of defining and circumscribing Jewish history. Jewish history is too varied. What may be meaningful to one Jewish community may be safely overlooked by another. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain serves as a watershed date for Sephardi Jewry, but has less significance for the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. The French Revolution had profound meaning for the Jews of Western Europe, but little immediate significance for the Jews of the East.

An almost classic illustration of the problem of periodization on a community level is found in American Jewish history. Most American Jewish historians follow a scheme suggested by the three waves of immigration, which are viewed as the seminal events. The scheme has been formally outlined by Jacob Marcus, dean of American Jewish history. He views the first period (1654 to 1840) as the period of Sephardi predominance, the second (1841-1920) as the period of German-Jewish predominance, and the third (1852-1920) as the period of East European Jewish predominance. A fourth period beginning in 1921 is identified simply as the American period.

On the surface, American Jewish history falls almost naturally into these periods, so that it is difficult to imagine how historical time might have been divided otherwise. Yet there are problems. Recent research indicates that the actual waves of immigration and dominant influences on which these periods are based are not so neatly separated as heretofore believed. Marcus recognized this by allowing for an overlap between the second and third periods; but the appearance of American Jewish history as being composed of three distinct national divisions, with few continuities between them, remains. It may lead to distortion, particularly in the description of the antagonism between “uptown” (German) and “downtown” (East European) Jews, which has been exaggerated and seen out of context. Moreover, by subsuming important events in American history under a scheme whose reference points are basically rooted in the flow of general Jewish history (the pushes and pulls determining Jewish migration are part of that history), a peculiar emphasis emerges. Much is known about the development of the Reform and Conservative movements and American Zionism, but precious little about the role of Jews in urbanization, the westward movement, or even American entrepreneurial history. Nor does such a scheme allow for sufficient focus on foreign affairs, an area in which American Jewry has been

active. Periodization then is another area where American Jewish history, American history, and general Jewish history are compelled to live with each other in a sometimes less than comfortable relationship.

Methodology and Style

A second order of problems stems from divergences in methodology and style. In its penchant for data and its emphasis on craft skills, American historiography, faithful to Leopold von Ranke, is concerned a good deal more with the fact of what happened than with its meaning. Its most recent enthusiasm, borrowed from the French, is for quantification, or head-counting, for which certain kinds of statistical sources must be available. Jewish historiography, on the other hand, is compelled by the sheer length of time it covers and by the number of communities involved to be drawn on a broader historical canvas. We have seen that its sheer scope and the kind of evidence it employs compel it to be drawn more to ideas. The sources of early pre-Emancipation Jewish history—rabbinical literature or *pinqasim* (community account books), chronicles, dirges, poetry—seldom give a precise account of happenings. Such sources must be carefully examined and interpreted. Writing general Jewish history is as much an intellectual endeavor as it is a matter of craftsmanship. The difference in sources and how they are used naturally lead to a qualitatively different kind of historical narrative.

The positing of such an entity as a collective Jewish spirit poses problems of definition and evidence for the historian. Is the collective spirit a specific Jewish mentality or way of life? "How can its characteristic manifestations be isolated and its impact verified?" asks J. L. Talmon, the noted Jewish historian. For American historians, the specifically Jewish component is a purely intellectual construct. He finds no evidence of Jewish exceptionalism, and probably would object to a search for it.

The historian of American Jewry must deal with the fact that the community possesses a separate history of its own. Like everyone else who delves into the Jewish situation, the historian must sooner or later confront the problem of definition. Clearly, the Jews do not fit into the sociological classification of nation or ethnic group, nor are they simply a religious group. They are all of these, and none. They straddle many classifications. The position of the State of Israel on the American Jewish agenda is but

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one manifestation of this straddling. It is also manifest in the third wave of immigrants, from Eastern Europe, who initially settled in large urban ghettos. The delicate suspension of these immigrants between two cultures, which may incidentally be the best definition of the Jewish ghetto in America, can only be understood by examining the reference points in American and Jewish history.

Sometimes the strength of the ties to the other culture created problems. The early organizational difficulties of religious Orthodoxy in America were partly due to a reluctance to abandon the East European organizational model. Basically, it was the assumption that America was merely an extension of the European scene that made the importation of religious leaders like Rabbi Jacob Joseph and others possible. Nor was the desire to strengthen the link between the two Jewries limited to the Orthodox community. Herzl dispatched Jacob DeHaas to America to serve the Zionist interest; and eventually the Bund, Mizrachi, and Agudath Israel thought it the better part of wisdom to have some kind of connection with American Jewry. This naturally led to the establishment of bridges between American and world Jewry. The American Jewish community, which had always responded generously to "messengers" from the outside, was at first reluctant to react to such courting. It was busy establishing itself and worrying about its Americanism. But ultimately it accepted the link, and even reached out to build its own bridges. The oldest and largest of the national Jewish organizations, B'nai B'rith, established its first overseas lodge, in Berlin, in 1882. As the persecution of East European Jewry grew in intensity, new organizations like the American Jewish Committee, the Joint Distribution Committee, and the American Jewish Congress were established to deal with the overseas problem. By the 1930s every major Jewish organization had devoted much of its organizational energy to nurturing Jews abroad, either informally or through overseas departments. A reading of the histories of the major national Jewish organizations shows that, almost without fail, concern for the welfare of Jews overseas accounts for their founding.¹⁶

Much of the organizational dynamics of American Jewry, its political behavior and philanthropic activity, is generated by its special sense of connectedness with world Jewry. At the same time, it is also clear that American Jewry is increasingly part of America, whose largesse it enjoys

and whose fate it shares. As we have seen, that duality and the tension it creates pose problems not only in life, but also in historiography.

If understanding the American Jewish experience demands knowledge of Jewish history, so does it demand knowledge of the American historical context. Yet few who write in the field of American Jewish history are abreast of developments in American historiography. And conversely, few American historians have been able to come to grips with the pre- and extra-American sides of the American Jewish experience. The reason, as Professor Talmon suggests, may be that non-Jewish historians simply do not know how to deal with the unique historical development of Jewry. More likely, they are not interested in dealing with it. Of the 450 articles appearing in the *Journal of American History* (formerly the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*) in the last two decades, only two were on subjects pertaining directly to American Jewish history. One historian calculated that of the 4,200 books reviewed in this leading journal between 1952 and 1972, only 25 dealt with American Jewish history.

Clearly, a closer tie might be to the advantage of both fields. It is well known, for example, that American Jews early cast their lot with the city, and subsequently played a not inconsiderable role in urban development. But urban historians have hardly taken note of this. There are no works linking the fast developing field of urban history to American Jewish history. Similarly, the German Jewish banking and merchandising elite, which so fascinated the reading public when Stephen Birmingham popularized it in *Our Crowd* (New York, 1967), is not fully understandable to the historian unless he knows something about the relatively new field of entrepreneurial history developed by Thomas Cochran and William Miller in the early 1940s. This perspective would yield some useful insights into American Jewry's role in developing the economy.

American Jewish historiography may be greatly enriched by the methodological innovations in urban history deriving largely from Stephan Thernstrom's *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, 1964). Thernstrom, and those who have followed his lead, employed new quantification techniques, which yielded a picture sharply at

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17Talmon, loc. cit., p. 8.
variance with the conventional one of an open American society with great class mobility. Yet one wonders if for the German Jews who came to America in the 19th century the Tocquevillean picture of the open society is not more applicable.

The "rags to riches" story, which served the capitalist ethos so long and well, is hardly borne out by an examination of the career lines of the "industrial statesmen" who built the American economy. Most came from well-established families. It may even be that the much-vaunted class mobility has been generally overestimated. But in the case of the German Jews, who, like Joseph Seligmann, frequently moved from peddling to commercial banking in a few decades and before they could drop their foreign accents, the Horatio Alger myth may not have been a myth at all. (Incidentally, Horatio Alger was employed by the Seligmans.)

Similarly, we may gain a better insight into the experiences of the 19th-century Jewish merchant or peddler when his activities are viewed in the context of the westward movement, especially the urban development of the West—a field increasingly cultivated in the past few decades. Besides helping to urbanize the West, Jews seem also to have helped extend the merchandising nexus to the mining frontier in the far West and to the cattle kingdom in the Southwest.

Communal Histories

Local Jewish communal history has become one of the most popular fields in American Jewish historiography. Since the tercentenary in 1954, hundreds of congregational histories have been completed, especially for the Reform movement. Much of the writing of local history emanates from regional Jewish historical societies which have been established in recent years. The Rhode Island society has been followed by others in Los Angeles, Richmond, Maryland, Greater Washington, Michigan, St. Louis, Berkeley, New York City, and Western Canada. Histories of the Jewish communities of New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Chicago, New Orleans, and most recently, Cleveland, together with such middle-sized cities as Buffalo and Birmingham, are now available. In October 1974 a regional meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, at Ohio State University, examined the methodological problems of writing local histo-

20 For a listing, see American Jewish Historical Quarterly, December 1973, pp. 126-137.
ries. If this work continues, a history of every sizeable Jewish community in the nation should be available in a few years. When these are added to the histories of specialized agencies which are gradually being written, the American Jewish community will possess some of the indispensable material for a historical synthesis. It must be remembered, however, that some of these local histories are not of high quality and make for tedious reading. The authors appear to work on the assumption that their art lies in listing as many names as possible of community leaders, philanthropists, sundry heroes, and local boys who have made good. Customarily, also, such works focus almost exclusively on happenings within the community and fail to relate their material to the larger Jewish scene or the American historical context.

Still, there are good histories, and these cast their light beyond their boundaries. This is especially true of the communities of those great cities of the East where Jews settled in large numbers. Thus it is now possible to distill certain regularities about Jewish communal life. The beginnings usually date to the time when the reason for the coming together of Jews was to discharge some basic religious duty, such as burial. The next stage is the formation of some groupings for holding religious services, which in turn naturally leads to the founding of a formal congregation, if and when there are enough potential committed worshippers. Often that point is never reached in smaller outlying communities, and they must look for the fulfillment of religious obligations to the nearest larger Jewish community. Afterward further religious elaboration and some form of organized philanthropy may become possible, always provided that there are enough Jews. The importance of a critical mass of committed Jews can hardly be exaggerated. One wonders how many small Jewish communities failed to establish viable institutions and simply vanished without ever being heard from again.

In the 19th century, especially, religion plays the central role in founding communities. This continues to be so in the 20th century, but then there is also a new factor, the conscious choice of secularized Jews to live together in order to ease the painful transition to the new environment. This makes for the interesting amalgamation of Old and New World elements, as well as of secular and religious modalities, in the Jewish urban ghettos of the Eastern seaboard and Chicago. At some point in the course of the community-building process, the engagement of a rabbi is deemed advisable. Frequently many years go by before action is taken, since Jewish law permits any informed layman to conduct services. The rabbi is really needed as a community organizer and a symbol of the solidity of the community. Such
factors, rather than purely spiritual ones, continue to be important in con-
gregational development; they reveal the nature of Jewish congregational
life in America. The lay leaders are there first, and it is they who assure the
permanence of the religious community. The rabbi's function is to serve
them.

The antisemitic fantasy of a highly organized Jewish community seek-
ing to impose its will on society seems especially ironic in view of the
fragmentation of Jewish communal life. To some degree, that character-
istic emerged as a result of the relatively free and open atmosphere of
America, which permits and in a sense encourages differences. More
concretely, the tripartite religious division of American Jewry is based
as much on social, cultural, and class factors as on theology. According
to Isaac Mayer Wise, division might have arisen from sheer boredom
and the absence of other institutions that might serve as an arena for
the release of frustration. When there are enough worshippers, and
sometimes before, the congregation can undergo a process not unlike
cell division, with the result that three or four congregations are estab-
lished where one might have sufficed. Such proliferation has little to do
with religious fervor, but, one suspects, rather with a superabundance of
would-be leaders who regard the congregation, and the Jewish secular
organization, as an opportunity for exercising leadership. Here the soci-
ologist may be able to help explain possible aberrations in American
Jewish leadership-followership patterns leading to the contentiousness
that seems to mark Jewish organizational life in America.

Contentiousness, or at least lack of cohesiveness, does not stop there.
Reading the histories of local Jewish communities one cannot help but be
struck by the frequency with which Jews resort to litigation among them-
sewes over business matters. The many Jewish jokes about the inability of
business partners to get along appear to have been born out of the Jewish
experience, perhaps shaped by the uncertainty of mercantile activity, in
which most Jews were engaged in the 19th century. But in the last analysis,
the diversity of background and origins, and the lack of a sense of common
enterprise among American Jews in the 19th and first half of the 20th
centuries, accounts for much of the division within the community. If that
is so, then one can expect rapid embourgeoisement and the growth of a
common experience in America to result in a more unified Jewish commu-
nity.

The truth regarding 19th-century Jewish mobility awaits the application
of quantitative techniques. A study of this type has already been done of
the Irish of Philadelphia, and a comparison with the Jews of that city is
instructive. It throws the difference between the old and the new methodologies into bold relief. Dennis Clark's *Irish of Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (Philadelphia, 1973) follows roughly Thernstrom's quantification method. An outstanding study of the history of the Philadelphia Jewish community is Edwin Wolf II and Maxwell Whiteman's *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia From Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1957). Although both studies are masterful in their own right and cover the development of an ethnic group in the same city, they are worlds apart. The thoroughly researched and eloquently written book by Wolf and Whiteman is broad in scope and throws much new light on Jewish commercial enterprise in the colonial and national periods. It represents an almost classic example of traditional methodology, using an abundance of newspapers and other archival material, as well as pertinent secondary sources. The result is a richly informative work. The Clark study's richness lies in the yield of the new quantification method. By consulting tax lists, painstakingly combing through business records, and researching other quantifiable material, Clark was able to show how through the acquisition of real estate, a key to the mobility of subgroups, the Irish were able to pull themselves up the economic ladder. Drawing upon social psychology, Clark discovered that the motivation and the proper capitalist ethos for the climb was supplied by an unlikely institution, the Catholic archdiocese, and especially its school system, which stressed the importance of "accuracy, literacy, and regulated behavior." We learn a great deal from Wolf and Whiteman regarding the early Jews of Philadelphia, but not what Clark tells us about the Irish.\(^{21}\)

However it may turn out, the most remarkable aspect of the 19th-century history of American Jewry was its mobility. We really have only surmised much of this story. One suspects that when we know more we will be less certain of German Jewish success in America. Much depended on time and place and luck. We hear little about downward mobility among German Jews, yet the frequency of references to business failures in the local histories indicates it existed. The recent late discovery of the Jewish poor suggests that we are relatively blind to this aspect of the American Jewish experience.

How does the application of the historical perspective to an analysis of the American Jewish community work out in practice? Two approaches may be used. The historian can select some analogous community in the history of the Jews and see how it fared, or he may select a core problem facing American Jewry and bring all the relevant history to bear on it in the hope that this will reveal what lies beneath the surface.

For the comparative approach, more than one community in Jewish history seems to offer opportunities for comparison. The case of the Jews of medieval Moorish Spain is instructive. That community also possessed a modicum of security and was lodged in a prosperous, relatively tolerant host culture. It developed a commercial and cultural élan, and Jews became important carriers of the host culture. All this is not dissimilar from what seems to be happening with American Jewry.

The comparison with post-Emancipation German Jewry is even more striking. This Jewish community, developing within a modern industrial nation-state, underwent a painful transition to modernity, not unlike ours, and the resultant occupational and demographic profile bears further startling resemblances to ours. German Jewry, too, had three branches of Judaism. It, too, lived in an attractive and inviting host culture. In Germany, too, Jews were allowed to occupy high office, in a nation which to all intents and purposes was their own. But there is a more direct link than resemblance or parallelism. About 1880 most American Jews were immigrants from the zone of German speech, or their children. Although the Reform movement in America could boast native roots, its institutional framework and theoretical buttressing was provided by rabbis coming from the German Kulturgebiet.²² Similarly, the American Jewish commercial élite was nurtured by capital and intellectual resources from Jewish banking houses in Germany.

Yet one discovers that the comparative approach is so full of pitfalls that its usefulness in explaining American Jewry to itself is severely circumscribed. There is, of course, no such thing in history as repetition, because the variables are too numerous. The three analogous communities evolved differently and were qualitatively and quantitatively dissimilar. All we can fairly conclude from a comparison is that, in favorable conditions, Jewish talent flourishes—a truism that applies equally to the talent of all people.

²²Leo Merzbacher arrived in 1841, Max Lilienthal in 1845, Isaac Wise in 1846, David Einhorn in 1855, and Samuel Adler in 1857.
There are other weaknesses as well. The Jews of Moorish Spain did not live in a modern nation-state. For that matter, they did not live in modernity. Islam’s tolerance was only relative. There is no need to go on.

The analogy with German Jewry, too, is more apparent than real. The German nation, especially its Mittelstand, came to reject the emancipation of the Jews out of conviction that Jews could not be part of the German Volk, since it held national identity to be something organic. Today we finally understand that German antisemitism went beyond finding Jews distasteful; nor was it necessarily related to the Christian schema, even envy. In its extreme form it desired to destroy a bacillus that would otherwise be fatal to the organism.

The contrast with the American nationhood is startling. America is the secular state par excellence, child of the Age of Reason. It does not have a long history to harden its sense of identity; rather, it employs a centripetal principle to ingather its disparate elements. It is a highly inclusive culture. American antisemitism has almost never been official or governmental.

In the end, comparison with other Jewish communities is fruitless because the exceptionality of the American Jewish position is historically unprecedented. In other host cultures, like post-Emancipation Germany or Moorish Spain, the epoch of tolerance which permitted Jewish culture to flourish was temporary. Both ultimately became murderously lethal environments for Jews. To a lesser extent, the same is true of other golden ages and places in Jewish history. In America, however, the threat to Jewish survival emanates only from the openness of the host culture. Outspoken hostility towards Jews hardly exists and therefore cannot feed Jewish differentiation. America thus furnishes the great historical test: whether the Jewish community can survive without enemies to mobilize itself against. American Jews, now overwhelmingly native-born, know America as the nation which has allowed them to develop their genius and expend their ample energies almost entirely as they see fit. No Jewry has trod this path before. Our problems and prospects are unique in Jewish history.

AMERICAN JEWRY AND THE HOLOCAUST

We turn to the second approach, that of viewing a seminal historical experience of American Jewry in its American Jewish historical context. The relationship of American Jewry to the Holocaust is ideally suited for that
purpose. That unhappy story is rapidly becoming the most popular area of research in American Jewish historiography. It allows us a glimpse into an important yet relatively unexplored aspect of American Jewish history: the relationship of the perennial Jewish question to American foreign relations. The problem has deep roots in American Jewish history. We have mentioned that much of American Jewish organizational energy in the 19th and 20th centuries was devoted to giving succor to Jewish communities overseas. Today American Jewry continues to be differentiated from other subgroups by its overriding commitments abroad—to Israel and the Jews in the Soviet Union.

We do not intend here to give a detailed account of what occurred during those bitter years, but to outline the events and to suggest some lessons about the influence of the Jewish community on American foreign policy. We want to find a historical explanation for its failure, if indeed there was failure, to respond effectively to the plight of European Jewry during World War II.

Clearly, no other American group ever had a more critical need to influence government policy, and it would have seemed that few groups were in a better position to make their will felt. Jews were recovering from the Depression at a faster rate than others. The three committees in the House of Representatives concerned with refugees—House Foreign Affairs, Immigration and Naturalization, and Judiciary—were chaired by Jews. American Jewry was an important element in the New Deal liberal coalition. So many prominent Jews had become part of Roosevelt’s inner circle that the opposition had coined the pejorative “Jew Deal” to exploit the phenomenon. Few other American groups could boast of such a wealth of experience in influencing foreign policy. Throughout the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries Jews had requested, and usually received, diplomatic intercession and philosemitic statements of concern from various administrations. Wealthy Jews like Jacob Schiff had used their economic leverage in an effort to wring better treatment of Jews in Russia. There existed, too, a rich organizational infrastructure that could be utilized to inform the Roosevelt administration about the plight of European Jewry.

Yet despite these resources, American Jews were less than successful in wringing a favorable response from the Roosevelt administration. They failed not for lack of effort or concern, as some have recently maintained; rather, factors inherent in the making of foreign policy, combined with certain historically conditioned structural weaknesses in American Jewry, undermined the effort to move the Roosevelt administration to act. But even if these weaknesses had been overcome, that might not have helped to
rescue more Jews. Especially after Germany went to war against the Soviet Union, the Nazi leaders were absolutely determined to destroy the Jews. Washington was unable to muster a matching determination to save them.

What did American Jews want of the Roosevelt administration? Generally, they needed its good offices to help the Jews caught in the Nazi net. In the early days, a more liberal interpretation of the restrictive immigration regulations was required, one that would have distinguished between ordinary immigrants and refugees. There was, too, desperate need of a voice to protest the persecution of Jews which at least would have shown the Nazis that Washington was aware of what was happening. After the news of the actual implementation of the Final Solution became known in the fall of 1942, there were urgent calls for direct physical intervention, such as bombing the camps and the railroad tracks leading to them. A further need was to relax the strict licensing regulations, which would have permitted the depositing of money in foreign accounts to satisfy Nazi ransom requirements. And it was important that Washington should intercede with London to change its inhumane political policy limiting migration to, and land sales in, Palestine.

Except for the extension of visitors' visas, little was done to change immigration regulations. Only in 1939 was the full annual quota of visas issued. A gap developed between the administration's professed good intentions and what actually occurred in the field, where the consuls were allowed to give full vent to their customary antipathy toward Jewish refugees by denying them visas. Resistance also developed in Congress, which twice rejected the Wagner-Rogers bill providing for the admission outside the quota of 20,000 mainly Jewish refugee children. A measure allowing British children who were victims of the Blitz to enter was passed with enthusiasm. In Congress, much depended on who was knocking at the door.

Instead of opening the gates to those in need, the Roosevelt administration created what one author called a "paper wall," which most Jewish refugees could not scale. Security-minded officials incessantly harped on the danger that Berlin might infiltrate spies among the refugees. To guard against that possibility, a rigid screening procedure was established by June 1941, which made it virtually impossible for anyone with close relatives in Nazi-occupied Europe to enter the country. In addition, a special camouflage terminology was developed, which concealed the largely Jewish character of the refugee problem. Those in need of asylum were classified as "political refugees." Thus, while the Nazi regime was making Jews of all its enemies, including Roosevelt, the administration was covering over the Jewishness of its Jewish victims—the better, it was imagined, to help them.
In fact that policy helped to conceal what the Nazis were doing.

Much of the administration's energy was devoted to finding places for mass Jewish resettlement in Africa and Latin America, in the apparent belief that the highly urbanized Jews of Europe could be tucked away in some remote tropical spots where they would bother no one and pioneer in nation building. At the same time, Alaska, a population-starved American territory which required precisely the kind of human resources present in the refugee stream, was ruled out as a haven. Throughout the crisis, for example, American rescue advocates were plagued by the resistance of the bureaucracy. Lesser government officials and some in the middle echelons delighted in sabotaging or simply tying up rescue programs in red tape.

The responsibility of the Roosevelt administration to prevent, or at least reduce, the human tragedy cannot be denied. For example, it refused to intercede forcefully with Britain to assure that at least Palestine, a logical place for Jewish refugees, should remain accessible. Nor would it raise its voice against the mass-murder operation, about which it was fully informed. More than anything else, that refusal helped lower a "curtain of silence" on the final solution. It convinced such Nazis as Goebbels that the Allied leadership secretly approved of the extermination of the Jews.

Rescue efforts by the administration reached a high point only after the November 1943 congressional hearings revealed the extent to which the State Department had sabotaged earlier efforts. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, an intimate friend of the President, convinced him of the need to establish a special refugee-rescue agency. Established in January 1944, the War Refugee Board was almost immediately faced with the problem of rescuing Hungarian Jewry, against whom the Nazis had turned with special fury. In April of that year the restrictive immigration laws were finally circumvented, at least in a token way, when the administration established a refugee camp in Oswego, N.Y., which permitted a mixed group of fewer than 1,000 refugees to enter outside the quota system. Both steps were taken too late to save the Jews of Europe.

Yet characterizing American Jewry's performance during those critical years as one of failure is not appropriate, since the degree of success or failure possible under the circumstances cannot be ascertained. Given the Nazi determination to "solve" the Jewish problem, it is impossible to know how many Jewish lives could have been saved. Moreover, rather than seeking to prove or disprove that such a failure occurred, the historian merely seeks to discover whether American Jewry's power to influence policy matched the responsibilities thrust upon it by the ominous turn of
events in Jewish history. Clearly, the evidence indicates that it did not.

Contemporary observers are remiss in that they ignore the fact that the admission of Jewish refugees, and later the need to rescue Jews from death camps, occurred during periods of great national stress, the Depression and the war. Both made the rescue of Jews a peripheral concern for the American government. Tragic as this may be, it seems almost impossible to the contemporary observer that the Roosevelt administration might ever have adopted as its own American Jewry’s priority for rescuing European Jewry. Yet only the acceptance of this priority would have made mass rescue possible. All things considered, the modern nation-state was not well suited for responding to the planned murder of the Jews.

An excessive concern for legality, too, often served to block more active rescue efforts. The Jews of Europe were first of all citizens of their respective countries; therefore expression of concern over their fate could be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of another nation. Ironically, when they had been made stateless, they could not legally be the concern of any country. The question of documents for stateless Jews consumed an inordinate part of rescue advocates’ energies. But even if such problems had been solved, the question remains whether the Roosevelt administration would have responded differently. The tendency is to overlook the fact that America had hardly learned to concern itself with its own underclass. The internment of Japanese Americans during the war indicates, too, the presence of a state of mind somewhat akin to the antisemitic imagination.

If the Roosevelt administration was relatively immune to pressure, American Jewry’s condition rendered it relatively ineffective when it was called upon to bend every effort to wring a more active policy from the administration. The community was barely able to mobilize its political, organizational, and financial resources. At a time when unity was essential, the religious, cultural, and political divisions within the community deepened. Leadership wrangles intensified. When Nazi persecution of the Jews was in the beginning stage, the community consensus generally was that Nazism was a temporary phenomenon whose radicalism would be tempered by time. But even then the various groups differed in their approach to counteracting Nazi depredations. The leaders of the American Jewish Committee believed in the efficacy of “quiet diplomacy.” “Emotional” tactics, such as the protest rallies and boycotts used by the American Jewish Congress, were shunned. The Zionist movement, working through the American Zionist Emergency Committee, preferred to focus almost exclusively on a long-range campaign to effect a change in the British policy of restricted immigration to Palestine. A small Zionist Revisionist group, headed by
Peter Bergson, clamored in the press for more effective rescue action, even if that meant temporarily abandoning Zionist objectives. Its harsh criticism of the American Zionist leaders, whom it accused of doing nothing, led to a bitter conflict that was fought out in page-long ads in major newspapers.

Despite the establishment of the American Jewish Conference, separate Jewish delegations periodically visited the State Department to plead their case. So exasperating did the situation become that Roosevelt once expressed the wish that the Jews had their own pope. Looking back at the Jewish community during the crisis, the historian must have serious doubts that there was enough coherence to warrant the use of the term community. American Jewry not only lacked power to work its will on the White House, it also disagreed on what should be done.

The historian can distill some important lessons from this episode. The manner in which American Jewry is organized poses special problems for the projection of influence on government. American Jewry differs from other Diaspora communities in that it has a looser organizational structure and lower degree of community coherence. Its community life is typically voluntaristic. In the free atmosphere of America, organizations proliferate and leadership is continually changing. And most American Jews, ensconced in their private, affluent world and becoming less Jewish in concern and outlook, choose not to join the national organizations which act for them in times of crisis. Congregational affiliation remains the most typical identification with the community, but it, too, has tended to become nominal. Thus, while the community probably has the richest organizational infrastructure of any group in the nation, it cannot generate the coherence needed to influence government policy. There is always pressure on relevant issues from various Jewish groups, but there rarely is consensus on objectives, nor is there one recognized agency for achieving them. The existence of many organizations and leaders, each representing a different segment of the community, interfered with the community's interests and diminished its power during the Holocaust period.

Recently new factors have emerged which may further reduce the community's ability to influence United States policy. Receptivity to the objectives of special-interest groups is understandably related to their financial power and voting strength. The generosity of Jews in giving financial support to candidates of their choice may soon be curtailed by campaign-financing reforms. More important, perhaps, is the fact that the proportion of Jewish populations in pivotal states is no longer so great as it used to be, and that the independence of the individual voter makes it virtually impossible to deliver a "Jewish vote." This was so even during the Holocaust
period, when Jewish leadership could not, even if it had wished, sway the Jewish electorate to deny Roosevelt its support. It was his New Deal domestic program that won the heart of the Jewish voter, and not even his relative slowness in opposing isolationism could lessen his attraction.

A special-interest group trying to influence policy rarely operates in a vacuum; it tends to awaken counterpressure from competing interests. Nor are the objectives of the group independent of larger issues. Thus when Charles Lindbergh, in his Des Moines speech on September 11, 1941, warned that the Jews, the British, and Roosevelt were conspiring to bring the United States into a war against Germany he was actually saying that the specific Jewish interest was linked to the larger issue of interventionism. By the same token, isolationism combined in itself several subissues including restrictionism and hostility to a welfare state.

The question of admitting Jewish refugees was in some measure part of the larger conflict between interventionist and isolationist forces, the crux of the great foreign-policy debate of the late 1930s. What the Roosevelt administration would and would not do for Jews was partly determined by its position on the larger issue, of which the fate of Europe's Jews happened to become a part. After the United States had entered the war, the rescue of the Jews was again subordinated to the larger issue of winning the war. In American foreign policy the Jewish question, whatever its form, rarely stands by itself. It is a secondary issue whose disposition is largely determined by the major issue of which it has become part.

The ostensible failure of American Jewry to achieve a more effective rescue program has given rise to polemics regarding guilt about the Holocaust. The period of intense Jewish activity after the war, which reached its peak in 1948 when Truman, under intense pressure from American Jewish leaders, extended recognition to Israel, has at times been characterized as related to the community's blaming itself for failure during the previous administration. If failure there was, it cannot be said to have been due to indifference.

From a historical perspective, Jewish influence on American foreign policy about matters of Jewish concern has been minimal, especially in the 20th century when America became a world power. Even during the 19th century—the Damascus blood libel, the Mortara affair, and the like—the philosemitic statements and diplomatic intercessions from Washington were in essence little more than friendly gestures to the Jewish community. They barely made a ripple in international relations.

The most successful instance of Jewish influence was the abrogation of the commercial treaty of 1832 with Russia in 1911. Between 1908 and 1911
Louis Marshall and the American Jewish Committee worked through Congress and used every instrument of public pressure, until they wrung abrogation from the Taft administration over the opposition of the business community. Thereafter there were several minor successes by American Zionists, the chief of which was winning Wilson's support for the Balfour Declaration. But during the Harding administration such influence, which customarily concerned peripheral issues on which major policy had not crystallized, declined. In fact, in these later cases success was achieved despite sustained opposition within the Jewish community itself, from the western representatives of Reform Judaism headed by David Philipson.

The difference between the roles of Jews in the Roosevelt era and in the earlier administrations of Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, and Harding was that a larger number of influential Jews had found their way into FDR's charmed "inner circle." Why did these Jews not use their position for their European brethren? Clearly such contemporary "court Jews" cannot serve as channels of Jewish influence, for several reasons. The Jews selected for such positions customarily come from the periphery of the community and rarely are committed enough to recognize, much less support, a specific Jewish interest. If they advocated such a specific interest, they would risk compromising their credentials as representatives of the national, rather than some parochial, interest. They want to think of themselves, and hope others will think of them, as Americans who happen to be Jewish. Oscar Straus, Samuel Rosenman, Henry Morgenthau, and Henry Kissinger are far more common types than Louis Brandeis, who was himself careful to remain in the background of the Zionist movement after his appointment to the Supreme Court in 1916.

Permitting Jews to play only a minor role in matters of Jewish concern is not necessarily an expression of antisemitism. The perennially precarious position of Jewish communities abroad created a great need for American Jewry to seek to influence United States policy. Yet American ethnic groups have at various times been compelled to learn through hard experience the limits of their influence. By sheer numbers, no group seemed better situated to influence policy than German-Americans before World War I. Their votes were thought to have been instrumental in helping Wilson to achieve his narrow victory in the 1916 election, when he ran on the slogan, "He kept us out of the war." Keeping America out of the war was German America's primary foreign-policy goal. But barely a month after his second inauguration, Wilson felt compelled to ask Congress for a declaration of war against Germany. The nation underwent a paroxysm of patriotism and the fortunes of the German-American community changed drastically. Sauerkraut be-
came liberty cabbage and hamburgers, Salisbury steaks. German street names were changed, and some German-Americans experienced physical abuse and social ostracism. They were paying the price for being out of step with what most Americans thought to be the national interest. The lesson was not soon forgotten. When the German-born chemist Fritz Kuhn tried to rally German-Americans to the Nazi cause during the 1930s, barely 10,000 joined the German-American Bund; and most of these were immigrants who arrived after World War I.

The Irish American community experienced similar limitations of influence when it attempted in the second half of the 19th century to disrupt amicable United States relations with Britain. It is a long and complex story, of which we can only note the conclusion. Irish Americans could not prevent the great Anglo-American rapprochement, initiated by the settlement of the Venezuela boundary dispute in 1895, that was to become a tacit alliance and dominate international relations in the first half of the 20th century. One can cite other examples. Polish Americans were unable to prevent the Yalta agreement, and anti-Castro Cubans cannot prevent détente in the Caribbean. All seems to point to the conclusion that the ability of pressure groups, ethnic or other, to pull policy in the direction of their own interests is limited. German Americans ultimately discovered that they were contending with a powerful group of Anglophiles in the administration—Walter Page, Edward House, Robert Lansing, and perhaps Wilson himself—who were in a better position than they to affect policy. Similarly, Jewish efforts to liberalize the immigration laws by such devices as mortgaging future quotas aroused the anger of nativist groups and other elements of the anti-New Deal, isolationist coalition. In a word, pressure on policy-making appears to operate dialectically: the espousal of a cause tends to elicit its own opposition, with the result that the actual makers of policy can do pretty much as they judge best. Viewed against such a background, the lack of effectiveness of American Jewry during the years of the Holocaust appears not at all atypical.

The uninformed are apt to overestimate the influence of American Jewry on policy. Jewish power behind the scenes is a fantasy of the antisemitic imagination, but many Jews have come to accept and rely upon it. There was little such power during the Holocaust. There is little such power today over American policy in the Middle East. It is surely preferable to begin our calculations of what American Jewry can achieve in the realm of public policy with a proper historical perspective.
CONCLUSION

We return finally to the basic question: How does the condition of American Jewry appear from the historical point of view?

For the historian, an optimistic or pessimistic stance tells only what the observer feels, not what the condition actually is. I am optimistic about American Jewry (though I freely acknowledge that there is much reason to question whether optimism is warranted). The historical perspective can temper the gloom which descends on us from the new prophetic literature. Those who know Jewish history are aware that Jewish communities have traditionally lived on the razor's edge. They know that it is just as short-sighted to predict the demise of a people which has survived countless catastrophes over the centuries as it is to ignore the imminence of catastrophe. Both catastrophe and survival are omnipresent in the Jewish historical experience. I do not believe that the balance has tipped in favor of the former. Indeed, it is possible that a historian viewing the American scene from the vantage of the year 2,000 may conclude that in this centennial year American Jewry was about to embark on its golden age. There is some evidence for such a conclusion. The energies and talents of American Jews have been allowed full play in this society. They are accepted in its representative assemblies, and they have a share of power. Survivalists are unhappy about the growing loss of distinctiveness, but that loss can mean that singling Jews out as a target becomes increasingly unlikely.

It is of course true that Jewish survival requires more than acceptance by the host culture, whose attractiveness and inclusiveness may in fact militate against survival. There is also the fear that the energies and talents so generously invested in American secular culture are inversely proportionate to those which American Jewry invests in Jewish culture. Where are our ge'onim?

Over a decade ago, Salo Baron wondered aloud about American Jewish culture. Was there sufficient "cultural energy" left for American Jewry to cultivate its Jewish heritage? He was confident that such a culture would eventually develop. When measured by the calendar of history, he observed, American Jewry was still relatively young. Its real beginnings as a community of some numerical weight go back only to the turn of the century. Centuries of dormant germination were needed by the Jewish communities of hellenistic Egypt, Babylonia, medieval France and Germany, Moorish Spain, and Eastern Europe before the
cultural flowerings for which they became noted. American Jewry needs time.

It may also be that the standard of comparison is distorting. Compared with its immediate predecessor, the Jewish community of Eastern Europe, American Jewry appears sterile. That was in fact the cry of many an immigrant who returned to Eastern Europe. Such a comparison is natural, since most American Jews derive or have received their cultural cues from Eastern Europe. But in fact it is misleading, for the special historical circumstances of East European Jewry bred a separateness and a piety rarely encountered in other Jewish communities of the Diaspora. For comparison with American Jewry better models might be the Jewish communities in countries, like medieval Spain, where a modicum of tolerance prevailed. Although their conditions are by no means identical to those exceptional ones which fashion the Jewish community’s character in America, they are more like American Jewry in the extent of their integration and acculturation. Since these communities made notable contributions to Judaism, above all philosophical and literary, it is evident that freedom and tolerance do not necessarily work against Jewish culture, but may in fact enhance it.

In this centennial year the portents are that American Jewry may generate sufficient cultural energy to carry Judaism forward. The mantle of scholarship worn for centuries by European Jewry has been successfully transferred not only to Israel but also to America, where Jewish scholarship and its institutional support do not appear to be problematic. When Leopold Zunz several times petitioned the Prussian authorities in the 1840s to permit Jewish literature and history to be taught in the universities, his requests were rejected out of hand. There is no such resistance in American universities, which are witnessing a proliferation of courses in Jewish history and culture, and in some cases of entire Jewish-studies departments. Given the nature of the American university, that does not mean that a great Jewish cultural effervescence will spring from these institutions. However, it does indicate that a substructure is being created, that energy and talent are being invested, and, in a word, that Jewish culture has a future in America.

It is difficult to argue with the statistical projections of the new prophets, except to note that the troubled Jewish presence in history defied statistics and logic. The data of the demographers seem to dwindle before the mystery of millennia of Jewish continuance. That, too, is a problem with which the

new prophets should come to grips. It seems strange that they, armed with scientific tools and reason, should be less hopeful than the prophets of old, who at least allowed for a saving remnant. America has such a remnant, and perhaps more than a remnant. There has never been a monolithic Jewish culture. Variety has been the rule throughout Jewish history. The commitment is carried forward by the few, while the many dance around the golden calf. Some return when summoned.

"A remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob unto God the Mighty": Isaiah 10:21.
Religion in Israel

by Zvi Yaron

The Controversy

Religion in the State of Israel has become noted for its potential to generate strife. The frequent controversies over its role in society, an issue affecting the most sensitive areas of Israeli life, are acrimonious and harsh in tone. Many of them are accompanied by demonstrations and spiteful incidents instigated by extremists of all shades and opinions, ranging from the zealous Neture Karta to the frenetic League for the Prevention of Religious Coercion. No doubt, they reflect the acerbated feelings of many moderate Israelis. Religious disputes have arisen over education, the legal definition of "who is a Jew," the authority of the rabbinate, autopsies, marriage and divorce, the legal status of the common-law wife, the status of women, army service for girls and yeshivah students, Sabbath observance, kashrut, the prohibition of pig-raising, and the closing of cinemas and theaters on religious holidays.

Some people complain that Israel is a theocracy, arguing that religion intrudes into every important aspect of public and individual life and imposes its authority on the governing of the state. At the same time, there is the often-heard lament that Israel is a radically secularist state, in which the religious areas are narrowly circumscribed and the decisive influences

1On the complexities of the meaning of theocracy (first used by Josephus in his Against Apion) and its application to modern Israel, see Mordecai Roshwald, "Theocracy in Israel in Antiquity and Today," Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 14, No. 1, June 1972, pp. 5-42.
are nonreligious. The actual situation is too complex, too full of contradictions and overlapping influences, to be defined in neat categories. Religion in Israel can be understood only in the light of historical events that shaped its role in the life of the Jewish people. Thus, it would be completely wrong to take into account only the period since Israel's establishment, or to analyze only the legal and political aspects of the problem.

Both in Israel and the United States, there has been an effusion of popular and scholarly writings offering simplistic interpretations of the problem of religion in Israel by reducing it to a legalistic church-state issue and a power struggle between religious and secularist parties. These interpretations are based on the assumption that Israel is a democratic state, in which the religious parties are trying to force religion on a majority of unwilling, secular Israelis. Religious laws, they contend, are the result of the "tactic of political extortionism by a minority," the religious parties in a coalition government whose majority parties "acted from constraint and against convictions." The rationale for this view is that the issues can be understood within the context of the here-and-now, without reference to the historical relationships between the Jewish people and its traditional beliefs and patterns of behavior. The subject of the writings is contemporary Israel; all that went before and all Jewishness existing today outside Israel are considered impertinent to an understanding of the problem. According to one political scientist, the entire problem is one of theopolitics, which he defines as "the attempt to attain theological ends by means of political activity."

No doubt, religion in Israel has the classic church-state features of political struggles, with religious or antireligious coercion creating a serious problem of individual liberty. But to isolate these aspects and to magnify them into the quintessence of the issue is to distort it. A serious study of


the question must start out with the uniqueness of Israel in its links with the Jewish past and the contemporary Jewish Diaspora. Israel's intrinsic Jewishness is at the root of its dynamism and ways and means of grappling with difficulties.

Zionism and the Jewish state arose with the declared purpose to renew national life and break with the ghetto past. But renewal does not imply a hiatus in the nation's history. The traditions of the past pervade the present. And yet, the Jewish national renascence challenged what hitherto had been the very essence of Jewish existence, religious faith, and way of life. Martin Buber bemoaned this schism:

When at last we stepped out of the ghetto into the world, worse befell us from within than had ever befallen us from without: the foundation, the unique unity of people and religion, developed a deep rift, which has since become deeper and deeper. Even the event of our days, the re-entry of the Jews into the history of the nations by the rebuilding of a Jewish state, is most intimately affected and characterized by that rift.

Indeed, this schism is the underlying cause of the dispute about religion. For what we have in modern Israel is not the classical church-state conflict between secular and religious forces, but a debate between opposing views of the relationship between the Jewish nation and traditional Judaism, which is also reflected in the differing patterns of the daily behavior of Israelis. To religious Jews the new secularism is an aberration that is not only untrue but also un-Jewish. To secular Jews the traditional religion is an unconscionable burden that depresses the potentialities of man and thwarts the free development of Jewish culture.

**RELIGION AND NATIONALITY**

The nature of the dispute about religion is new in Jewish history. No one had thought it possible to separate Jewish religion from membership in the Jewish people. Rejection of the Jewish religion automatically meant a break with the Jewish community. Today, however, many Jews consider religion to be no part of Jewishness. While Judaism is a faith held by many Jews, it no longer is an essential condition for belonging to the Jewish people. There has thus arisen a distinct difference between the individual Jew's

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belief in the tenets of Judaism and his conscious identification with the Jewish people. The new Jewish state is the embodiment of these profound changes, giving them political and social shape, and territorial concentration. At the same time, the revolution the state's establishment wrought in Jewish life served to accentuate earlier cultural and religious problems. Therefore, the religious situation in Israel can be understood only by a study of these changes and their implications.

One of the crucial developments in modern history is the secularization of society. Its main significance is not only that many people ceased to be religious, but that religion no longer is central to the life of the individual and society. The impact of secularization on the patterns of living goes far beyond the narrowly circumscribed issues of religious faith and ritual. Religion is not a strictly defined human function. It involves man's personality, culture, and aspirations in all their ramifications. And when the attitude toward religion changes from confident assertion to nagging question, the crisis spreads within this wider context.

Hayim Greenberg states that religion can never be a peripheral matter: "Either it stands at the core of things, and all other cultural activities intentionally or unintentionally serve as its periphery—or it ceases to be religion." When it ceases to be a central element in the Jewish community, it becomes tedious and insipid. Says Greenberg: "When Satan wishes to undermine religious life, he afflicts it—if he is successful—with a yawn." Even where religious beliefs hold sway, they are usually not pervasive and do not provide the basic frame of reference and the focal and integrative point of social life.

In his analysis of the religious experience in contemporary society, "The Lonely Man of Faith," Joseph B. Soloveitchik writes that, while he is not troubled by the theoretical problems with which religion has been assailed, he cannot shake off the disquieting feeling that for the man of faith the very

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7 The Inner Eye (New York, 1974), Vol. 2, pp. 68–69. Abraham Joshua Heschel often spoke of the "irrelevance" of contemporary religion. In God in Search of Man (New York, 1955), p. 3, he said: "Religion declined not because it was refuted, but because it became irrelevant, dull, oppressive, insipid." And more emphatically, in his posthumously published A Passion for Truth (New York, 1973), p. 307, he declared that it cannot exist in modern times unless the religious are committed to a life of relentless opposition to "spiritual leprosy."
fact of living in the modern secular society presents an insoluble dilemma. The contemporary man of faith, Soloveitchik holds, lives in a difficult and agonizing crisis, and his religious faith is a "passional" experience. He regards himself as a stranger in modern society; for what, asks Soloveitchik, can such a man say to a "functional utilitarian society which is saeculum-oriented?" Since he neither renounces secular society nor withdraws from civilization, he lives in constant and dialectical tension with that society, fulfilling an exacting and sacrificial role.9

In Jewish life, secularism seriously challenged religious faith and national cohesion. For Judaism was always understood as both the religion of the Jews and the essential component of Jewish nationality. The existence and destiny of the Jewish people were interpreted in distinctly theological terms. At Sinai, before the people of Israel received the Ten Commandments, God asked that they become "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." This involves not only the behavior of the individual, but the dedication to God of the nation "with all its substance and all its functions, with legal forms and institutions, with the organization of its internal and external relationships."10 The implication is that the nationhood of the people of Israel has religious significance. This view was summed up by Saadya Gaon in his classic definition: "Our nation, the Children of Israel, is a nation only by virtue of its laws."11 The definition of Judaism as a "nation-creating religion,"12 or a "nation-religion"13 derives from the fact that the Jewish religion and the Jewish nation have always been regarded as one. According to Heschel, Israel is a "spiritual order in which the human and the ultimate, the natural and the holy" enter a lasting covenant with God:

For us Jews there can be no fellowship with God without the fellowship with the people of Israel. Abandoning Israel, we desert God. Jewish existence is not only the adherence to particular doctrines and observances, but primarily the living spiritual order of the Jewish people, the living in the Jews of the past and with the Jews of the present. It is not only a certain quality in the souls of the individuals, but primarily the existence of the community of Israel.14

9As representative of the dialectical "theology of crisis" school in contemporary Jewish thought, Soloveitchik interprets his halakhah theology as a confrontation with the secular situation. See his "The Man of Halakhah" (Hebrew), Talpioth Vol. 1, 1944–45, particularly note 4, pp. 652–54.
10Emunot we-de'ot ("The Book of Beliefs and Opinions"), Treatise 3.
Intrusion of Secularism

If the challenges of modern secularism are unprecedented in the history of mankind, they are of crucial importance to the Jewish people; for no other people has been so closely involved and intrinsically identified with religion. Religion decisively influenced ancient Greece and Rome, as well as medieval Europe; but there were periods in the political and literary life of some nations that were not under its sway. In the history of the Jews such nonreligious areas were almost unknown until the 18th century. As secularism spread, Jews began to question their own traditions and pattern of living, and changes in their religiosiety radically affected their self-understanding. At the same time, Jewish life was torn by almost uninterrupted political and social revolutions.

The era began with the lure of emancipation, when European nations held out to the Jews the promise of complete freedom at the price of total obliteration of Jewish identity. It ended, in our own time, with the most frightful abomination—the extirpation by the Nazis of six million Jews while the world remained silent. In the intervening period, the Jewish people experienced every imaginable kind of crisis: pogroms, discrimination, political disabilities, and antisemitic vilification.

The effects of the events that shook the foundations of Judaism and Jewish existence continued to be felt. The close identification of nationality with religious faith gave rise to anxious questioning. And today the issue of whether religion should be a criterion for belonging to the Jewish people is a subject of bitter polemics.

Zionism vs. Tradition

It is one of the coincidences of history that Zionism sprang up toward the end of the 19th century, a time of the general decline of all religions. And since religion became a “problem” in Jewish life just when the Zionist movement was growing, the controversy over religion became an ingredient of renascent Jewish nationalism, first in the Zionist movement and later in the State of Israel.

This was bound to happen; for Jewish nationalism differed from European 19th-century nationalism in that it lacked two essential characteristics: territory and a common language. Yet Zionism brought about large-scale migration of Jews to Eretz Israel and, ultimately, the establishment of the

"Yitzhak Baer, Israel Among the Nations (Jerusalem, 1955; Hebrew).
Jewish state. What doubtless compensated for the lack of "normal" national traits was the allegiance which, over the centuries of dispersion, firmly held together all Jews in the unassailable conviction that they belonged to one nation; that they not only worshipped as one, but also lived the life of one national community.

The political and social emancipation of the Jews in the century before the advent of Zionism resulted in the severance of their ties to Jewish nationalism and a strong thrust to assimilate with the non-Jewish society, which often led to baptism. Heinrich Heine epitomized this struggle in his observation that baptism was the ticket to European civilization.\(^{16}\) In time, however, a formula was worked out that attempted to divorce Jewish nationality from religion. It went like this: "I am a German [French, Dutch, etc.] citizen of the Mosaic faith." Judaism became like one of the Christian denominations in that it claimed no national attachment.

Zionism rejected all forms of assimilation and urged the renascence of the distinctive Jewish nationality. Permeated with the traditional longing for the ultimate redemption of, and return to, Zion, the movement always had the support of many religious Jews. But its impetus came mainly from nonreligious Jews who opposed assimilation as a threat to the survival of the Jewish people.\(^{17}\) The historical concomitance of Zionism and irreligiosity produced a built-in tension between a nationalism traditionally steeped in religion and the view that insisted on divorcing Jewish nationality from religion. Since the revived nationalism was intended to preserve the historical ethos of the Jewish people, atheistic or agnostic Zionists faced the dilemma of how to reject Judaism and, at the same time, preserve Jewish nationality.

**Herzl's Blueprint**

Not all Zionists were aware of the complexity and acuteness of this problem. When Theodor Herzl declared, at the first Zionist Congress, that "Zionism is the return home to Judaism even before the return to the land of the Jews,"\(^{18}\) he was not talking of teshuvah, religious repentance, but of the return of the estranged and assimilated Jews to their people. His knowl-

\(^{16}\)The "functional" purpose of conversion was reflected in the remark by the Russian scholar Daniel Chwolsky that he became a Christian out of conviction—the conviction that it was better to be a professor at a university than a melammed (teacher) in a poor Jewish community. See Milton Himmelfarb, *The Jews of Modernity* (New York, 1973), p. 28.

\(^{17}\)See Eliezer Livneh, *Israel and the Crisis of Western Civilization* (Tel Aviv, 1972; Hebrew).

\(^{18}\)Protokoll des I Zionistenkongresses, Basel 1897 (Prague, 1911), p. 16.
edge of Judaism was scant; he thought of religion in terms familiar to non-Jewish liberals of the Victorian age: It was the duty of a well-ordered society to provide churches and clergymen for religious guidance but, at the same time, leave room for disbelief. Religion was to be the private concern of the individual. In Der Judenstaat, the first blueprint for a Jewish state, Herzl declared that "each group will have its rabbi who will travel with his congregation" because, he explained, "we recognize our historic identity only by the faith of our fathers." At the same time, Herzl ruled out theocracy for the state: "Faith unites us, knowledge makes us free. Therefore we shall permit no theocratic tendencies on the part of our clergy to arise. Every man will be as free and as unrestricted in his belief or unbelief as he is in his nationality." The clergy was to be restricted to the temples, "just as we shall restrict our professional soldiers to their barracks."

Because he did not grasp the significance of the role of religion in Jewish nationality, Herzl thought he had disposed of the problem with the formula that Zionism would do nothing that contradicts the Jewish religion.

However, for the nonreligious Zionists in Eastern Europe, who lived in communities that were steeped in Jewish life and cultural traditions and where Jewish nationality was a conspicuous and inseparable element of existence, religion was a serious problem. For them it was not only a question of personal freedom of religion, but of the very meaning of Jewishness and collective Jewish life. They had to find the answer to the nagging question of how to reject religion and still remain Jews in nationality; how to conceive of Jewish nationality that is shorn of its religious content. With the rise of nationalism, many West European Jews debated whether or not they were a nation, while the nonreligious Jews of Eastern Europe asked why the disappearance of the separate Jewish nation through assimilation should not be encouraged. Was it enough to affirm Jewish nationality without inquiring into the particularity of Jewish national existence? Continued identification with the Jewish nation, they argued, could not rest on tradition alone—on the sanctity of long-cherished beliefs, laws, and customs, which they were determined to reject.

With the steadily increasing secularization of Jewish society throughout

20 Ibid., p. 100.
the years, the once ostracized opponent of religious tradition became a respectable member of a society that defied traditional convictions and obligations. Indeed, the very notion of tradition underwent a far-reaching transformation. For after a few generations of continuous erosion of religion, secularism, which was both established and fashionable, assumed the role of "tradition."

**Zionism: "Preservative Revolution"**

In modern times, according to Franz Rosenzweig's incisive characterization, everyone's Jewishness is wriggling on the needle point of a "why." The query gave rise to two main responses: Some Jews opted for the deliberate act of assimilation, the obliteration of all Jewish identity; others made strenuous efforts to work out an answer which was contemporary in relevance and, at the same time, upheld the timeless validity of Jewishness. The most radical "survivalist" answer to the challenges threatening the continuity of the Jewish people is Zionism. However, it, too, has failed to escape the tensions that have characterized Jewish life in modern times.

The rationale for modern Zionism is that Jewish life in the dispersed communities is an aberration of nationality, and that normalization can be achieved only by ingathering and the establishment in the historic homeland of an independent, creative Jewish society. This view has its antecedents in the long and firmly established Jewish tradition that the dispersion is considered as galut, exile, a condition which will be replaced by ge'ulah, redemption, and the ingathering of the exiles in Eretz Israel. In modern Zionism, "normalization" acquired a compelling thrust for immediate, revolutionary change. This is one of the most significant characteristics of modern Jewish nationalism, which differs profoundly from other nationalist movements in its efforts to transform the people's established conditions and ways of life.

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22 The American Catholic philosopher Michael Novak pointed out that the bias of our age leans towards irreligion and that "those who believe in God are now the chief bearers of the tradition of dissent." See Belief and Unbelief (New York, 1967), p. 16.


25 Cf. Nezah Yisrael and other writings of Rabbi Judah Loew, the Maharal of Prague. For a discussion of his theology of Jewish nationalism, see Martin Buber, Ben 'am le-arzo ("Between a People and Its Land"; Jerusalem-Tel Aviv, 1945), pp. 78-91.
This distinctively Jewish character of Zionism is responsible for the built-in tension between revolution and tradition, a tension that goes far beyond the universal conflicts between the old and new. It is different, too, from the post-emancipation clashes between the Orthodox and the reformers. There is in Zionism a dialectical situation that has arisen from the paradox of the Zionist urge to "normalize" the Jewish people in order to preserve it from assimilation and extinction. The thrust for revolution is countervailed by the urge for continuation; the longing to revive the past is offset by the determination to change the tradition.

Every Zionist view begins with a critique of Jewish life in the Diaspora. This leads to the conviction that the Jewish people is faced with a crisis which demands a radical solution, involving politics, culture, society, and even personal lives, to conserve its continuous existence. Thus Zionism may be called a "preservative revolution." Every Zionist, then, faces two questions: 1) how much change is necessary to achieve preservation; 2) how much continuity is ideally important to justify change. The revolution to preserve clearly affects the nonreligious Zionists, but even Orthodox Zionists cannot escape the tensions created by the urge to change and the simultaneous yearning to preserve the tradition.

These inherent tensions influenced the cultural debates that raged in the pre-state years and have intensified since 1948. Although the debaters' positions appeared to be clearly defined as rebels versus traditionalists, the arguments invariably crossed and blurred the demarcation lines; for they reflected the innate paradox and consequent ambivalence within the formally adopted Zionist positions. Every "rebel" had to come to grips with his traditionalism, and every "traditionalist" labored to fashion his rebellion. For while the revolution's goals were set for a state of normalcy, it was not intended to be anything but Jewish normalcy, implying a revival of something that was regarded as ancient and classical.

The theoretical arguments, articulated in Zionist literature in the new settlements in Eretz Israel and, with even greater force, in the State of Israel, were transformed into sharply defined practical, legal, and political ones. Israel's perennial religion-and-state issues did not originate after 1948, and they can be understood only as concretized and politicized versions of the dialectic of the Zionist "preservative revolution." And their full implications can be gauged only in the broader context of the clash between tradition and the movements to change Judaism.

There has been a bewildering proliferation of theories to interpret Judaism in contemporary terms. The sheer abundance of exegesis has driven religion to a position where it can mean so many different things that its substance tends to be blurred. Much of the ambiguity derives from the tendency to cling strenuously to traditional patterns of thought, from the desire to preserve the format and the mold of tradition while giving free rein to change in content.

The search for contemporary exegesis is not new in Judaism. What is new is the acute awareness of the revolutionary character of this exegesis. Judaism would long ago have become rigid had it not undergone continual interpretation. In the past, however, this process did not arouse the kind of misgiving or downright suspicion with which modern attempts at exegesis are viewed. In the past, exegesis was an integral and vital part of religious and traditional life, and had the unchangeable sanctity of the texts and laws. Revolutionary interpretation, by contrast, consciously aims at changing the meaning and practice of the traditional texts and laws. Recognition of the implications of contemporary interpretation has thus given rise to a sharp polarization. Reformers and revolutionaries, as well as the Conservative and Orthodox, are alive to historical changes, and both tend to exacerbate their differences. Against the declared intention to alter Judaism radically, the Orthodox strenuously try to preserve a timeless and unchanging Judaism.

However, this polarization is dislocated by the insistence of most reformist and revolutionary Jewish cultural, social, and political movements on the ancient origins of their innovations. They are accompanied by historical exegesis and, although there are many varieties, most of them reflect the desire to represent change as a revival of essential Judaism. Almost no one is satisfied with a new interpretation unless it is shown to represent the true essence of Judaism.

**Essence of Judaism**

The result is a "retroactive exegesis" which attempts to reinterpret Judaism from its beginnings. It seeks to show that the traditional exegesis was erroneous and that change therefore is a revival of the true meaning of

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Judaism. Modern Jewish thinking, whether religious or professedly secular, is distinguished by a persistent search for the essence of Judaism. The quest derived from the assumption that tradition has overlaid Judaism with rigid laws, customs, proscriptions, and teachings that have stifled the essential Judaism. Of course, no one denies that the halakhah has always been the predominant element in Judaism. But the rationale of the retroactive exegesis is that the tradition is not necessarily the true, or the only true, interpretation of authentic Judaism. No exegesis can avoid a process of selection and elimination, choosing certain items as salient, while rejecting or suppressing others. Martin Buber wrote of "subterranean Judaism," which, "secret and suppressed, remains authentic and bears witness," in contradistinction to the "official, sham Judaism whose power and public representation have neither authority nor legitimacy." He distinguished between religion and religiosity. Religion is the organizing principle: it wants to force the person into a system stabilized for all time, accepting the yoke of the laws. Religiosity is the creative principle: it starts anew with every person in each generation. The dogmas of religion are "handed down as unalterably binding to all future generations without regard for their newly developed religiosity which seeks new forms." Religion, Buber said, can be true and creative only as long as it is imbued with the new meaning that springs from religiosity. Buber maintained that the fence tradition has put around the Torah to guard against alien and dangerous encroachments has very often also "kept at a distance living religiosity."

Buber's theory of two distinct movements, the official religion and the "subterranean" religiosity, rests on a highly subjective exegesis of historical developments. The fact is that there was creative religiosity among official halakhah personalities, and the revolutionary movements of religiosity were marked by a good deal of punctilious rigidity. Though eminently qualified, Buber never made an attempt at a scholarly analysis of history.

In Die Bauleute, op. cit., Rosenzweig criticized Martin Buber for upholding this approach. The influential work in its support is Leo Baeck's Das Wesen des Judenums ("The Essence of Judaism"), first published in 1905. Louis Ginzberg in Students, Scholars and Saints (Philadelphia, 1928, p. 112) quoted Moritz Steinschneider's finding that between the first and 18th centuries almost 80 per cent of Hebrew literature was halakhic material. For divergent views on the role of halakhah in modern Judaism, see Max Wiener, Jüdische Religion im Zeitalter der Emanzipation ("Jewish Religion in the Age of the Emancipation"; Berlin, 1933), introduction and chapter 1.

On Judaism, op.cit., p. 83. Buber first developed this view in his famous Reden über das Judentum ("Addresses on Judaism"), delivered to the Bar-Kokhba Jewish student organization in Prague, 1909–11.

Ibid., p. 91.
He imparted his polemical view of authentic Judaism as he saw it. And he urged rebellion against the established religion, which he held responsible for the "increasing ossification of the law," to achieve the revival of the authentic Judaism, which lives a "mute and underground existence" awaiting the day of renewal:

Religiosity induces sons, who want to find their own God, to rebel against their fathers; religion induces fathers to reject their sons, who will not let their fathers' God be forced upon them.

. I shall try to extricate the unique character of Jewish religiosity from the rubble with which rabbinism and rationalism have covered it.32

Buber's call for renewal was a deliberate break with tradition; but his message was consciously religious.33

Secular Interpretation of Judaism

The concomitant radical demand that Zionism declare the secular character of Jewish nationality accentuated the dilemma of how to integrate the religious tradition with secular nationality. The fact was that not even extreme nonreligious Zionists wished to divest their nationalism of tradition; they were dedicated to the renascence of the Jewish people and its culture. They resolved the dilemma with a retroactive exegesis of Judaism that was shorn of religious faith. The new interpretation of Judaism was in keeping with the secular view of Jewish nationality and invested Zionism with a meaning that spanned the centuries of Jewish history.

The most influential exegesis was that of Asher Ginzberg, the Zionist thinker who wrote under the pen name Ahad Ha'am. The role of religion, he argued, was to ensure the survival of the Jewish nation, and this was its real significance in Jewish history. In their struggle against the "yoke" of exile and persecution, Ahah Ha'am argued, the Jews used the heavy "yoke" of the halakhah as an effective weapon to combat assimilation and extinction. Applying the Darwinian evolutionary "will to survive" to the behavior of peoples, as was fashionable in his time, Aḥad Ha'am regarded the Jewish religion as the product of the collective will of the Jewish nation, which instinctively chose it to assure national survival. It was an instinctive reaction, like that of any living organism, to defend itself when attacked.

32Ibid., pp. 52, 80–81; also Nahum N. Glatzer's own criticism, pp. 240–41.
33See Ernst Simon, "Martin Buber we-emunat Yisrael" (Buber and the Faith of Israel); Ḥyun, Vol. 9, No. 1, January 1958, pp. 13–50 and Eliezer Berkovits, A Jewish Critique of the Philosophy of Martin Buber (New York, 1962).
Ahad Ha'am's retroactive exegesis empties religion of its intrinsic value and provides it with the functional role of preserving and sustaining the nation throughout the prolonged exile and dispersion. In his essay, "Sabbath and Zionism," he argues that Sabbath observance fulfilled the historic task of preserving the cohesion of the Jewish nation: "It can be said without any exaggeration that more than the people of Israel have kept the Sabbath, the Sabbath has kept Israel." However, since religious observance has no intrinsic value, there is no reason not to discard it when it no longer fulfills its function. Carrying the argument a step further, he wrote that, in his view, "our religion is national, that is to say it is a product of our national spirit, but the reverse is not true. If it is impossible to be a Jew in the religious sense without acknowledging our nationality, it is possible to be a Jew in the national sense without accepting many things in which religion requires belief." Ahad Ha'am therefore concludes that, in view of the general decline of religion and growing assimilation among Jews in the modern age, Zionism should do in the 20th century what halakhah achieved in the past: enable the Jewish nation to survive.

Ahad Ha'am affirms the uniqueness of Judaism as a way of life imbued with firmly rooted belief in the principles of justice and morality. The essence of Judaism is musar ha-yahadut, the ethics of Judaism, which is distinctly Jewish because it was shaped and guided by the Jewish nation. He brings the so obviously dominant religious element in Jewish ethics into consonance with his retroactive exegesis by saying Jewish ethics are essentially secular because the religious element was only the means of preserving the core of this ethical system.

One of the most incisive nonreligious critics of Ahad Ha'am was Jacob Klatzkin, a brilliant Zionist thinker. Klatzkin held that on purely philosophical grounds, ethics cannot be classified as national. They are not necessarily associated with a particular people because they may be evolved and accepted by any individual or group, at any time. Agreeing with Ahad Ha'am's rejection of the idea that religious faith is inherent in Jewish

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35 Kol kitve Ahad Ha'am ("The Complete Writings of Ahad Ha'am"; Tel Aviv, 1947), pp. 286–87. On Ahad Ha'am's attitude toward religious tradition see especially Leon Simon, "Ahad Ha'am weha-masoret" (Ahad Ha'am and Tradition), Mezudah, London, Vol. 2, 1944, pp. 147–53.
nationality, he argues that, if Judaism were only a faith, it would not have been a national religion. What at all times was distinctively Jewish in the national sense, he maintains, was the pattern of living created by the Jewish nation.

According to Klatzkin, ideals or faith are not elements of Jewish nationalism and are therefore interchangeable at all times. Nationality *per se* is constituted by the continuing existence of a collective form of living, or patterns of behavior, shared by a people. Ethical ideals or religious faith, on the other hand, are universal. But when individuals are moved by religion to conduct collectively their lives according to an all-embracing pattern of mitzvot, they have, in fact, constituted themselves as a nation. The contents of Jewish culture and religion are the products of Jewish nationality and may undergo radical transformation without affecting nationality. Says Klatzkin: "Hebrew existence does not mean the acceptance of religious creeds or intellectual principles. . . . The definition of nationalism has two aspects: the partnership in the past and the will to continue this partnership in the future."

Klatzkin distinguishes between values and criteria: A belief or a value may be cherished by a people, but it is not the criterion of its nationality. The content of life is a national value, but what is decisive in nationalism is the form, not the content. And since, according to this interpretation, nationality is without content, Klatzkin rejects Ahad Ha'am's reinterpreted secular Judaism. He was convinced that the observance of the mitzvot is the quintessence of Jewish nationality. He was equally certain that religion is coming to an end. Klatzkin therefore concludes that the Jewish people cannot survive as a nation.

The Jews will then have two alternatives: assimilation in the dispersion or establishment of an independent Jewish society in the national homeland. Only that society will be able to replace the vanishing mitzvot, for it will shape new forms of national Jewish living. In Eretz Israel, the continuity of nationhood will be assured by the very fact that the Jews will live collectively as a nation, on national territory. Then the questions of content, of beliefs and values, will be irrelevant to the fact of national life. Whatever beliefs the people will hold at a particular time will be Jewish because they will be held by Jews. But they will not be intrinsically Jewish because ideas and beliefs are universal and may be held by any individual or people.38

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38Klatzkin's theory of Zionism determined his very negative prognosis for the future of the Jewish Diaspora. Since the old religious bonds were bound to disappear, Jewish nationality would survive only in Eretz Israel. Elsewhere, the Jewish people would disappear by assimilation. Klatzkin further was convinced that there would be a complete break between Eretz Israel and the Diaspora.
Critique of Secular Nationalism

Yehezkel Kaufmann, Zionist philosopher, historian, and Bible scholar, rejected Aḥad Ha'am's "biological nationalism" as unfounded. In his view, national feeling is not an instinctive trait, but derives from an overriding and conscious will to be part of a national entity. That national feelings are not natural is particularly obvious in Jewish history. When the Jewish people were scattered in the Diaspora, its national uniqueness was precisely that it did not succumb to the natural pull of assimilation. Its existence in the Diaspora was thus a struggle against natural instincts.

Why then did the Jews want to survive as a nation—against nature and despite formidable odds? Kaufmann's explanation is the Jewish people's religious faith, which is closely integrated with its nationality:

While the spiritual culture and life of the Jewish people in the diaspora does contain secular nationalistic elements... the element that has been the cause of the Jewish people's unique national survival in exile has been the religious element in our spiritual culture. The decisive proof is that the Jewish people in the Diaspora preserved only that part of its spiritual culture which had acquired the sanctification of religion. This fact clearly proves that adherence to the religious elements in its culture impelled the nation to isolate itself from its neighbors, contrary to nature. Because the nation adhered to its faith, and because it wished to live by that faith even after it became separated from the other elements of its national life, it set up a barrier between itself and the rest of the world and rejected the natural process of assimilation.†

Religion was not used by the nation as a means to achieve survival; rather, adherence to religion impelled it to isolate itself from other peoples and thus it preserved its national uniqueness. Says Kaufmann: "The national existence of the Jewish people in the diaspora, then, is not to be explained by the force of some biological or psychological quality (there is no such basis for any national existence), or by the force of the nature of social reality (as is the case with the existence of other nations), but by the force of religion, which is the source of its national will. Recognition of this fact is fundamental for an understanding of our national life in the past and in the present."40

Kaufmann was aware that for nonreligious Zionists to recognize religion as the source of Jewish nationality involves far more than the academic question of interpreting Jewish history. Jewish nationality exists regardless

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of the beliefs and unbeliefs of the Jews. As a matter of fact, the major and most influential part of the Zionist movement has been opposed to religion. As a result, the nonreligious Zionists found themselves in a dilemma which Kaufmann—who regarded himself as one of many Jews who had lost their religious faith—described as follows:

Our situation is indeed tragic. . . . It is hard to reconcile ourselves to the idea that our nationalism derives from a faith that no longer exists in our hearts. This is why we try to find some other basis for our nationalism and devise a “natural nationalism” or a “spiritual nationalism” or other explanations. But if the fate of our nation has been ordained, shall we avert the evil of the decree by ignoring the truth? On the other hand, if relief and deliverance are to be our lot, only a recognition of our true position can show us the road we must take.

The dilemma of the unbelieving Zionist was dramatically described by the Hebrew writer Mordechai Ze'ev Feuerberg in 1899 in his story, “Le-an” (Whither). Nachman, its hero, lives in unbearable tension between his loss of faith and his attachment to the Jewish people, which finally leads him to break with the tradition and the community in a symbolic act: he extinguishes the candle in the synagogue on Yom Kippur. The shocked community is convinced that Nachman is mad. Nachman, himself, is deeply troubled by his action. What impelled him to desecrate the most holy day?

I am miserable . . . because I am a son of a people which has nothing in the world except religion. You have only two possibilities: to fight for religion or against religion—but I want to be a free man. The purpose of my life is not to fight for or against religion. . . . I sense in my heart different yearnings and I hope to do different things in my world and among my people.41

Religion is a problem which he wants to escape; yet tradition weighs so heavily upon him that he is compelled to face it—and work out a position that is Jewish and nonreligious at the same time.

The complexity of the situation has probably been the main reason for the popularity of Ahad Ha'am's exegesis. By imputing to Judaism a secular "essence," he could work out a formula for a Judaism that is both traditional and ultramodern, and tailored to the secular Zionist. It provides a simple and acceptable answer for those who wish to give up religion and retain Jewish nationality. Thus, tradition can be embraced without religious commitment by preserving traditional nomenclature and secularizing content.

In Israel, traditional texts are occasionally secularized without a change in the basic wording. To cite but a few examples: During the festival of Hanukkah, the nonbelieving Israeli sings, “Who can utter the mighty acts

41 Ketavim (“Writings”; Tel Aviv, 1964), p. 85.
of Israel?" instead of "the mighty acts of God" of Psalm 106. At memorial ceremonies, the religious Yizkor Elohim is often replaced by Yizkor 'am Yisrael or Nizkor (we shall remember). On Israel's Independence Day in the 1950s, some cities spanned their streets with festive banners announcing, "This is the day which Zahal [the Israel army] has made; we will be glad and rejoice thereon,"—a secularized version of Psalm 118, substituting "Zahal" for "the Lord." The famous verse in chapter four of the Book of Zechariah is often quoted, but with a slight, though significant, change. Instead of the biblical text "Not by might, nor by power, but by My spirit, sayeth the God of Hosts," they quote: "but by the spirit." In a popular children's dance based on the last verse of the Song of Deborah (Judges 5:31) the children sing, "So perish all your enemies, O Israel," instead of "O Lord."

Still, there were some for whom Ahad Ha'Am's thinking was not radical enough. Among its most popular critics were the writers Joseph Hayyim Brenner and Micah Joseph Berdichevski, who urged Zionism to repudiate unequivocally the link between the Jewish nation and any form of Judaism. In his novels and essays Brenner challenges his readers to subject Jewish life to uncompromising criticism, to hate the past, and to create a new life through Zionism. Berdichevski turns Friedrich Nietzsche's concept of the Umwertung aller Werte (revaluation of all values) into a challenge to contemporary Jewish life, urging a fundamental revision of its foundations: "We must cease to be tablets on which books are transcribed and thoughts handed down to us—always handed down." Jewish revival, he held, can be accomplished only by revolution. "The Jews must come first, before Judaism; the living man, before the legacy of his ancestors."

Zionism fosters a pronounced historical consciousness and an enhanced sense of historic continuity; for without them the Jews' attachment to

43 Avraham Kariv, in Adabberah we-yirwah li ("I Shall Speak to Find Relief"; Tel Aviv, 1961), has criticized this negative evaluation of Jewish diaspora life, which is shared by other modern Hebrew writers. Kaufmann, (Golah we-nekhar, vol 2, pp. 411–14) characterized this aspect of Zionist ideology as antishemiyut me-ahavah, antisemitism arising out of love for the Jewish people. See also his "Antisemitic Stereotypes in Zionism," Commentary, March 1949, pp. 239–45.
44 Ahad Ha'am wrote a spirited criticism of the application of the idea of revaluation of values to Jewish life. See Leon Simon, tr. and ed., Ahad Ha'am, Essays, Letters, Memoirs. (Oxford, 1946). It is significant that this debate is reflected in the writings of the leading Hebrew poets of pre-state Zionism. Hayyim Nahman Bialik (1873–1934) was deeply influenced by Ahad Ha'am, while Saül Tchernichowsky (1875–1943) was close to the thinking of Brenner and Berdichevski.
nation and land would have withered. But the simultaneous urge for change and revolt against the past has continued, and, for this reason, the debate about Judaism that arose with the beginnings of Zionism continues to agitate the cultural and religious life in Israel. It not only affects relations between religious and nonreligious Israelis, but also cuts across all movements, trends, parties, and political and cultural opinion. Viewed in the context of modern Jewish history, the conflict contains a decidedly creative element: the commitment to, and search for, the contemporary relevance of Judaism. It is symptomatic of the disputants' concern for this relevance, although the discussions admittedly often deteriorate into acrimonious, even obnoxious, political wrangling.

**AFTER 1948**

**Extremist Anti-Zionism**

There are in Israel also exponents of extreme anti-Zionist positions: the religious extremists, the Neture Karta⁴⁶ ("guardians of the city"), and the secular extremists, the Canaanites.⁴⁷ Although both are no more than tiny fringe sects, their ideas find acceptance among some religious and secular groups.⁴⁸ For the Neture Karta, Zionism is an affliction, a shocking heresy.

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⁴⁷"Canaanites" was the epithet used to describe the small group of Hebrew writers who, in the early forties, advocated the view that a new "Hebrew" nation will develop in Eretz Israel, which will relate to the peoples who had inhabited the area before the advent of Judaism. In time, this group adopted the derisory name originally used by its opponents. For its ideology, see Yonathan Ratosh, "The New Hebrew Nation," in Ben Ezer, *Unease in Zion*, op.cit., pp. 201-34. On its literary aspects, see Baruch Kurzweil, "The New 'Canaanites' in Israel," *Judaism*, Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1953.

⁴⁸The Neture Karta are thought to number only a few dozen families, the Canaanites about a dozen writers.
in Judaism, to be utterly condemned and given no religious legitimacy. Any possible religious or cultural influence it may have on Jews must be obliterated. Judaism and Jewish life must remain untouched by modern interferences. The Canaanites believe life in Israel is so radically new and normal that it brooks no relationship to the Jewish people in the Diaspora, now or in the past. The new “Hebrew” nation emerging in the new State of Israel comprises both Jews and Arabs and obliterates past affiliations. It is a continuation of the classic Hebrew nation anteceding Judaism. The Canaanites, therefore, reject both Zionism and Jewishness. The insistence of Zionism on the link with Jewish history and the Jewish people in the Diaspora, they hold, distorts and stunts the growth of the new and normal Hebrew nation.  

In rejecting Zionism, both the Neḥure Ḳarta and the Canaanites declare their determination to ignore the cultural and religious problems inherent in modern Jewish life. The Neḥure Ḳarta is doing so by repudiating the new; the Canaanites, by discarding the old. While Israelis generally oppose the extravagances of the extremists, many lend qualified support to some of their positions. What is of decisive significance is that the overwhelming majority of Israelis reject cut-and-dried polarizations, and continue to grapple with the ideologies that perpetuate the inner conflicts and tensions over the meaning of Jewishness.

**Judaism as Living Civilization**

Under the impact of Zionism, and particularly of the new conditions in the State of Israel, the confrontation between modernity and Judaism has taken a new turn. According to Gershom Scholem, leading expert in Jewish mysticism, Judaism is regarded not merely as a body of religious knowledge and practice, but as the living civilization of a nation. Therefore, the Jew’s relationship to Judaism is both committed and critical. Judaism imposes itself upon him, but he is not bound by it. Unlike Ahad Ha’am, Scholem does not produce a retroactive exegesis. His argument is that there is no unalterable definition of Judaism; that Judaism is a living phenomenon, to be interpreted by each generation in a process of selection and rejection. The meaning of living Judaism should not be bound by the dogmatic defini-

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tions of the rabbinical traditions. Even the most Orthodox are selective in that they quite often suppress what they consider undesirable in tradition.

What then should be retained of the tradition? For Scholem, this is a dogmatic question posing no real problem: "I go far in identifying myself with the past, with my forefathers, and I nevertheless do not arrive at dogmatic conclusions from that." Scholem argues that no people can exist without fostering "the feeling for tradition," but that each generation, on the basis of profound understanding of, and identification with, the tradition should evaluate it from its own vantage point. Scholem advocates that Jews should not commit themselves to the traditional exegesis, but should retain open minds and hearts so that they can work out their own interpretation of Jewishness, without interference of any kind. The religious believer should accept the possibility of an atheistic Judaism, if it does not reject the Jewish heritage. This approach excludes the explicit Canaanite ideology, as well as the *hubris* of some Israelis who speak in terms of "it all begins with us here" or "we have created it all with our own hands."

*Kibbutz Movement*

Preoccupation with the religious heritage is, perhaps surprisingly, most energetic and consistent in Israel's secular kibbutz movement. The kibbutzim were founded, and their life-style was shaped, by halutzim, members of the Jewish socialist movement, who had left Eastern Europe in open rebellion against the Jewish religion. Often, their rejection of religion was not based on reasoning; it was self-understood, in keeping with a prevailing

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1"In The Messianic Idea in Judaism (New York, 1971), p. 312, Scholem discusses the potentially important effects of the Zionist non-Orthodox view of Judaism: "Seen from a theological point of view, it may in a quite different fashion lead to a new manner of religious inquiry which will then not be determined simply by formulas inherited from an earlier generation."

2Abba Kovner, poet and a member of a Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz, castigated this view as an "infantile myth," in "Mi'gash me-'ever la-hashkekhah" (Meeting Beyond the Darkness), *Yalkut Moreshet*, No. 17, February 1974.

3Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook believed that the growth of irreligiosity among young Jews in Eastern Europe and in Eretz Israel was mainly due to social issues. See Zvi Yaron, *Mishnato shel Ha-rav Kook* ("The Philosophy of Rabbi Kook"; Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 33-52.

4Curiously enough, the name Kibbutz was adopted by the halutzim from the Bratzlaver Hasidim; see Judah Ya'ari, "Be-derekh hatatim" (On the Fearsome Road), in *Sefer ha-'aliyah ha-shelishit* ("The Book of the Third Aliyah"; Tel Aviv, 1964).
mode of looking at the world. They simply "could not understand how a young man could be religious in these times."

The irreligion of the halutzim was articulate, and dominated the ideological and cultural developments of the kibbutzim. And yet, it was in this conspicuously and deliberately secular atmosphere that some of the most significant grappling with Jewish tradition took place. The confrontation began in the early days of the movement, when rebellion was still strong. The kibbutz participated in an antireligious revolt, but, at the same time, it consciously gave secular form to many teachings of Judaism and patterns of Jewish living. It thus has become suffused with Jewish purpose and culture. The Jewishness of the first generation of kibbutzniks did not conflict with the pronounced secularism of the kibbutz. But the second and third generations appear to be coming under the spell of a sort of Israeli-Jewish "Hansen's law." While the first generation of halutzim felt the need to rebel against East European religious Jewishness, the second and third are content that the revolt has achieved its purpose, and the sabra kibbutznik can now tackle his Jewishness without the strain of the compelling call to rebellion. The problem of the nonreligious sabra is his sense of alienation from the Jewish heritage. The early halutzim broke away from something they knew intimately; the sabra wonders how he can fill his life with a clearly identifiable Jewish cultural heritage, from which he is estranged.

This development is by no means limited to the kibbutz movement. Urban young people in Israel have been asking similar questions. But because the kibbutz is an intensely ideological way of life, and is regarded by the Israeli public and the Zionist movement as the best and most ethical

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56The religious kibbutzim were established only in the 1930s, and remained a tiny minority. See Meir Orlean, *Ha-kibbuq ha-dati we-hitpattehuto* ("The Religious Kibbutz and its Development"; Tel Aviv, 1946); Aryeh Fishman, ed., *The Religious Kibbutz Movement* (Jerusalem, 1957).


58A theory advanced by Marcus L. Hansen regarding differences between successive immigrant generations in the United States (see reprint of his "The Third Generation in America," *Commentary*, Vol. 14, No. 5, November 1952, pp. 492–500). It describes the first immigrant generation as rooted in the culture of the country of origin; the second generation as torn between the culture of their parents and that of their native country and anxious to erase the immigrant past; the third generation as no longer feeling this conflict or the need to assimilate. Lilker (ibid., pp. 88–116) has applied Hansen’s law to the changing attitudes to religion in the kibbutz.
expression of the Zionist ideals, it is far more exposed to publicity, and its members carry far more influence than their number warrants. Kibbutzniks are encouraged to voice critical views, even complaints, and it is quite usual for their publications to carry articles and discussions on all aspects of kibbutz life. Interest in these statements is particularly strong because the kibbutz is assumed to have always been a hotbed of antireligious ideology and strongly negative attitude to the Jewish past.\(^9\) Though this view is too simplistic and one-sided, it is encouraged by much of the "official" literature of the kibbutz which seeks to emphasize its secular humanist values. The average Israeli sees the kibbutznik's probing as a reflection—perhaps more intensive and articulate—of his own hopes, anxieties and doubts.

That is why \textit{Siah lohamim} ("Soldiers' Conversation")\(^{60}\) became a best-seller and one of the most argued books in Israel. It appeared at a time when Israelis were still experiencing the elation of victory after the six-day war. There was a strange disparity between that feeling and the introspective thinking of young kibbutz members who had fought in the war and were now searching for the meaning of their Jewishness. And this was by no means an isolated outburst, which may have been described as a kind of "shell-shock philosophy" or "foxhole religion." The most incisive questioning of the official kibbutz opposition to religion is continuously raised in \textit{Shedemot} ("Furrows"), the unconventional quarterly issued by young members of all kibbutz movements. It does not herald a religious revival in the kibbutzim; it rather reflects the tension between young kibbutzniks' spiritual gropings and kibbutz ideology, as sharply indicated by a young member who chided the kibbutz founders for eradicating religion without offering a substitute, thus creating a profound feeling of spiritual emptiness.

Another collection of conversations of young kibbutzniks, \textit{Ben ze'irim} ("Among Young People")\(^{61}\) was published a year later, as a sequel to \textit{Siah}.


\(^{60}\)Edited by Avraham Shapiro and published in Tel Aviv in 1968 by a group of young members of the kibbutz movement; abbreviated English edition: \textit{The Seventh Day} (London, 1970). The book consists of 30 conversations with 140 young people in 27 kibbutzim of all ideologies, taped within three months after the six-day war. For analysis, see Zvi Zinger (Yaron), "The Iron in the Rock," \textit{Jerusalem Post}, April 12, 1968.

\(^{61}\)Edited by a Group of Members of the Kibbutz Movements (Tel Aviv, 1969); see Zvi Zinger (Yaron), "Kibbutz Youth Seek Themselves," \textit{Jerusalem Post}, April 24, 1970. \textit{Ben ze'irim} was preceded by \textit{Shanah le-ahar ha-milhamah} ("One Year After the War"; Autumn, 1968), a 106-page mimeographed booklet of conversations with members of the Hashomer Hatzair En Shemer kibbutz.
lohamim. It, too, aroused a good deal of heartsearching in the kibbutzim and elsewhere in Israel. But like the earlier volume, it was strong on questions and elusive on answers. The kibbutzniks condemned their parents and teachers for rejecting the religious traditions, but only few were ready to accept belief in God. Our life is empty, was the often-repeated complaint: "We live a grey life 365 days a year." They wanted to come to grips with what they called "the mystery of the existence of the Jewish people." The questions tumbled out in staggering confusion: What is the meaning and purpose of our life? Why are we hated by the Arabs? What is the point of the kibbutz? Why is Jewish history an almost unbroken string of persecution and death? Does Jewishness mean existence as such, or does it imply Jewish content and meaning? If we can't have religious faith, should we at least observe some traditional customs? Are we Jews or Israelis, or Israeli Jews? Are we Jews because we have to be Jews, that is to say because other people—Gentiles, Arabs, antisemites—regard us as Jews? Or has the fact of our being different some meaning calling for a commitment, and if so, a commitment to what, for what purpose? Or perhaps, as some argued, we need not worry about meaning and purpose: we live, we exist, and we want to continue living, and that's all. The discussions were marked by a never-ending tentativeness.

Role of Bible

The heightened sense of tragedy after the Yom Kippur war of 1973 intensified discontent with the view that the existence of the State of Israel solves all problems inherent in Jewish life. There is a restlessness and a sensitive awareness that the meaning of Jewishness is eluding a generation which has become estranged from religious faith. The conviction has been growing that Israel ought to be a means for revitalizing the content of Jewish life.

It is significant that in Israel the Hebrew word masoret (tradition) is used to describe religion. The equation of religion and tradition persists in the Jewish consciousness, although the rise of Jewish nationalism was possible only after the religious tradition had undergone a process of secularization. A recent study of Jewish identity among young sabras shows that the

62See also symposium on "Historical Continuity and Traditional Values," Hedim (the quarterly of the Hashomer Hatzair Kibbutzim), No. 97, May 1972; radio discussion on "Is God in the Kibbutz?", published in Ofek, Vol. 2, Spring 1972; discussion on a humanistic kaddish, opened by Meir Ayali, a member of kibbutz Yifat and a leading Israeli educator, which was published in Davar, February 18, March 23, April 1, 1971.

concept "Jewish" continues to have "both a religious and national connotation"; that they regard their Jewishness as consisting of "inextricably interwoven" national and religious elements. This is precisely why the normalized national-secular (Israeli) element is in constant friction with the traditional-religious (Jewish) one, and why this friction is not limited to the conspicuous conflicts between religious and nonreligious Israelis, but affects the inner life of almost every Israeli.

One of the most important attempts in Israel to overcome the dichotomy of revolution-tradition is to regard the Bible as the fountainhead of the state's new and normalized Jewish culture. This will enable the atheist to embrace the Bible as the source of his attachment to the Jewish people and its culture. The Bible for him is the literature of the ancient people of Israel living in its homeland, a normal and healthy nation. While the religiosity of the Bible cannot be denied, the atheist's commitment is not to its religion, but to its humanistic values. Rabbinic Judaism, in his eyes, is not suitable for the new, normal life because it developed in exile, reflecting its stunting and thwarting influence.

The Bible was seen as the exclusive source of Judaism in the initial stages of Zionist settlement in Eretz Israel in the beginning of the 20th century. After 1948 the search for ancient roots in the "old-new" country spurred extraordinary public interest in archaeology, accompanied by an unabated and widespread enthusiasm for Bible study. Israel is the only country in the world where a Bible quiz is a national event; where Bible reading and commentary is broadcast daily during prime listening time. The annual Bible Conference, devoted entirely to the study of the Bible, lasts four days, and is attended by hundreds of people. Numerous Bible study circles and seminars are held in cities and in kibbutzim. Many are for women, mostly housewives, and others are for workers, clerks, and professionals. Many of the seminars are held in factory and office buildings.

This activity is firmly rooted in Jewish tradition: the religious duty to study the weekly parashah (pericope), read in the synagogue on the Sabbath; the reading by women of the old Yiddish Ze'enah u-re'enah, a translation of the parashiyot and homiletical commentary; the interpretation of the Bible for each generation by a long line of Jewish exegetes. In Israel, this tradition has taken on new meaning; the Bible is the prototype of Israel's renewed normal life. This view was vigorously stated by David

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64See Isaac Tabenkin, "Ha-mekorot" (The Sources) in Berakhah Habas, ed., Sefer ha-aliyah ha-sheniyah ("The Book of the Second Aliyah"; Tel Aviv, 1947); also Benzion Mossinson, "Ha-tanakh be-vet ha-sefer," Ha-hinnukh, Vol. 1, 1910; and Aḥad Ha'am, "Ha-gimnasiyah ha-ʻivrit be-Yafo," in Kol kitve Aḥad Ha'am, op.cit., pp. 415-20.
Ben-Gurion in his many writings on biblical themes. They reflect efforts to ascribe spiritual significance to contemporary events that have changed the life of the Jewish nation.

In Ben-Gurion's scheme of things, the Bible is the core and essence of Jewishness, the vital force that has preserved the Jewish people. It has imbued the Jewish people throughout its history with faith in redemption and in the return to Zion. Jews prayed daily for redemption, and were confident that their prayers would be fulfilled. The Bible also taught the Jews "the essence of the teaching of the Prophets and the ethics of Judaism," which became the universal values for human behavior.

Ben-Gurion was scornful of the "clever people" who regard as chauvinistic the belief in Israel as a "chosen people." Israel is indeed a chosen people, not because God chose Israel, but because Israel chose God. The historical facts are that God was elected by the Jewish people; that the Jewish people distinguished itself from other nations in that it decided to believe in one God.

Ben-Gurion was painstakingly careful not to exclude God from this vision. Man is made not only of matter; and even matter is not purely matter. There is something great and terrible and mysterious, which we call spirit. Some people call this mystery God. But, argued Ben-Gurion, giving this mystery a name does not end the mystery. We know from the Bible how the biblical persons interpreted that mystery; they called it God. This is as close as he came to theology. It is less than what in Jewish tradition is meant by belief in God, but implies far more than the classic agnostic nonbelief. Perhaps Ben-Gurion's religion is some kind of Spinozist pantheism; for despite his repeated asseverations concerning the human origin of the Bible and of humanistic ethics, he unfailingly returned to declare his profound wonder at the ineffable.

The apparent incompatibility of secular disbelief and the realization that the Bible is in some sense beyond the human experience has kept alive the tension affecting attachment to the Bible. The Israeli atheist, therefore, must confront the Bible's religious character. In theory it is, of course, possible to study the Bible in a purely scholarly and scientific manner, treating it as a collection of ancient texts and subjecting it to modern philological meth-


ods of textual analysis. Although this is the rationale for the curriculum of the Bible faculties at Israeli universities, no one tries to deny that the Israeli concern with the Bible stems from a profoundly spiritual commitment and a deeply ingrained "nonscientific" conviction that the Bible is quite unlike any other book.

"GODLESS" BIBLE

In 1952 a leading nonreligious kibbutz educator published a book of Bible stories which deliberately omitted any mention of God. He argued in the preface that the Bible should be treated as manifestly human literature; that the nonreligious educator should have "the courage to restore, as far as possible, the Bible's secular texture." Since the Bible is man's faith and deals with "human pathos," Bible stories should contain no reference to the divine.

The book created somewhat of a sensation in educational circles. Some of the angriest protests came from other nonreligious teachers, who were aghast at the thought that anyone should tamper with the ancient and hallowed text of the Bible. They were, of course, aware that the idea of the godless Bible followed from the consistent application of their conviction that man was the measure of all things and that religion was man's projection of human nature into the beyond. But they thought it futile to try to solve the problem of their attachment to what was obviously a religious book by rewriting the Bible and eliminating all mention of divinity.

HUMANISTIC APPROACH TO BIBLE

While the godless Bible was soon forgotten, the underlying issue of nonreligious commitment to the Bible is very much alive. For if man is entirely on his own and if nothing transcends experience, there is a serious difficulty in the biblical assertion that God addresses man and that man responds to God. A leading Israeli Bible scholar, Professor Shmaryahu Talmon, raises this question in an essay, "The Bible in Contemporary Israeli Humanism." Talmon admits that the Bible is "the cornerstone of the Jewish national-cultural heritage." However, he argues, the present generation needs a logical justification for the esteem in which the Bible is

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held in Israel, since the nonreligious Israeli embraces "humanism without God and without faith and yet yearns for a return to the historic sources of Jewish culture and strives to determine a place for the Bible in his own world of ideas." Talmon's solution is for nonbelieving Jews to have a purely humanistic approach to the Bible by emphasizing objective study and research, and to abstain carefully from "identifying" with it. The Bible should have a central role as the primary source of the early history and the beginning of the faith of the people of Israel, and as the foundation of the Hebrew language and literature. Talmon also suggests that normative values be drawn from the Bible. In this way, he holds, "The subjection of the will of the individual to the essential goals of his society, which is characteristic of biblical thought, may become a formative factor in the solidification of the Israeli society and a force which unites it with the Jewish people at large." Thus, nonreligious Jews can find in the Bible a theory of man and society "which can serve as a basis for a new Jewish humanism." Although Talmon then confesses that it may not after all be possible to work the Bible into a secular pattern of thought, he expresses the hope that an approach of "intellectual enlightenment" may yet enable convinced atheists to discover in the Bible "the bases of a humanistic faith." 69

That this question is of primary concern to nonreligious Israelis who study the Bible was pointed out by Professor Shelomo D. Goitein. 70 When he asked his students to indicate their chief concern about teaching the Bible, the usual reply was what to do about God in the Bible. In a chapter significantly entitled "Beruah ha-kodesh" (In the Spirit of Holiness), Goitein attempts to persuade all of them, no matter what their convictions, not to ignore God in teaching the Bible. It is, he states, impossible to excise God from the Bible; teaching the Bible without God would be an educational travesty. Teachers, even the unreligious, should talk about God with understanding and veneration, and emphasize that God speaks to us through the Bible. For those who do not believe in the existence of God there is "educational meaning" in learning about the biblical God and valuable humanistic experience in reading the Bible and listening to the "God of the Bible." 71

The religious person is bound to reject this approach. Abraham Joshua

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69 For surveys of the problems of biblical studies see Menahem Haran, Hekker ha-Mikra' ba-lashon ha-'ivrit ("The Study of Scripture in the Hebrew Language"; Jerusalem, 1969); Benyamin Uffenheimer, "Some Features of Modern Jewish Bible Research," Immanuel, Summer 1972, pp. 3-14.

70 Hora'at ha-Tanakh ("Teaching the Bible"; Tel Aviv, 1957); cf. Zvi Adar, Humanistic Values in the Bible (New York, 1967).

71 This bears strong similarity to Reconstructionism; cf. Mordecai M. Kaplan, Questions Jews Ask (New York, 1956), pp. 82-85.
Heschel repeatedly insisted on the need for a radical decision: either God exists, or the Bible is a scandal. In his view, the Bible "is primarily not man's vision of God but God's vision of man," as the Prophets claimed to have perceived it. If their claim is false, we should condemn them as impostors. "The Bible has either originated in a lie or in an act of God." But in Israel the Bible is not only an issue of religious faith. It has become an issue of personal value commitment and of identification with the Jewish past. The people's attitude toward the Bible is thus inherent in the cultural and religious dialectic of the Zionist preservative revolution.

Religious vs. Nonreligious Establishment

As the almost total engrossment with mamlakhiyut, statehood, in the early days of Israel's existence began to give way to emphasis on the content of Jewish nationality and a growing willingness to infuse culture and the patterns of living with Jewish tradition, even with its religious aspects, public friction caused by religious issues became more frequent and acrimonious.

Two distinct views prevail on anything related to religion, Jewishness, or tradition. These are discussed and worked out among the Orthodox religious on the one side, and the non-Orthodox on the other, with no dialogue between the two. The Orthodox discuss problems related to Orthodoxy, the non-Orthodox are concerned with the questions of Jewishness in an ostensibly secular culture. In the main, the two sides debate with each other only the divisive religious issues affecting public and political life. The non-Orthodox concentrate their arguments on religious coercion, freedom of individual conscience, and separation of religion and state, and say almost nothing about why they oppose religious faith. The result is that Israelis never hear of the purely religious aspects of the issues involved, only of those that are conspicuous in public life and therefore inevitably affect both the Orthodox and non-Orthodox. Even the question of the Reform and

72Abraham J. Heschel, Man is Not Alone (New York, 1951), p. 129; and God in Search of Man, op.cit., pp. 235–47. In his address at the World Ideological Conference in Jerusalem, August 1957, Heschel said: "If there is no God, then Israelite prophecy is the most terrible scandal in history" (Hasut, Vol. 4, 1958), p. 316.

73Before the establishment of the state, it was yishuvism, which emphasized the predominance in Zionism of the yishuv, Eretz Israel's Jewish community.

74In "Beri'at ha-bore" (The Creation of the Creator), Al Hamishmar, November 7, 1965, Dov Bar-Nir urges people to study antireligious thought, for, he complains, "Many people in this country, and in particular young people, are no longer aware that there is a philosophy which negates the principles of religion."
Conservative movements is raised not in terms of their claims as alternatives to Orthodoxy, but solely in reference to the legal and public recognition of their rabbis and congregations.

The character of the dispute is determined by a consensus that religious belief is definitely not at issue; for the Orthodox and non-Orthodox have the same view of the character and essence of Judaism. They oppose each other only on whether to accept or reject it. The consensus derives from the fact that religious life and thought in Israel have been shaped largely by East European and Middle Eastern communities. The influence of these groups is evident in the composition of the rabbinate, and in the prevailing conception of the rabbi's role in the community. It is equally apparent in the general view of religious education, which in practice favors the inclusion of secular studies, but in principle opposes synthesis. Most religious Israelis accept academic training as professionally necessary, though they have not yet integrated it into the religious scheme and are uneasy about "worldly education."

Orthodox Jewish life of Eastern Europe was wholly oriented to the spiritual and was contemptuous of *di velt*, the worldly aspects of life. This philosophy does not totally reject the sciences and secular knowledge, but regards them as outside the religious sphere. They are relegated to that large neutral realm of things necessary for earning a living and remaining healthy, thereby combining a pragmatic formula for living with traditional disdain for the "worldly."

East European religious thinking is well suited to the Israelis of the Oriental Sephardi communities. They came from countries where Jews did not experience the complex confrontation that affected European Jews. They either remained strictly within the Jewish fold or assimilated to the non-Jewish culture. Only in Israel have they begun to face the modern Jewish dilemma—the confrontation between traditional religion and a secularism with intense national consciousness. However, opposition to religion moved neither the Oriental Sephardim nor the East European Jews to engage in noteworthy philosophical debates. The main argument of the nonreligious is that religion is outmoded and superfluous, of no value in the contemporary world of science and enlightenment. This type of anti-religion could not produce a religious reform movement, for such a movement can only arise from religious dissatisfaction with Orthodoxy. The total negation of religion by the East European Jew, and by some Middle Eastern

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Sephardim, is possible only when religion is considered not important enough to warrant reform.\textsuperscript{76} Faced with this onslaught, Orthodoxy shored up its defenses against secularization by conducting a virtual battle against all inroads and innovations.\textsuperscript{77}

\textit{The Rabbinate}

The absence of dialogue between the opposing groups is also reflected in Israeli religious literature. Despite a considerable annual output of homiletic writings, less than half a dozen recently published books indicate awareness of the nature of the current challenges to religious faith. The rabbis ignore the problems that concern young religious Israelis who study science, read literature, listen to the radio, go to the movies, and, above all, mingle in the army with other young people of the most varied backgrounds. With few exceptions, the attitude of the rabbis is one of aloofness from the spiritual upheavals of our time and the encroachments of modern culture on tradition. This is reflected in the rabbinate's almost complete preoccupation with practical \textit{halakhah}, with "conspicuous" religion, particularly the public observance of kashrut and the Sabbath, and with marriage and divorce. It is almost completely silent on matters of thought and rarely speaks out on social problems. There is an old joke that an Israeli who is a vegetarian and gets along with his wife will never need a rabbi.

Of the 400 practicing rabbis in Israel, only a handful are university graduates. Moreover, Israel is the only free country with a large Jewish population that has no rabbinical seminary. An attempt, in 1934, to transfer the Orthodox Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary from Berlin to Jerusalem was successfully opposed by the rabbinate.\textsuperscript{78} And when Bar Ilan university was established in 1954, the rabbinate exacted a promise from the founders that it would not have a department for the training of rabbis, although it was originally modeled after Yeshiva University in New York, which has a rabbinical school.

There is a glaring lack of communication between the rabbinate and Israeli society, the modern Orthodox as well as the nonreligious. The rabbinate, which thinks and lives in the past, is unaware of the complexities of


\textsuperscript{77}Opposition to all novelty was summed up in a catch phrase, \textit{hadash asur min ha-Torah}, anything new is prohibited by the Torah. See Meir Herschkovitz, \textit{Rabbi Z. H. Chayes} (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 75, 143.

\textsuperscript{78}Rabbi Leo Jung, "Rabbiner-Seminar für das orthodoxe Judentum," \textit{Encyclopædia Judaica}. 
contemporary issues, and its unsophisticated attempts at solutions are irrelevant. Instinctively, its initial reaction is to oppose innovation, a stand it frequently is forced to revise after further consideration of a particular case. No wonder that the so-called "religious establishment" is turning inward and is avoiding what must be a painful confrontation with modern realities.

Opposing the rabbinate is an equally authoritative "nonreligious establishment" which has no interest in religion, yet is intent on retaining a fairly large measure of Jewish tradition in national life and culture. It accepts the distinction between Orthodox-religious and nonreligious as an unalterable division. If the establishment Orthodox are convinced that the only true Jewishness is in Orthodoxy, the establishment nonreligious are persuaded that religion is irrelevant to modern life.

State of Belief

It would, however, be incorrect to conclude that the religious situation is one of polarization between the Orthodox and nonreligious establishments. It is vastly more complex, involving numerous divisions and subdivisions in opinions and beliefs among both the religious and nonreligious that are inherent in religion, but are particularly pronounced in Israel as a result of the tensions of the Zionist preservative revolution.

The complexity of the situation is heightened by the difficulty of understanding the Hebrew terms used to describe the extent of religious belief, or opposition: hilloni, translated as secular; dati, as religious; and masorati, as traditional. The meaning and implications of these terms are far from simple. Although a hilloni is secular, it does not necessarily follow that he does not believe in God; he may even occasionally attend synagogue. Dati is usually confined to the Orthodox. A masorati, or traditional Jew, may light Sabbath candles or refrain from eating nonkosher food; he also may pray regularly and observe mitzvot, though usually selectively.

There is a good deal of overlapping. A person who thinks of himself as hilloni may also describe himself as masorati. And an Orthodox Jew may correctly be defined as masorati. At the same time, any person may rightfully define himself as masorati, arguing that no culture is without tradition. Some people may hesitate to define themselves as hilloni because of its
possible atheist connotation. And there are some religious persons who prefer to describe themselves as *masorati.*

More than half of the Israelis can be accurately described as *masorati,* in the sense that they are not fully observant but are traditional with regard to some beliefs, or certain mitzvot and customs. Many observe kashrut in varying degrees; observe some of the Sabbath mitzvot, attend synagogue services more or less often, and want to be married in a traditional religious ceremony. According to a “Pori” poll of July 1973, over 70 per cent of the respondents said they eat only kosher food; among the Orientals the percentage was 87 (Ha-arez, September 2, 1973). There are no figures on Sabbath observance. The question of civil versus religious marriage—whether the state should give legal recognition to civil marriages—has become a political issue, and the polls deal exclusively with this aspect.

Outside of Israel, the confusion is even greater. For example, when Israelis speak of *dati,* they clearly think of Orthodox religious only. Elsewhere, the translation of the term as “religious” is understood as referring to all religious movements in Judaism.

The common usage of *dati* is annoying to Israelis who are consciously religious, but not Orthodox. They maintain that their opposition to the observance of the unchanged *halakhah* should make them non-Orthodox, but by no means *hilloni,* secular and nonreligious.

The question of the definition of religiosity is, of course, of primary importance to the Reform and Conservative congregations in Israel in their quest for full legal and public recognition. These congregations, offering Israelis new religious alternatives, began to make an impact only in the 1960s; of the 6,000 synagogues in Israel in 1974, 11 were Reform and 13 Conservative.

The Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism (Reform) stresses its dedication to a “renewal of Jewish tradition to meet the needs of our time; respect for the past; inspiration for the present and creative openness for the future; rights for women, who participate as equals in the services; relating

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80 A public opinion poll, conducted by Diwwuah we-Sikkur Institute in Jerusalem and published in the daily Yedi'ot Aharonot (May 11, 1973), pointed up this confusion and overlapping.

81 The misunderstanding caused by David Ben-Gurion’s use of *dati* is discussed in Avi-hai, op. cit., pp. 237–38.

82 While the first Conservative congregation was established in 1937, the Conservative movement began to function only in 1960. The first Reform congregation was founded in 1957. A Mevakshe derekh (Seekers of the Way) congregation, established in Jerusalem in 1962, is neither Orthodox nor affiliated with any of the non-Orthodox movements.
Jewish values to contemporary issues of Israeli society." The United Synagogue of Israel (Conservative) uses in its appeal to the public a phrase from the writings of the late Chief Rabbi Kook: "To renew the old and sanctify the new." The continuing numerical weakness and religious isolation of these movements emphasize the over-all identification of religion with Orthodoxy. By 1974, neither the Conservative nor the Reform had been significantly active in educational and cultural work. The general impression remains that, unlike Orthodoxy, they are not indigenous to Israel.

However, despite formal labels and organizational definitions, religious beliefs and observances in Israel are not only Orthodox. The situation is comparable to that in Britain, where the establishment religion and the majority of formal synagogue affiliations are Orthodox and most Jews identify religion with the Orthodox tradition, but where there is considerable variation in religious faith and practice. A large number of Israelis work out their religion in terms that elsewhere would clearly be defined as Reform or Conservative. Many who describe themselves as hilloni are actually indistinguishable from American Reform, Reconstructionist, or left-wing Conservative Jews. There are, too, the basic differences between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, which are by no means limited to nusah (text of prayers) and ritual observance; they are quite distinct in religious outlook and the treatment of religious problems.

"Jewish Consciousness"

The most important debate on the subject of Jewishness and its religious implications began when the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1959 introduced a program of todah yehudit, "Jewish consciousness," into the nonreligious-school curriculum. The English translation does not transmit the deeper commitment implied by the Hebrew phrase. It means, above all, that much more should be taught about Judaism. For example, children should learn the religious significance of festivals, not the secularized meaning. They should become familiar with synagogue procedures; know the prayers and religious laws, and even study talmudic literature.

The purpose of this program, an official directive of the ministry ex-

15 Yaron, op.cit., p. 172; see note 53.

16 One point of difference has been a general tendency among Sephardi rabbis to be more lenient in halakhic decisions than most Ashkenazi rabbis. (See the responsa, Mishpete 'Uzzi'el, of Rabbi Ben-Zion Me'ir Hay Ouziel [1880-1953], the late Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel.) Of late, this has changed, apparently because of public pressures by religious extremists.
plained, is “not to adopt a historical approach to the subject, but rather to treat Judaism as capable of contributing to contemporary issues.” The program’s sponsors always carefully pointed out that its aim was not to achieve the pupils’ actual commitment to religion, but to familiarize the young generation with religious thought, the mitzvot and customs, and generally to “develop a sympathetic understanding for the traditional forms of Jewish life.”

The program was initiated to alleviate the worry of parents and educators that nonreligious-school children were becoming estranged from the Jewish heritage. It was also meant to deal with a specific problem: the relationship between the young sabra and Diaspora Jews, which, educators felt, had been undermined by the new state’s strong emphasis on the purely territorial aspect and Zionist criticism of diaspora life. Without roots in the past and attachment to the Jewish people everywhere, it was feared, the sabra may come very close to the Canaanite ideology. The issue was of such importance that the government coalition agreement (after the election of the third Kneset) in 1955 devoted a special clause to it:

> In primary, secondary, and higher education the Government will endeavor to deepen the Jewish consciousness of Israel’s youth, to enable it to become rooted in the past of the Jewish people and its historical heritage, to strengthen its moral attachment to Jewry through an appreciation of the common destiny and the historic continuity which has united Jews the world over, in all generations and all countries.⁶⁵

Strong opposition to the program came from the antireligious minority, which argued that Jewish consciousness was in fact a program of religious education. It was supported in the Kneset by almost all members of all parties, except Mapam (Socialist) and Aḥdut Ha-‘avodah (left-wing Labor). Speaking in support of the program, the writer Yizhar Smilansky, member of Mapai (Labor), argued that any possible conflict arising from a confrontation with Jewish tradition can only be fruitful.

However, the program suffers from theoretical and practical difficulties. The state schools do not have enough teachers with the knowledge to teach Jewish subjects. And those who can teach Jewish traditional texts and ritual feel ill at ease when they are inevitably drawn into a consideration of belief in God, revelation and halakhah. (For example, the prayerbook is so replete with religious meaning that no one can study it without taking a personal position for or against prayer). Teaching the Jewish heritage is particularly difficult in the high school where students do not respond to an emotional

and sentimental appeal that can be used with younger children. The real difficulty, some educators suggest, lies not in the program contents, but in the outlook and attitude of the teachers.

Whatever the immediate results of the program, the fact remains that it has become part of the school curriculum and, if nothing more, its very existence is bound to raise the issue of Jewishness with both pupils and teachers. Its main significance may well be in the ongoing discussions regarding its effects, successes, and failures. The program is frequently amended, and this requires seminars for its teachers and the availability of literature. In 1974 the ministry of education introduced courses emphasizing the values of the Jewish heritage, and special seminars on the subjects were arranged for high-school students.

The most important and thoroughgoing study of Jewish self-identity among youth in Israel, conducted by Simon Herman, shows that "the majority of Israelis see themselves linked to the Jewish people and to its past," but that religious and traditional beliefs or unbeliefs are decisive in determining their attitude to the question of historic continuity: "There are Israeli Jews for whom the Jewish element is primary, and Jewish Israelis with whom the Israeli component is dominant." Herman points out that a large measure of overlap exists in most Israelis between the "Jewish and Israeli subidentities," which are mutually reinforcing; that the patriotic attachment of the sabras to their homeland is strengthened and deepened when it is given a Jewish perspective. On the other hand, "An Israeliness divorced from Jewishness has dangers for a country which wishes to be a land of immigration and not of emigration." But Herman is optimistic about the continued Jewishness of Israeli society:

The thread of historic continuity has not been snapped; it still runs strongly through the new forms of Jewishness made possible by the return of a people to its ancient homeland. The new molds of Jewish life in Israel have not yet been firmly nor finally cast. But into the making of Israeli society there enter a number

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86 Herman, op.cit., pp. 234—35.
88 In Jerusalem, a group of educators established the Society for Jewish Humanistic Education and held a conference for which a program entitled Hinnukh humanisti yehudi ("Jewish Humanistic Education"; Jerusalem, 1974) was issued.
89 Herman, op.cit., pp. 197, 202.
90 Ibid., p. 204. The connection between the Jewish-Israeli identity and the desire to emigrate to a more affluent country is clearly shown in Rina Shapiro and Eve Etzioni-Halevi, Mi attah ha-studen ha-yisre'eli? ("Who Are You, Israeli Student?"); Tel Aviv, 1963), p. 162.
of ingredients which remain essentially Jewish even if in the new context they inevitably undergo transformation. 

State of Orthodoxy

Over the years, attempts have been made to collect data that would have given an indication of the proportion of Orthodox and non-Orthodox in the population. A number of surveys were conducted, but these did not probe attitudes toward religion. As a rule, pollsters see religion in terms of related political issues, with the result that they concentrate on behavior and political activity on behalf of religion. The underlying assumptions are that, a) the Jewish religion is contained in the political programs of the religious parties (p. 83); b) Judaism is a religion of practice. Questions generally deal with whether the government should be concerned with conducting public life in accordance with the Jewish religion, never with belief in God and revelation, the divine source of mitzvot the need for reform in religious observance, the rabbinate, or religion’s confrontation with modern science. Still, the surveys are useful because they do furnish some solid data. They are also instructive in that they clearly show the ambiguity of the religious situation.

Sabbath and Festival Observance

Attitudes toward the Sabbath and festivals are determined by the public character of their celebration. They are the legally recognized days of rest in token of a general commitment to Judaism. Offices, factories, shops, and most public transportation are at a standstill. No newspapers are published. Most cinemas and theatres are closed. Harbors and airports are shut down. On the other hand, taxis do a brisk business. Many private cars and special touring buses are on the roads, for many Israelis consider tiyul (touring the country) a favorite Sabbath and holiday pastime. Beaches are crowded during the summer months. Radio and television operate. Football matches and other sports activities are held mainly on the Sabbath. Yom Kippur is the only day on which all such activities are suspended.

One indicator of the extent of Orthodoxy is the use of radio and television

91Herman, op.cit., p. 197.
92Israeli social scientists have been chided for their ignorance of what religion means to the religious. Himmelfarb, op.cit., pp. 339-41.
on the Sabbath. According to several polls, more than 90 per cent of the Jews in Israel regularly listen to the radio; some 75 per cent of them do so on the Sabbath. The respective percentages for regular television viewers are just under 90 and 73 per cent. In evaluating these figures account must be taken of two factors: 1) some Orthodox Jews object in principle to television viewing and radio listening, and therefore were not included in the survey; 2) a considerable percentage of those who consider themselves religious view television on the Sabbath, most of them of Asian and North African origin. No doubt, the overwhelming majority of those who use neither radio nor television—at least 25 per cent of all Israeli Jews—are Orthodox.

More than half of the non-Orthodox Israelis object to the public observance of the Sabbath: 61 per cent want public transportation to be available; 69 per cent want cultural centers to be open; 53 per cent want to have the opportunity to go to the theatre or to concerts; 43 per cent to go to the cinema. It is striking that even in rejecting the halakhah, they continue to differentiate between cultural activities (cultural centers, theatres, concerts) and more ordinary pursuits (cinema). This is in keeping with the expressed desire of the majority of Israelis of all ages to retain the typically Jewish style of the Sabbath.

The survey findings indicate, however, that even those describing themselves as lo'dati (not religious) observe some rituals, or favor certain public traditional behavior. Only one-fifth of all Israeli Jews, or fewer, are totally opposed to any form of religious observance in their personal lives or in public manifestations. The overwhelming majority identify with the traditional meaning of Yom Kippur. For the nonreligious, it has acquired national meaning as their personal affirmation of dedication to the continuity of the Jewish people. Only 16 per cent claim the day has "no meaning" for them. Purim has become a very popular festival, far more so than in the Diaspora. Passover, which has been given a nonreligious interpretation in modern Israel, continues to retain religious meaning for 47 per cent of the


"No figures are available. When television was introduced in Israel in 1968, a religious anti-television campaign was conducted. The anonymously published *Kuntres hasbarah* ("Treatise of Information"); Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 260–61, warned that "Every household which possesses a radio is a dwelling of tum'ah" (uncleanness). Some Orthodox also object strongly to newspapers.

population. But regardless of attitude toward the holiday's religious aspect, few Israelis do not participate in some form of the Seder, ranging from the traditional to the innovative.

On Sukkot a large number of booths can be seen on balconies and roofs, and in gardens and courtyards. Simhat Torah is widely celebrated in the synagogues and, on the evening after the festival ends, by public dancing with Torah scrolls in the streets of the cities. Festivities in some of the religious kibbutzim are attended by members of neighboring nonreligious settlements. During Hanukkah, menorahs are lit on all public buildings.

On Tish'ah be-Av, the commemoration of the destruction of the Temple, all places of entertainment, cafés, and restaurants are closed. Since the liberation of East Jerusalem in 1967, tens of thousands of Israelis have been going to the Western Wall on that day to recite kinot (dirges). Unlike Tish'ah be-Av, the official memorial day for the victims of the Nazi holocaust has not yet become a personal day of commemoration. It is a public Yom ha-sho'ah weha-gevurah (Day of the Holocaust and Heroism), fixed by the Kneset as the 27th of Nisan, to fall between the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and Independence Day. A special law provides that all places of entertainment be closed on this day, which is marked by public meetings in the cities and settlements, mainly at the Yad Vashem Memorial in Jerusalem and in the kibbutzim Yad Mordekhai (Mordecai Anielewicz was the leader of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt) and Lohame ha-getta'ot (founded by survivors of the Jewish resistance against the Nazis). The rabbinate ruled that Kaddish be said for those whose date of death is unknown on the 10th day of Tevet (the traditional fast). Many people treat Tish'ah be-Av, the day of mourning for all Jewish suffering throughout history, as the personal and national commemorative day for the victims of the holocaust.

Yom ha-Azma'ut (Independence Day) is, of course, a public festival; but on account of its newness and theological and halakhic controversies, it has not yet been universally accepted as a religious festival.

A striking illustration of the ubiquitous character of traditional behavior is the almost universal custom to celebrate bar-mitzvah for boys and bat-mitzvah for girls. It is significant that, with the exception of a tiny minority, bar-mitzvah is celebrated in Orthodox ceremonies in the synagogue, or, since 1967, at the Western Wall.

Whether the ambivalence in observance is misinterpreted by the religious press as a sign of *teshuvah*, or by nonreligious journalists as being of no significance, the fact remains that the attitudes of the non-Orthodox Israelis (who are not antireligious) are marked by changes and shifting nuances in beliefs and behavior.

**Religious Education**

Aside from observance of mitzvot, an important index of the extent of Orthodoxy is the percentage of children attending religious schools. Israel's State Education Law of 1953 established one state educational system, administered by the Ministry of Education and Culture, which is divided into state (*mamlakhti*) and state-religious (*mamlakhti-dati*) schools. The Agudath Israel runs its own state-recognized religious school system (*Ḥinnukh ‘Azma‘i*). Over the years, the proportion of children attending religious primary schools has been between 30 and 35 per cent of the total school population.

The proportion of religious-school enrollment does not really reflect the size of the Orthodox adult population, since not all parents who send their children to religious schools are Orthodox, and religious families have a higher birthrate than others. And all surveys and population statistics show that birthrate is an important factor in evaluating the strength of religion. Nearly 50 per cent of the immigrants from North Africa and Asia are religious and have a higher birthrate than any other sector of the Jewish population. The strength of the state-religious schools derives to a large extent from the Oriental communities. In recent years, their enrollment has declined from 110,887 (29 per cent) in 1968 to 99,288 (24.7 per cent) in 1974. The decrease should be ascribed to the fact that, whereas the 1950s and 1960s saw the mass influx of religious Sephardim, the more recent immigrants are generally not religious.

A recent development among young Orthodox sabras is to the point. There appears to be a new intensification of religiosity among them. Many of them carry their religion with pride, and with a certain amount of ostentation in what seems to be a deliberate display or emphasis for the benefit of the nonreligious and secular. A phenomenon called *dor ha-kippot*

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98The principle of two types of education and culture, general and religious, goes back to 1902, when it was adopted at the conference of Russian Zionists in Minsk as a compromise between the nonreligious and religious Zionists.

99The decrease in Agudah schools has been slightly less; see Chaim Ṭuviyahu's articles in *Ha-zafēḥ*, July 30, 1973, and August 19, 1974.
ha-serugot, generation of knitted yarmulkes, refers to the small skull-caps seen in the streets of Israel. And yet, there has been a visible erosion in the number of religiously observant youth, particularly, but by no means exclusively, among native-born children of North African and Asian immigrants. This erosion is probably reflected in the decline of the state religious schools.

Religion in Politics

Significantly, contemporary opposition to religion in Israel continues to be influenced by an intrinsic connection between Jewish nationality and the Jewish religion. It is too complex to be interpreted only in terms of a church-and-state conflict, though political power evidently is an ingredient. The roots of the problem are so ramified and interlocking that no one-cause theory can suffice. Dissension is not along clearly demarcated lines, between the Orthodox and the nonreligious; it cuts across all variants of religious commitments. Although usually focused on topical issues, the debate basically centers on the purposes of Zionism and the Jewishness of the state—the role of Judaism in modern Israel.

The majority of Israelis agree that Israel should be Jewish in population, as well as in life-style. The findings of a 1969 public-opinion poll leave no doubt about this. Eighty-eight per cent of religious-party, 19 per cent of Ma'arakh (Labor), and 29 per cent of Gaḥal voters want Israel's public life to be conducted according to religious tradition. Eighty-three per cent of religious-party, 33 per cent of Ma'arakh, and 39 per cent of Gahal voters are against the separation of religion and state. Only 37 per cent of Ma'arakh and 32 per cent of Gahal supporters definitely favor separation of religion and state. But on the issue of "public life according to religious tradition," 49 per cent of Ma'arakh voters and 38 per cent of Gahal voters declared their opposition.

A comparison of the 1968 poll with a similar one conducted in 1962 indicates a decline in the percentage of Orthodox from 30 to 26, an increase of traditionalists from 46 to 48, and a rise of the nonreligious from 24 to 26 per cent. These differences are clearly too small to indicate possible directions of development in religiosity. (A 2 per cent discrepancy in poll findings is generally considered a reasonable margin of error.) Any evaluation will have to take into consideration the ambiguity involved in a self-definition of dati and masorati. The fact that the surveys were conducted

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100 Aaron Antonovsky, Ammot, June-July 1963. The survey is also quoted in Antonovsky and Asher Arian, Hopes and Fears of Israelis (Jerusalem, 1972); see also Himmelfarb, op.cit., pp. 339–41.
It is the consensus regarding the principles of Judaism that sharpens the polemics over the content and expressions of Jewishness. Occasionally feelings become aggravated, and polemics degenerate into spiteful or violent acts by extremists, which assume highly exaggerated importance in the reporting of the communications media. Quite typical are two items carried on the same day by Israeli newspapers. One reported that young men in the religious Me'ah She'arim quarter of Jerusalem threw stones at officials collecting census data, because they considered them in violation of a biblical injunction against taking a census (Exodus 30:12; cf II Samuel 24 and I Chronicles 21), although the Chief Rabbinate had ruled that the prohibition did not apply to the contemporary population census. The other item told of the invasion of a section of the Tel Aviv beach reserved by the municipality for religious people who disapproved of mixed bathing by a group of antireligious men and women, who declared they would do all they can to prevent the "theft of the beach from the nonreligious public."  

The exclusive emphasis on violent acts distorts the real picture and misrepresents the much broader scope of the religious problem. Still, the marginal incidents are important in pointing up the feelings of annoyance and frustration that are shared by many Israelis.

The injection of religion into Israeli politics has historical precedents. They range from ancient times, when the Prophets in the market places became involved in social and political issues, to 19th-century Eastern Europe that saw the politicization of the bitter dispute over Judaism between the protagonists of Haskalah and their religious opponents, and 19th-century Germany where a good deal of political wrangling characterized the struggle between the Reform and Orthodox movements in the organization and leadership of the Jewish communities. What is new in Israel is that a debate essentially dealing with religion and its practices has assumed the characteristics of a political conflict.

This is highlighted by the very existence of religious parties, which, some believe, have utterly politicized religion in the state. Some of their extreme

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101 Neglect of the specific Israeli and Jewish subtleties in meanings of terms probably were responsible for the Time-Harris poll findings that 13 per cent define themselves as religious, which is less than the voting strength of the religious parties; 40 per cent as nonreligious, and 47 per cent as traditionalists (Time, April 12, 1971).

102 In Ha-arez and Ma'ariv on May 22, 1972.

opponents have accused the parties of being so politically conscious, even power-drunk, that they have suspended the purely religious dimension in their party activities. But criticism of the parties should not obscure the fact that underlying the political manipulations are the polemics about the meaning and validity of Judaism.

**Religious Parties**

Like most of the other parties in Israel, the religious parties have their roots in the political divisions which existed in the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, solidified in the early 1900s as political parties within the World Zionist Organization, and remained active in all major bodies of the organized *yishuv*. Israel's political parties perpetuate the early intense ideological differences, but they now are part of the governing process and are therefore Israeli in character.

It is in the light of this evolution that the policies and tactics of the religious parties—and their concentration on issues (education, "Who is a Jew?", Sabbath) which are not exclusively "state" affairs—can be understood.

The factors that led the religious parties to participate in politics are similar to those that have produced the involvement of religious parties in the politics of other countries. The most fundamental is the conviction that society should be governed by the principles of religion. For religion is concerned with the relationship of all individual and social activities of men to the religious principles of behavior and therefore is bound to consider politics as its sphere of interest.

Religious parties usually spring up when there is widespread belief in the religious sector of society that a) the existing nonreligious political parties are a serious threat to religion and b) that only a religious party can successfully defend "the religious interest." In other words, the existence of a religious party is always predicated on a conflict situation which is believed to require the defense of religion. This is, of course, true of the religious parties in Israel.

The religious disputes, and policies and tactics of the religious parties, must be viewed in the context of the national consensus on the Jewishness of Israel, as expressed in basic law. It is clearly stated in Israel's Proclama-

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105For a contemporary view of the all-embracing concerns of Judaism see Samuel Hayyim Landau's idea of Torah and Labor, in Hertzberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 434–39.
tion of Independence, which is steeped in Jewishness and yet utterly neutral on religion. Its concluding passage, "With trust in the Rock of Israel," was intended to satisfy both religious and antireligious Jews, for while the traditional meaning of the term is God, it can also mean "national spirit of historic Judaism."106 It is restated in the 1952 law on the status of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, according to which the State of Israel "regards itself as the creation of the entire Jewish people." Its most striking expression is the 1950 Law of Return, which proclaims the right of every Jew to immigrate to Israel, but remains ambiguous on the definition of Jewishness. This ambiguity has given rise to the perennial issue of "Who is a Jew?" and has frequently triggered religious-political disputes.107

PARTY IDEOLOGIES

Israel's religious parties reflect the major trends in Orthodoxy, except for Neture Karta, which rejects participation in the political life of a state it regards as sacrilegious. Mizrahi, the religious Zionist party, was founded in 1902 as a faction in the World Zionist Organization with the aim of establishing "the people of Israel in Eretz Israel according to the Torah of Israel." Hapoel Hamizrachi, the Labor religious Zionist party, was founded in 1922 to build Eretz Israel according to the principles of Torah and Labor. The two merged in 1956 to form the Miflagah datit le'ummit (abbreviated Mafdal; National Religious party), the leading religious party and a partner in almost all coalition governments.

Agudath Israel, the leading non-Zionist religious party, was founded in 1912 to promote the unity of Orthodox Jews for the advancement of Torah in Jewish life. It modified its initial strictly anti-Zionist attitude in the late 1930s, has been active in Israel's political life since the inception of the state, and was represented in the government from 1949 to 1952. While Agudah has not embraced Zionist ideology, it recognizes the fact of Jewish statehood. Its declared chief interest is to maintain traditional religious life. A Labor Agudah party, Po'ale Agudat Yisra'el, founded in 1922, has over the years evolved an ideology that is close to Zionism. While it never joined the World Zionist Organization (WZO), it received WZO aid for the establishment of settlements in Israel and for its Zionist-oriented youth movement. Its relations with the parent party have varied. They currently are separate

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106 On discussions about the wording of the Proclamation of Independence see Zeev Sherf, Three Days (London, 1962).
parties, but join forces in the Torah Religious Front for political purposes.

In the election campaign for the first Keneset (January 1949), the four parties united in the Religious Front and received 12.2 per cent of the vote, obtaining 16 out of total 120 seats. In the elections that followed, the Zionist religious parties polled variously between 8.3 and 9.9 per cent of the vote, and the Agudah parties of the Torah Religious Front, between 3.7 and 5.6 per cent. The combined vote for the religious parties is rather low in view of a 1969 poll finding that Orthodox-religious voters, obviously the mainstay of the religious parties, constitute 26 per cent of the Israeli electorate. Ninety-two per cent of those voting for the religious parties consider themselves religious. However, the polls indicate that, altogether, the religious parties represent little more than half of the Orthodox Israelis. They constitute 18 per cent of Ma’arakh (Labor Alignment) supporters and 27 per cent of those voting for Gahal (Herut and Liberal).

The elections were fought over issues which divided not only the religious from the secular parties, but also the religious parties from one another. The deep-seated division continues between religious Zionists, for whom the State of Israel has religious meaning, and the religious non-Zionists and anti-Zionists, who view it as a secular political reality. The dissension also reflects the rift between the “closed” view of Orthodoxy, which disdains novelty, and the “open,” dynamic interpretation of Orthodoxy, as represented by the Agudah and the religious Zionists, respectively.

One of the basic issues dividing the Mizrachi from the Agudah in principle and in practice is the relationship with non-Orthodox and secular Jews. Unlike the Mizrachi, Agudists believe in separate organizations for the Orthodox; and although this principle is not consistently applied in Israel, it nevertheless profoundly colors their aims and tactics. They find it extremely difficult to participate actively in the government of a state which is deliberately Zionist, and prefer to maintain an opposition which is radical in purely religious matters and accommodating on political issues.

Over the years, the political work of the religious parties has largely been in religious legislation, which can be divided into a) laws providing religious services and facilities, such as religious education, for Israelis who wish to avail themselves of them and b) laws imposing religious norms on all citizens, regardless of belief, especially the marriage and divorce law, and

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109 For a full treatment of this question see my discussion in Encyclopaedia Judaica Year Book 1973: Events of 1972, pp. 306–309.
110 Isaac Breuer, Concepts of Judaism (Jerusalem, 1974).
giving the rabbinate and the rabbinical courts exclusive jurisdiction over this aspect of personal life.\textsuperscript{111}

The legal framework for this legislative activity is the system of religious laws as it existed in Eretz Israel under Ottoman rule. This system was preserved under the British Mandate, and taken over, in principle, by the State of Israel.\textsuperscript{112} Israel follows the British Mandate system in granting all religious communities full religious autonomy. On the other hand, Israel is a Jewish state, and its Jewishness is clearly stated in the legislation. But this is national Jewishness; no Israeli law recognizes Judaism as the state religion. Discussions on the separation of religion and state, therefore, generally deal with religious legislation that is imposed on Jews, who are thus treated by the law as members of the Jewish religious community. However, as indicated before, the issue of separation is complicated by the question of the "Jewishness" of Israel, since even ostensibly religious matters have throughout Jewish history acquired the characteristics of a national culture and have thus become integral to the national consensus.\textsuperscript{113}

Religious-Party Arguments

In the continuing polemics, the religious parties most frequently use the argument that religious laws are necessary not only for reasons of religion, but also for the survival of the Jewish heritage and national unity. In this way, they attempt to persuade the public and the secular parties of the national and cultural validity of these laws.\textsuperscript{114} Their first important involvement in a political struggle occurred in 1949 and 1950, when they accused the government of antireligious coercion by denying religious education to children of religious families in the immigrant camps.\textsuperscript{115} They used the

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\textsuperscript{111}See Elon, \textit{Hakikah datit, op cit}; Goldman, \textit{Religious Issues in Israel's Political Life, op cit.} note 85, for political and ideological aspects.


\textsuperscript{113}Cf. Charles Liebman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya, "Hafradah ben dat u-medinah: Sismah we-tokhen" (Separation of Religion and State: Slogan and Content), \textit{Molad}, Nos. 25-26, August-September 1972, pp. 71-89; also Eliezer Goldman, \textit{Ha-halakhah wehah-medinah} ("The Halakhah and the State"); Tel Aviv, 1954) and his \textit{Religious Issues.}


\textsuperscript{115}The Orthodox religious organizations in the Diaspora actively supported the religious parties, as they did in other controversies, particularly the one over "Who is a Jew?" See Charles Liebman, "Diaspora Influence over Religious Policy in Israel: The Immigrant Camp Education Controversy, 1949-1950," \textit{Niv ha-midrashiyah,} Vol. 11, 1974.
antireligious coercion argument again in the conflict over the autopsy law, which imposed on religious grounds practices repugnant to many Israelis.\(^{116}\)

Generally, however, the religious parties state their positions in hortatory sermons rather than in persuasive arguments—probably out of their thorough conviction that their demands carry divine authority—and therefore tend to ignore the convictions of their opponents. The failure to communicate is reinforced by the strong influence of the rabbinate on the religious parties and its deliberate policy of cultural isolation, which sets up a barrier between the parties and the rest of the community.\(^{117}\)

**Religious-Coercion Argument**

Although there is frequent talk about the constitutional principle of the separation of state and religion, the controversy is usually over specific issues that agitate the public at a particular time. These have ranged from education to television on the Sabbath, from kashrut to autopsies, with opposition to religious legislation mainly concentrated on the marriage and divorce law.\(^{118}\)

The preferred argument of the opponents of religious laws is that they infringe on freedom of conscience and thus constitute religious coercion. There doubtless is a tactical element in the use of this emotionally charged argument in preference to a discussion of the law itself. However, its predominant use indicates that many Israelis feel at least some of the religious laws to be coercive and thus infringing on personal rights and liberties. Some object to the lack of public transport on the Sabbath; but most chafe under the rabbinical laws on marriage, divorce, and conversion.

The religious-coercion argument implies that any law motivated by religion is coercive and inimical to civil liberties. However, even the critics of the religious legislation agree that the legislator has the right, and the duty, to enact freedom-infringing laws about days of rest and marriage and divorce. The essential dispute is therefore not about coercion *per se*, but about the particular religion-motivated laws. But it is the argument of


\(^{118}\)See Joseph Ben-Menashe, "Ha-ra'shut ha-shofetet we-dine ha-mishpahah" (The Judiciary and Family Law), *Keshet*, No. 16, Summer 1974; also Milstain, *op.cit.*
religious coercion which is predominant in the religious controversies. Clearly, the popularity of this argument and its polemical effectiveness do not depend on logic and legal soundness. It has become a "persuasive definition," one that gives a new conceptual meaning to a familiar word without substantially changing its emotive meaning, and which is used with the conscious or unconscious purpose of changing, by this means, the direction of people's interests.\textsuperscript{119}

\textit{Power Politics of Religious Parties}

As a political tactic the religious parties occasionally resort to defending the \textit{status quo} of time-honored agreements on religious matters. Many of these agreements go back to decisions made in Zionist Congresses and were later reformulated in Knesset legislation and municipal by-laws to constitute the system of laws and regulations on matters affecting religion in Israeli public life. But whatever their origin and authority, past agreements can have abiding political force only to the extent that the religious parties have sufficient political power to ensure their continued enforcement.

Although always a minority, the religious parties have been able to wield political power by virtue of the consensus of most parties on the Jewishness of the state, and their leverage in coalitional politics. But the sole dependence of governments on the religious parties for a parliamentary majority has decreased over the years. Agudath Israel has not been in the government since 1952. And while the National Religious party's role as a coalition partner has remained important, its main political impact does not derive solely from this role; it largely rests on the consensus among most parties regarding the Jewishness and the traditional cultural character of Israel. The \textit{status quo} argument has been persuasive for the same reason.

It has become evident over the years that the religious parties have gone beyond their original goals; that they have acquired a built-in momentum and vested interests as political parties. In their daily bid for power, they have had to resort constantly to pressure tactics and political threats that make it impossible for them to pursue their aim of using politics exclusively in behalf of religion. As a result, religion has become politicized. There is undue emphasis on public religious behavior, at the expense of the religious faith and observance of the individual. A piece of legislation has become

more important than an attempt at the rational and persuasive interpretation of Judaism. In the politics of the religious parties the Knesset overshadows the bet ha-keneset, the synagogue.

A paradigmatic expression of the legalistic emphasis fostered by the religious parties is the issue of "Who is a Jew?". According to the halakhah, it has two aspects: There is the biological question on which the halakhah rules that Jewishness is determined by the mother. And there is the question of the voluntary commitment implicit in being a Jew, the individual's acceptance of "the yoke of the kingdom of heaven." The chief consequence of the "Who is a Jew?" agitation has been to emphasize only the legal-biological aspect and to ignore almost completely the question of voluntary commitment.

Religion in politics is certainly plausible, and may even be necessary. No one can debate the right of religious parties to exist, for in a democracy people who feel strongly enough about any issue can organize themselves to further their aim. However, there has been increasing doubt in Israel, even among members of the religious parties, whether, in the long run, politicization is conducive to strengthening religious faith. Religious Israelis must raise the question in the context of their faith. Even if they are convinced that religion needs defense against a pervasive secular culture, they must decide whether a political party is the best vehicle for promoting their religious aims. This is not a question of politics, but one of religion.

* * *

There is no shortcut to resolving the religious problem in Israel. It exists because modernity has made for a wholly paradoxical situation in Jewish life—the intensive rise of Jewish nationalism, which has led to the creation of the Jewish state, and the simultaneous erosion of religion. Whatever the political and legislative development, the "preservative revolution" and its inherent tensions will continue to prevail in Jewish life and in Israel. Debate can help bring about a more profound understanding of the problem, clarifying the issues and sharpening the perception of opposing sides. Strife, on the other hand, may exacerbate feelings, distort the democratic process, and caricature faith. A tense situation makes for temptation to cast about for emotional slogans, and probably for greater difficulty in promoting ahavat Yisra'el, the love for all Jews. There is need for the moral strength to view Jewish nationality as the "oneness" of the Jewish people, regardless of

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120 Cf. Moshe Unna, Yisra'el ba-ummot ("Israel Among the Nations"; Tel Aviv, 1971).
schisms and divisions. An admonition by the late Chief Rabbi Kook is very relevant today. According to the Talmud, he said, the Second Temple was destroyed because of *sin’at ḥinnam*, causeless hatred. Now that we are rebuilding our independent state, we must promote *ahavat ḥinnam*, causeless love.  

\[\text{Cf. Yaron, } Mishnato shel ha-Rav Kook, \text{ p. 368, note 53.}\]
Leo Strauss (1899–1973)

by RALPH LERNER

Leo Strauss died on October 18, 1973, in his seventy-fifth year. To the end, he remained what he had been for half a century: a most attentive student of the greatest minds of the Western tradition. It was this lernen (the Yiddish term conveys quite well the character and mode of the activity) that provided the focus of his life. His teaching and writing were by-products—however masterful and impressive in themselves—of this intensely private study. If philosophy, as Strauss maintained, was not a system or a teaching or a discipline or an instrument of self-realization, but nothing less than a way of life, his own life testified to the power of attraction of that way of life and to the depth of his dedication to it. Actions and words were as one.

The external events of Strauss’s life are few and not especially interesting; the internal encounters and developments, whose visible and formal expression are his scholarly writings, may more properly form the basis of a memoir. The following pages reflect this judgment of fit proportion.

Life

Leo Strauss was born in Kirchhain, Hessen, Germany, on September 20, 1899, into a family of sturdy, provincial Orthodoxy. Thus, for example, it was a question to be settled by religious law whether to indulge the young Strauss’s passion for raising pet rabbits. By age seventeen, he was a convert to “simple, straightforward political Zionism” of the Jabotinsky variety. After graduating from Gymnasium and serving in the German army of occupation in Belgium, he studied philosophy, mathematics, and natural science at the universities of Marburg, Frankfurt, Berlin, and Hamburg. It was from Hamburg that he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1921. He went on to Freiburg, attending lectures by Husserl and Heidegger (in the latter case, usually “without understanding a word, but [sensing] that he dealt with something of the utmost importance to man as man”). Between 1925 and 1932, Strauss worked in Berlin as a research assistant
at the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Still predominantly interested in theology, he concentrated on studying the roots of the seventeenth-century attack on traditional Orthodoxy, specifically Spinoza and Hobbes. He also was co-editor of the philosophic writings of Moses Mendelssohn, whose works were being reissued by the Akademie in the (soon to be interrupted) jubilee edition.

In 1932, having received a Rockefeller Foundation grant to study in France, he left Germany, never again to return, except for a visit in 1954 to his father's grave. It was while in Paris in 1932 that he and Miriam Bernson Petry were wed. By 1934 he was in England, remaining there until 1938, a foreign scholar living in the interstices of the formal structure of the University of Cambridge. Encouraged by Ernest Barker and R.H. Tawney, among others, he continued the life of scholarly research begun in his native land, a life equally remote from public notice and the creative tensions of the classroom. He had come to accept the life of a solitary—not only in the sense in which every man of profound thought is a solitary, but also in the sense in which one who is deprived of an appropriate live audience resigns himself to writing for faceless men of some unknown place and time. It was not the best of all possible arrangements, but neither was it the worst; and there was this to be said for it: it seemed stable.

But this was only seeming. England could afford a temporary haven, but little more. Strauss had to join that extraordinary migration of talent and intellect whereby, once again, America's advantage was drawn from Europe's distress. He had to find a regular job; and so, like many other anxious immigrants, he came with his chief, or only, resource—himself. Sewn by his wife into the lining of his greatcoat was the immediate instrument of his salvation, a lengthy lecture designed to display his fitness to teach American college students. Many of a greenhorn's travails take on a comic character, viewed in retrospect or from a distance. Strauss's obliviousness of the sanctity of the fifty-minute hour provided a number of such instances, but in the end none of that mattered. He received an appointment in the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science of the New School for Social Research in New York City, remaining there until 1949. He then was invited to join the University of Chicago and later designated Robert Maynard Hutchins Distinguished Service Professor of Political Science, which position he held until his retirement in 1968. It was during his tenure at Chicago that he also was a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Subsequently he taught briefly at Claremont Men's College. For the final four years of his life, he was the Scott Buchanan Distinguished Scholar in Residence at St. John's
College in Annapolis, where he continued his teaching, albeit on a reduced scale, till his death.

Works

As these things are measured today, Leo Strauss was a productive, but not an extraordinarily prolific, scholar. He wrote and published scholarly essays and books at a more or less steady rate from age thirty to the very end, leaving a legacy of fourteen books* (with an additional final collection of studies on Platonic political philosophy still to be published), over sixty essays, and more than twenty reviews. One gets a closer glimpse of his work by considering some of the subjects of his writing: Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Lucretius, Farabi, Yehuda Halevi, Maimonides, Marsilius, Machiavelli, Spinoza, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Burke, Nietzsche, Weber. If one added to these the names of other authors whose works he studied in intensive seminars but on which he did not write at length—such as Cicero, Aquinas, Montesquieu, Vico, Kant, Hegel, Heidegger—one gets a still clearer sense of the range of his interests and concerns. But even this does not give a full account of his erudition and literary sensibilities, and none of it, of course, gives even a clue to the quality of his thought and analysis. A summary secondary account can be only a pale replica: the source remains more intelligible and arresting than any simplifying presentation.

The bulk of his study and writing was devoted to recovering for himself (and, through his writings, for others) a realm of reasoning and reflection that had almost entirely lost its credibility as a guide to life. The beliefs elevated by nineteenth-century thinkers into certainties—that all thought is historically conditioned; that every thinker (whatever his pretensions) is fundamentally a child of his time, confined on all sides by forces and habits of which he cannot be fully cognizant; or that the only kind of knowledge worthy of the name is the kind modern natural science strives for, a knowledge that eschews even the attempt to rank conflicting "values," let alone seek to resolve those conflicts through the operations of reason—these

*Die Religionskritik Spinozas (1930), translated into English as Spinoza's Critique of Religion (1965); Philosophie und Gesetz (1935; an English translation is in preparation); The Political Philosophy of Hobbes (1936); On Tyranny (1948; revised and enlarged edition 1963); Persecution and the Art of Writing (1952); Natural Right and History (1953); Thoughts on Machiavelli (1958); What is Political Philosophy? and Other Studies (1959); The City and Man (1964); Socrates and Aristophanes (1966); Liberalism: Ancient and Modern (1968); Xenophon's Socratic Discourse (1970); Xenophon's Socrates (1972); The Argument and the Action of Plato's "Laws" (1975).
beliefs were seen by Strauss as the most powerful modern barriers to serious thought. Such certainties simultaneously gratified modern man's pride of place and reinforced his sense of helplessness, even as they closed off from him the most rudimentary and accessible means for learning about what it meant to be human.

To recover something of the directness of human experience and of a kind of thought that took off from that experience was an indispensable first step. But that first step was itself a massive undertaking, not least because it went against the grain of almost all modern respectable opinion. Truly to learn from the authors of the past meant to be open to the possibility that they were right in their understanding, right for their times and for ours. Truly to learn from the authors of the Bible or from Plato or Machiavelli meant to be open to the possibility that the questions to which they addressed themselves were still meaningful for us. Considerations such as these led Strauss to undertake a series of studies, remarkably alike for their simple exteriors and profound inner workings. He placed himself under the tute-lage of the great minds of the past, an act of submission that required boldness and caution, along with an intense, unflagging, attentive passivity. He learned something of how earlier writers wrote and meant to be read. He came to see with unblinking clarity how and why the expectations and hopes raised by the union of modern natural science and modern philosophy had proved so problematic and disappointing in our times. And he came to see how pre-modern political philosophy offered, not a ready-made suit of answers, to be sure, but an alternative way of understanding, a way of perceiving the roots of our dissatisfactions and possible means of dealing with them.

The modern outlawing of serious discussion of the purposes or ends of things, and especially of political things, had impoverished analysis and analyst alike. Similarly, the easy assumption that whatever appeared to be high or noble in man might more truly or realistically be understood in terms of what was low in man—his passionate preoccupation with self-preservation, and the sundry means thereto—closed off a realm of thought, motivation, and action that was, if anything, more distinctively and revealingly human than the admitted rump of behavior. By returning to the masters of the past and listening attentively to their speech, Strauss was able to transcend the questions and answers of his own time. Similarly, issues that had ceased to be issues—that is, problematic—regained that character when considered outside the historicist and positivist orthodoxies of the day. Thus it was that the profound tension between philosophy and the polis, pondered and brooded over since Socrates' days—and loudly pro-
claimed to have been overcome by men such as the Encyclopedists, Comte, and Marx (each after his own fashion)—was disclosed to be a continuing problem, inseparable from philosophizing. Thus, too, what used to be called the theological-political problem—an outgrowth of the impressive and conflicting claims of monotheistic religion and pagan philosophy to command and deserve men's primary allegiance—was seen as very much alive and with us; announcements of its death, premised on the triumph of deism or atheism, were, to say the least, premature. By recovering such problems and others, by recovering the boldness of thought and niceness of expression characteristic of the past masters, by rendering their answers intelligible to moderns who could barely perceive the issues—Strauss acted as transmitter, interpreter, and revivifier of a dead, or almost dead, portion of the Western tradition. Accordingly, all those for whom that tradition has special value and significance are in his debt.

On Being Jewish

Among his debtors, Jews, it must be said, are a special case. Though Mr. Strauss was a Jew by birth, he also was a Jew by deliberation. His thoughts on being Jewish are a legacy of peculiar importance to us. Those thoughts may be considered under two heads: the challenge posed to Judaism by modern secular liberalism, and the challenge posed to Judaism by philosophy.

Modern liberalism arose out of, and in opposition to, medieval society and all it stood for. If the Crusades were the most characteristic actions of medieval times, one could well understand why Jews in particular would welcome modern liberal democracy. In place of the wholesale destruction of Jewish communities would come the tearing down of ghetto walls, emancipation, and the relegation of religion to the private sphere. To participate fully and freely in all aspects of Western life was the promise; never to be permitted to forget that one (or one's ancestry) was Jewish, was the reality. Implicit in Heine's characterization of Judaism as a "misfortune" was the propriety, nay, the necessity, of escape, abandonment, assimilation. The manifest failure of that course as a solution to communal problems (as distinguished from the frustrations of this or that individual) led to the alternative course: political Zionism. Pinsker and Herzl saw clearly enough the failure of liberalism to solve the Jewish problem in a manner compatible with self-respect; they were less clear in recognizing the limits of the liberal premise to which they themselves held fast: that the Jewish problem was a merely human problem, one that could be solved by purely human means,
by making the Jews a normal people, like unto all the nations. From the vantage point of any variety of Jewish religion, neither of these solutions was acceptable. The official neutrality and latitudinarianism of the state religion presupposed by assimilationism led inexorably to the abandonment of Torah; while a purely political solution (Uganda, anywhere) presupposed overcoming or sloughing off the very spirit of the Jewish religion. These consequences did not escape the notice of the author of those solutions, Spinoza. In an extraordinary intellectual autobiography, his 1965 preface to the English translation of *Spinoza's Critique of Religion*, Strauss limned the subsequent flawed efforts of Ahad Ha'am, Hermann Cohen, and Franz Rosenzweig to remedy the shortcomings of Spinoza's two solutions.

At bottom—as a Jew—Strauss accepted and welcomed liberal democracy. In so doing he was blinded neither by sentimentality (which he detested) nor by simple-minded forgetfulness. America, to be sure, was no exception: here, too, attempts to solve the Jewish problem by purely human means would fail. "It is very far from me to minimize the difference between a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, and the nations of the old world, which certainly were not conceived in liberty. I share the hope in America and the faith in America, but I am compelled to add that that faith and that hope cannot be of the same character as that faith and that hope which a Jew has in regard to Judaism and which the Christian has in regard to Christianity. No one claims that the faith in America and the hope for America is based on explicit divine promise." Strauss, then, willingly accepted the uneasy solution offered by liberal democracy—legal equality and private discrimination—not because it was best, not because it was simply just, but because no better human arrangement was to be expected. With such moderated expectations, he could see the anomalous position of the believer who finds himself in this world of little or tepid faith. Strauss could take pride in the fact that we Jews "have behind us and within us a heroic past," one that is "all the more heroic, one could say, since its chief characters are not the glitter and trappings of martial glory and of cultural splendor, although it does not lack even these." From such a vantage point, he could view differently "that fortitude in suffering, now despised as 'ghetto mentality' by shallow people who have surrendered wholeheartedly to the modern world or who lack the intelligence to consider that a secession from this world might again become necessary for Jews and even for Christians."

The challenge posed to Judaism by philosophy is another story. Current usage permits speaking of a modern Jewish philosopher, one troubled by the relation of the spirit of science and the spirit of the Bible. Such a man
would seek to clarify and harmonize his double attachment to Judaism and to philosophy. Earlier usage, however (to which Strauss adhered), would regard a "Jewish philosopher" as something anomalous, perhaps absurd, an attempt to combine incompatibles, if not opposites. Strauss's shorthand formulation for this was "Jerusalem and Athens," meaning thereby the highest, most comprehensive and impressive statements of antagonistic claims to know the decisive truth about the right way of life. The one commands us to a life of obedient love; to this we say, "na'aseh we-nishma;" and enter into an unceasing life-long effort to return to the perfect faithfulness of our fathers. Trusting in the plans for our future made by an unknowable, omnipotent God—"I shall be What I shall be"—we (the community of the faithful) rest assured believing in His mercy and in the knowledge of the good shown by Him and announced to all men by His prophets. The other beckons us to a life of noble action devoid of any guilt-inspired fear and pity—and devoid of any divine promises; above all, to a life of autonomous understanding, a dedication to a transsocial or asocial contemplation. Reasoning freely from what they themselves have perceived, a few choice souls go on to dedicate their lives to the quest for knowledge of the good. When the philosopher refuses to assent to revelation because he does not understand it, he is doing more than suspending his judgment about something that to him is neither evident nor disproved. He is choosing among ways of life, among lives animated by very different passions.

Through his teaching and writing, Strauss helped others come to see the austere dignity of these alternatives. In that way, more than a few of his Jewish students came to appreciate better the roots of their past and found new reasons for cherishing it as their own. They also had before them the example of Strauss himself. In mid-life, and while paying attention, he had discovered afresh the modes in which Maimonides "spoke" to his several kinds of readers. What had all along been a matter of abiding interest to Strauss now took on new intensity and urgency. For it was one thing to share in the collective heroic act whereby a whole nation, this people, dedicated itself to the infinitely highest. But it was yet another kind of heroism—private, barely marked—whereby a few solitary individuals, "the remnant whom the Lord calls," sought to maintain fidelity to the command to love—that is to say, to know—the Lord. It was while seated at his study table, his thoughts engaged with those of the author before him, it was in such rare and select company that Leo Strauss lived his life.
Harry Austryn Wolfson (1887–1974)

by Isadore Twersky

The public academic career and impressive scholarly achievement of Harry Austryn Wolfson, Nathan Littauer Professor of Hebrew Literature and Philosophy at Harvard since 1925, are relatively well known. However, in addition to this Wolfson *revelatus*—the straightforward success story of a talented, industrious young immigrant and his rise to scholarly fame—there is a Wolfson *absconditus*—a story, for the most part unknown, of a shy, introspective, sometimes melancholy, former yeshivah student and eminent professor, candidly assessing his own achievement in historical-typological terms, soberly pondering the state of Jewish scholarship and sensitively, sometimes agonizingly, reflecting upon contemporary history and the destiny of Judaism and the Jewish people. This brief memoir tries to integrate the two narratives.

"From enormous knowledge"

Wolfson was clearly one of this century’s great humanists, a prolific and creative scholar in the history of philosophy. The quintessential Wolfson was pointedly described in the citation accompanying the honorary degree (Litt.D.) which Harvard conferred upon him in 1956: “From enormous knowledge, he graciously illumines the major problems of religious philosophy and their relation to revealed truth.”

In many respects, he resembled an uncrowned and unwreathed scholar laureate, widely acclaimed and admired, respected and honored. Even a partial list of honorary degrees which were bestowed upon him, and organizational affiliations which he maintained, and awards which he received is
a suggestive, although very formal, index of the esteem he enjoyed in this country. His honorary degrees came from the Jewish Institute of Religion (1935), Jewish Theological Seminary (1937), Hebrew Union College (1945), Yeshiva University (1950), and Dropsie College (1952), as well as from the University of Chicago (1953), Harvard University (1956), Brandeis University (1958), Columbia University (1970), and Stonehill College (1973). He was a founding member, fellow, and past president of the American Academy for Jewish Research; honorary member of the American Jewish Historical Society; fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, American Philosophical Society, and American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and past president of the American Oriental Society. He received the American Council of Learned Societies award for distinguished scholarship in the Humanities and the Kaplun prize awarded by the Hebrew University for distinguished research and scholarship in Judaica.

Wolfson's trail-blazing study and interpretation of the unpublished commentaries (originals as well as translations) of Averroes and his systematic integration of the study of Jewish and Islamic—and Christian—philosophy (in other words, the philosophical literature written in Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin) attracted wide, even international, attention. His arduous and meticulous investigation of Averroes, in a pre-xerox, almost pre-technological academic age, without staff or secretariat, led to the preparation of a "Plan for the Publication of a Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelen" which, in turn, goaded and guided other scholars—students and colleagues in the United States and abroad—to edit the long, intermediate and short commentaries of Averroes, the great twelfth-century Islamic philosopher whom Wolfson dubbed "a naturalized Hebrew and Latin author." This Averroes project, an academic milestone, may be seen as an Archimedean fulcrum for the originality and scope of his work, and its resonance in the international scholarly community. It may be noted that soon after his death The Medieval Academy of America, which sponsored the project, despaired of continuing it without the editorial direction, scholarly supervision, and personal dedication of Wolfson.

Totally un-Aristotelian, shunning moderation in his extreme, all-consuming devotion to learning, Wolfson converted his life into an itinerarium mentis, an adventurous journey and colorful odyssey of the mind. He transcended all formal requirements and academic norms, pursuing his scholarly enterprises—truly his calling—with zest and love. Indeed, his prodigious scholarly output is comprehensible only if we see it emerging from a matrix of singleness of purpose, intensity of commitment, consistency of method, and clarity of destination. I may testify that to the very end
of his life, when he was lean and wizened, his eyes dim and tired, his body racked with disease, he continued to be preoccupied with scholarly matters.

From Philo to Spinoza

His intense, unqualified commitment to scholarship—there was something fervent about it—bore ripe fruit. His many well-known and justly celebrated volumes are monuments to the pertinacity, perspicacity, and profundity of his life’s work: Crescas’ Critique of Aristotle: Problems of Aristotle’s Physics in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy (1929); The Philosophy of Spinoza: Unfolding the Latent Processes of His Reasoning, 2 vols. (1934); Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, 2 vols. (1947); The Philosophy of the Church Fathers (1956); The Philosophy of Kalam, (1975); and Kalam Repercussions in Jewish Philosophy (ready in galleys). There are, in addition, three collections of papers and articles, some of which are full-fledged monographs of high quality and wide scope: Religious Philosophy: A Group of Essays (1961); Studies in the History of Philosophy and Religion, vol. I (1973), vol. II (in press). Each one of these large tomes in its own right could and would be a scholar’s pride; each one would amply justify a lifetime devoted exclusively to Hellenistic, or to patristic, or to Islamic, or to scholastic, or to Jewish scholarship.

This is the real measure of Harry Wolfson, of his intellectual daring and imaginativeness; starting as a student of medieval Jewish philosophy (his first published article, growing out of an undergraduate paper written at Harvard for Santayana, was “Maimonides and Ha-Levi: A Study in Typical Jewish Attitudes towards Greek Philosophy in the Middle Ages,” Jewish Quarterly Review, n.s. 2 [1911], 297–337), he burst the recognized bounds and bonds of specialized, sometimes provincial scholarship and then patiently but vigorously brought within his purview the entire history of philosophy, moving with verve and aplomb and delicacy from pre-Socratics to neo-Kantians, from Greek atomists to American pragmatists. In the process he sought unsolved problems, unexplored sources, unperceived relationships, and uncharted lanes of philosophy. The challenge of understanding and unraveling the origin, structure, and diversity of philosophic systems fascinated and stimulated him; his sustained, simultaneously erudite and imaginative, response to the challenge produced the pageantry and vitality of his wide-ranging scholarship.

This achievement is notable for its happy marriage of philosophical per-ceptivity and philological precision, its unusual combination of powers of dissection and integration, its fastidious argumentation and felicitous for-
mulation. This tireless scholar, cloistered most of his life in Widener Library, was able to combine unflagging attention to detail—stylistic, structural, or substantive—with powerful skills of original synthesis. While elucidating difficult texts and knotty passages in Averroes or Gersonides, Aquinas or Falaquera, Pico della Mirandola or Abarbanel, he also clearly formulated a new anti-Hegelian scheme for the periodization of the history of philosophy—in which Jewish philosophy from Philo to Spinoza was central—and expounded, more allusively, a philosophy of the history of philosophy—in which religious thought played a major role. Both of these are reflected in the subtitle of his study on Philo: “Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.” Wolfson depicts Philo as the founder of a new philosophic trend which was continued not only by his immediate chronological successors, the Church Fathers, but also by his indirect disciples, the Muslim, Jewish, and Christian medieval philosophers until the time of Spinoza. The distinctive-innovative feature of Philonic teachings—and that which was to be a dominant influence, latent or visible, indirect or direct, in European philosophic thought for seventeen centuries—was a well-integrated interpretation of Scripture in terms of philosophy and a balanced critique (and, concomitantly, radical revision) of philosophy in light of Scriptural principles of belief. It is this type of religious philosophy which was new and influential—and which was so fully and sympathetically and imaginatively reconstructed by Professor Wolfson.

This central conception concerning the history of philosophy—which positioned Philo, the first century Jew of Alexandria, and Spinoza, the seventeenth century Jew of Amsterdam, as the pivots of “medieval” philosophy—was very dear to him; it was, in many respects, the core and catalyst of his life’s work. The fact that this conceptual scheme of periodization did not become widely influential was, consequently, a major disappointment for him.

Furthermore, while developing and sustaining his conception of the history of philosophy, he also provided an unequivocally affirmative answer to the question whether or not there is such a creature as Jewish philosophy, a question which had been answered negatively by many serious scholars. It was Wolfson’s contention that not only is there such an intellectual entity as Jewish philosophy but that it is the very core, the essence, of all religious philosophy for seventeen centuries—and indeed, in residual form or unacknowledged guise, down to our own time.

The literary quality of his work, his lucidity of style and precision of expression, should also be underscored. He was as concerned with form as with content. The same patience and exhaustiveness which characterized
his approach to research determined his style, which became an integral, not merely ornamental, part of his work. The presentation had to conform with the analysis. He would not consciously settle for “good enough” or “second best,” regardless of the requisite expenditure of time and energy. A reader need only turn to one of the collections of Wolfson’s essays in order to encounter directly the elegance of style, flow of wit, and effusion of charm; the vigorous prologue, the animated epilogue, the exhilarating characterization, the intricately-textured and carefully-cadenced generalization, and the resonant allusion provide a light, soothing ambiance for his philosophic explorations. The fusion of these aspects is seen very clearly in the volume on Crescas, where felicitous translation, exhaustive explication, and enticing conceptualization are combined.

The methodological foundation for this literary-philosophic and historiographical achievement is a mode of minute textual-philological study which Wolfson labeled the “hypothetico-deductive method” or the method of conjecture and verification, but which was in essence the traditional method of studying Talmudic texts. Wolfson applied it purely and consistently, free of sociological generalizations, metahistorical hypotheses, and other popular forms of conjecture. He was particularly wary of sociological explanations which often claimed to supplant rather than supplement historical-philological analysis and then ended up as smoke screens for lack of precision. His conjecture was philological, which he always tried to verify by adducing direct, or at least indirect, textual evidence; he developed an interpretation and then proceeded to anchor it textually; he traced abstract problems through their terminological footprints, guided all along, to be sure, by his own conception of the history of philosophy, its major trends and traits. There was, in short, constant interplay between the a priori-conceptual and the empirical-textual. While his critics sometimes found him to be too speculative in his unfolding of latent processes of philosophic reasoning, ready to build upon soaring conjecture without sufficient, self-evident textual verification (his lucid expositions of complex problems and ingenious interpretations of intractable texts are punctuated by such phrases as “it may be reasonably assumed;” “from all this we may gather;” “his [Ghazali’s] explanation may be taken to reflect Aristotle’s . . . ;” etc.) —and it is precisely the daring of his method which contributes both to the solidity as well as the vulnerability of his achievement—he could only retort that the alternative was deadly, stultifying, or prosaic. The following conclusion of an article—a rejoinder to some critical comments on his explication of “four Arabic terms”—is typical: “But all this is based, of course, only upon circumstantial evidence; we have no direct testimony of either
al-Kindi or Israeli that this is exactly how their minds worked; bread-and-butter scholarship may, therefore, brush it all aside and dismiss it as uncon-vincing.” His own erudition and ingenuity (rich but not extravagant) prevented him from being prosaic or timid.

From Slabodka to Harvard

While there is not much material connection between Talmudic study and philosophic research—and Wolfson was totally engrossed in the latter—he did try to sustain and benefit from a methodological affinity between them and, in many respects, this affinity—natural or contrived, real or imaginary—is the cornerstone of his life. Harry Austryn Wolfson was born November 2, 1887, in Ostrin, Lithuania, and died on September 19, 1974,* in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His life—its heterogeneity and creativity as well as its tensions and increasing loneliness of his later years—is symbol-
ized by his odyssey from Ostrin through Grodno, Slonim, Bialostok, Kovno, Slabodka and Vilna, a roster of place names which throbs with Jewish history and learning, joy and suffering, to Cambridge. Upon his arrival with his family in New York (September, 1903) he continued his Jewish studies and shortly thereafter (1905) settled in Scranton, Pennsyl-
vania, where, at the age of 18, he enrolled in the Central High School and graduated three years later, supporting himself during this period by part-time Hebrew teaching. A $250 scholarship, awarded on the basis of com-
petitive exams, enabled him to come to Harvard, from which he received his B.A. (1911) and Ph.D. (1915) with two years in Europe as a Sheldon Travelling Fellow; typically enough, he spent most of this time working independently in the great libraries of London, Paris, Berlin, and Munich, rather than in the lecture hall or seminar room. In 1915 he began teaching at Harvard and, after a series of term appointments during which he was also for a few years part-time professor of Jewish history at the recently established Jewish Institute of Religion, in 1925 became the first Littauer Professor of Hebrew Literature and Jewish Philosophy.

This student of Santayana—Wolfson came to Harvard toward the end of its so-called golden age in Philosophy (Josiah Royce, William James, George Santayana)—had attended the last mussar lecture** delivered by the famous R. Yitzhak (Itzele) Blazer at the Yeshivah of Slabodka prior to his becoming the rabbi of Petersburg. We have here in this juxtaposition an effective symbol of the two worlds which constituted Professor Wolfson's

*4 Tishri, 5735

**A discourse combining homiletics, exegesis, and theology, geared to stimulating or sustaining the individual’s quest for ethical perfection.
universe. His early Lithuanian years left their mark on all the later decades at Harvard. All indications suggest that he was a serious undergraduate, hard-working doctoral student, and imaginative junior faculty member, overflowing with remembrances of things past (particularly his formal educational experiences supplemented by his extracurricular haskalah reading) and hopes for things future (particularly a career as a free-lance Hebrew writer and novelist, a goal he gradually abandoned in favor of academic scholarship). Even in his later years, these experiences continued to reverberate.

The intense education of Harry Wolfson and his Americanization notwithstanding, he could never be singled out as the typical Harvard scholar, even though he spent over sixty-five years of his life at Harvard and became not only one of Harvard's most illustrious, but also one of its most loyal and loving sons. There was something different about him—not only because of the accent which stayed with him throughout his life even after he became an eloquent master of English prose. He was reminiscent of an old-fashioned gaon transposed into a secular university setting, studying day and night, resisting presumptive attractions and distractions with a tenacity which sometimes seemed awkward and anti-social. Bialik's description of the matmid, the paradigm of an assiduous scholar, the classical student of Jewish lore, comes to mind:

A matmid, in his prison-house
A prisoner, self-guarded, self condemned,
Self-sacrificed to the study of the Law

Earth and her fullness are concentrated here,
A thousand suns blaze in the gloomy corner.
Like vehement coals, his eyes give answering fire
While, lore-impassioned, back and forth he sways

Day after day firm stands the sentinel
From noon to night, from darkness to darkness.

All you have to do is remove the swaying posture, change the subject matter, and substitute one of the studies in massive Widener Library for the gloomy corner of the modest bet midrash—both prison houses—and you have the scenario for Wolfson's scholarly career. A dramatic change, and yet !

The impact and imprint are manifest in many scholarly, as well as personal, ways.

In 1921, at the dawn of his scholarly career, he penned the following lines:

Once, in a great library, I was walking through the narrow aisles between long rows of book-shelves stocked with the works of the church writers. Every great thinker of the church whose teachings helped to mold Christian thought and
tradition was represented there by his writings. There were the old Church Fathers, both those who wrote in Greek and those who wrote in Latin; there also were Augustine the saint and Abelard the erratic, the great Albertus and Thomas, he of Aquino. Hundreds upon hundreds of volumes, the choicest products of the printer’s art of Venice, Basel, Leipzig, Paris, and Rome, bound in pigskin and in morocco leather, with gilded back and bronzed corners, all were gathered together, standing there in the open shelves, offering themselves for use and for study. And looking at that wealth of magnificent volumes, I thought of those shabby tomes which incarnate the spirit of Saadia, Halevi and Maimonides, of those unpublished works of Gersonides, Narboni and Shem-tobs, scattered all over the world and rotting in the holds of libraries; and I was overcome by that feeling of sadness and sorrow which to our forefathers was ever present throughout their exiled life amid the foreign splendor of European cities, a feeling so well expressed in the touching prayer:

“Lord, I remember, and am sore amazed
To see each city standing in her state,
And God’s city to low grave razed.”

I see in these words more than just the stirrings of a scholarly consciousness. His citing the words of Amittai b. Shephatiah’s penitential hymn—which is recited during the Ten Days of Repentance and repeated at the Ne’ilah service concluding the prayers of the Day of Atonement—is not, in my opinion, merely an academic secularization of a religious motif, but rises from deep emotional wellsprings. His knowledge of this poem came from the prayer book and not from an anthology of Hebrew poetry. His abiding appreciation of traditional Judaism was a formative and pervasive—and sometimes enigmatic and unsettling—influence.

While Wolfson was effusive about his scholarly works—he repeatedly and uninhibitedly discussed them—he rarely discussed his inner experiences or publicly reflected upon his self-assessment and self-perception. With typical Lithuanian restraint and detachment, almost Stoic apathy, he camouflaged and concealed his feelings and aspirations. Now, if we were to unfold the latent processes of his heart and mind, as he, for example, unfolded the latent processes of Philo’s or Spinoza’s reasoning, we would reconstruct an unknown dimension of his life. We would be able to illumine his deep roots in the Jewish past, profound concern for the Jewish present, and passionate commitment to the Jewish future. There is no need, nor am I able, to identify and isolate the emotional, intellectual, or fideist components of this commitment; we need only confront it and recognize the tension, introspection, and retrospection which it produced. Just as the focus of his work—medieval Jewish philosophy—did not change but the periphery kept growing and expanding, embracing Greek, Christian, and Islamic philosophy, so the core of his life was unaltered even though he often moved on the periphery and seemed to stray from the traditional center.
Jewish Studies on Campus

As first incumbent of the first chair in an American university completely devoted to Jewish studies, he played an important role in the institutionalization and professionalization of Jewish studies and their spread across the American campus. Actually Wolfson’s life-work at Harvard marks the emergence of Judaica in great universities as a respectable, self-sufficient discipline with its own integrity, autonomy, and comprehensiveness. In the past—and that means up to very recent times—the study of Judaica was ancillary, secondary, fragmentary, or derivative. Jewish studies were sometimes referred to as service departments whose task was to help illumine an obscurity in Tacitus or Posidonius, a midrash in Jerome, a Hebrew allusion in Dante, or an exegetical turn in Nicholas of Lyra, a cabalistic topos in Pico or a Jewish notion in ibn Khaldun, a rabbinic metaphor in Milton, a Talmudic citation in John Selden, a fact in the biography of Walter Rathenau or Emile Durkheim or Hans Kelsen, a symbol in Franz Kafka, or even a Yiddishism in the memoirs of Bernard Berenson. The establishment of the Littauer chair at Harvard for Harry Wolfson gave Judaica its own station on the frontiers of knowledge and pursuit of truth, and began to redress the lopsidedness or imbalance of quasi-Jewish studies.

Jewish studies in the university are difficult and demanding and—indeed like Judaism itself—require dialectical deftness. They should be universalist, should strive to correlate, as Edmund Wilson put it, “the adventures and achievements of Jews with those of the rest of the world,” should bring the outer-directed tendencies of the Jewish historical experience into clear focus, and try to develop a panoramic and synoptic view which sees the interplay of forces and help integrate the study of Jewish and world history. However, in the process of elaborating this approach and sustaining this conception, Jewish studies should not ignore the unique features, should not play down the inner-directed forces and experiences, sacrifice the specific to the generic, the particular to the general; in a word, they should avoid dwelling exclusively on the borders of the picture. It has been said—the idea is widespread, but Ernst Curtius’ formulation of it comes to mind—that specialization without universalism is blind but universalism without specialization is inane. Wolfson concretized this principle in his scholarly creativity; he personified the scope, balance, and profundity which are needed to make Jewish studies innovative and authentic while saving them from superficiality or sensationalism, abuse, distortion, and caricature. He knew that the inner core of Jewish studies must not be eroded.

Wolfson’s impact was great not only because of institutional leverage, but also because of the broad range of his own creative scholarship as well as
the even wider range of his literary interests. Personal, professional, and institutional preeminence—happily joined, at some point, by growing seniority and increasing venerability—carved out a central niche for Harry Wolfson in the development of Jewish scholarship in America. He was, really, in his own humble, retiring way, a one-man scholarly establishment, commodious and capacious, a respected symbol of the entire range of twentieth-century Jewish scholarship, a senior scholar-statesman in Judaica, whose learning or intuition made his opinions relevant. Cuneiformists and Americanists, medievalists and modernists, students of belles-lettres as well as philosophy frequented his Widener study, requesting and receiving advice and encouragement. His work provided a general paradigm of thoroughness and originality, his personal involvement and interest in many scholarly fields encouraged scholars to devote their energies to them, and his generally sage and subtle (sometimes, apparently innocent) comments on virtually all facets of Jewish learning led different individuals and organizations to seek his support or participation. He revealed great understanding and appreciation of fields in which he was not, but would have liked to be, involved. Rabbinic scholarship in the broadest sense was clearly the most important of these fields, one which attracted him irresistibly and which he respected unboundedly. His acknowledgement of the centrality of Talmudic learning in Judaism and Jewish scholarship never wavered and his respect for Talmudists—traditional talmide hakhamim or modern Talmudic scholars—was steadfast. Early in his career he wrote—and repeated this sentiment throughout his life—that “the Talmud with its literature is the most promising field of study, the most fertile field of original research and investigation.” If he had his way, he would make a traditional Talmudic education a firm prerequisite for any area of Jewish scholarly expertise; he was uncomfortable with academic upstarts and “nouveaux riches” who lacked such Jewish education and pretended to be authorities in Judaica.

Past and Present

All his commitment to detached, humanistic scholarship, his personal shyness and rigid sense of discipline notwithstanding, Wolfson was not indifferent to or unconcerned with contemporary realities. He shied away from discussing his epistemology and ontology, he did not even formulate his “philosophy of life.” He was not a “public” figure in the conventional sense; he did not address large popular gatherings or plenary sessions of philanthropic or cultural organizations and never issued pronouncements concerning the burning issues of the day. Perhaps he was afraid of compro-
mising—even obliquely—his scholarly objectivity. Nevertheless, his writing is seasoned with relevance and insight, all the more forceful and attractive by virtue of its subtlety and unobtrusiveness, and studded with critical commentary on the contemporary scene. He remained a child of his times: he lived with the complexities, ambiguities, continuities, and discontinuities, that characterize a matmid-maskil who remained rooted in, and loyal to, his past, who refused to join the ranks of the alienated intellectuals (whom he described so poignantly at the beginning of his study on Philo). The problems of tradition and modernity, faith and enlightenment, religious observance and acculturation, evoked concerned, unsettling, and often paradoxical or apparently inconsistent responses from him. He was particularly agitated by much of the intentional obfuscation or unintentional ignorance which characterized discussion of religious philosophy. Just as he approached those addicted to fashionable jargon or scholarly faddishness with benign but trenchant criticism, he looked with wry humor and suspicion at many aspects of modern Jewish life. He approached the presumptive modernity of certain nineteenth- and twentieth-century philosophers with scholarly reserve and critical insight. He was guided by the discipline of medieval Jewish philosophy; modern distortions or tendentious interpretations of classical Jewish thought were, therefore, distasteful to him.

One could easily compile a collection of Wolfsonian observations—culled from his writings, particularly his occasional pieces and the early articles in the Menorah Journal, and the memories of friends and colleagues—which would illustrate his concern with, and attitude to, such specific issues as the relationship of Christianity to Judaism (as broached, for example, by Ahad Ha'am) and Jewish-Christian relations, ecumenicism and good will, ("bury the hatchet, not the differences"), study of Judaism and the Western humanistic tradition, varieties of scholarship (good and bad), renaissance of Hebrew literature and formation of modern Hebrew style, the danger of Yiddishism and the promise of Hebraism, optimistic and pessimistic appraisals of the prospects for Jewish survival in face of assimilation, Zionism and the varieties of anti-Zionism, religious reform and cultural enlightenment. He tended to view such problems and phenomena from a historical perspective and to form a judgment about them in light of traditional patterns and conceptions.

While many writers were apparently agitated about the tyranny of the past and its stultifying effects,—i.e., varieties of traditionalism—Wolfson, despite his settling into an academic routine which appeared to be almost clinically, antiseptically detached from contemporary contingencies and time-bound concerns, was worried about the tyranny of the present,—i.e.,
varieties of conformism, amorphous existentialism, and facile acculturation. He was an unrelenting critic of the "disintegrated consciousness" of modern Judaism. The following words, first published in 1925 and frequently reprinted (most recently in a Hebrew translation as well) are revealing:

Throughout the history of religious controversies between Christians and Jews in the Middle Ages, Christianity was on the defensive. The Christians considered themselves called upon to prove the claims they made on behalf of Jesus by endeavoring to show that the vague prophetic promises were all fulfilled in Christ. The Jews had no counterclaims to make; they simply refused to be impressed. As the historical custodians of the Bible texts as well as of its manifold interpretations, the Jews were rather amazed and at times even amused by the confidence with which the erstwhile heathen interpreted at their own pleasure the mistaken Scriptures quoted from the Vulgate. This attitude of aloofness and incredulity was sufficient to enrage even saints among Christians, for it gave them an uneasiness of feeling, deepening into fear and doubt and a general sense of discomfort, which explains much of the Christian intolerance of the Jews. The great victories achieved by Christianity, its conquest of many youthful barbarian races and its destruction of many effete civilizations—all this did not compensate its adherents for their failure to win over the handful of survivors of the race that had witnessed the birth of Christianity. And so the Jews were dragged to churches and to royal courts to listen to sermons and to partake in disputations in order to be impressed and become convinced.

Today many of us Jews have taken the burden of proof upon ourselves. A century of infiltration of Christian ideas into our life through all the agencies of education has robbed many of us of our essential Jewish character, of our distinctive Jewish philosophy of life, and has left us Jews only in appearance, in occupation, and in the semblance of an external social coherence. In everything that guides our life and determines our view thereof, we have become Christianized.

**American Judaism**

We may note finally that American Jewish history was also of special interest to him. Convinced that a historiography of the Jewish experience in America built on sociological platitudes, general political-economic tendencies, impersonal communal and institutional developments or simplified cultural traits could not be too enlightening, he would urge writers in this field to elaborate case histories of prominent and not so prominent families, to search for the pre-modern and pre-American roots of this experience, to recognize the uniqueness of American Jewish history and yet to relate it to the totality of Jewish history. His articles in the *Menorah Journal* reveal a witty, poignant, and constructive critic of American Judaism. His statement (1922), restrained but firm, concerning the proposed quota for Jewish students at Harvard illustrates how he would invariably—whether addressing himself to Jews or to non-Jews—relate contemporary situations to historical perceptions. All the problems—challenges and frustrations—of moder-
nity could be found in the American Jewish experience. Particularly noteworthy in this context are the notes and observations published under the title, "Pomegranates" (*Menorah Journal*, IV [1918], pp. 16 ff; 162 ff). For example:

Today the problem which Judaism has to contend with is indifference. Once it was error. To fight error, be that error superstition or heresy—for superstition is the heresy of the ignorant and heresy is nothing more than the superstition of the educated—implies a certain courage and conviction. Once Judaism had both. It knew its own mind and spoke it. Judaism stood defined, in terms clear and unmistakable, in a cumulative written tradition. Not that the living tradition, the life and institutions of the people, has ever been discounted as a source from which an understanding of Judaism could be derived, but the living tradition was significant only in so far as it had been continuous, pure and unadulterated, guided and controlled by eternal immutable principles. Judaism was then something objectively real and tangible from which it was conceived possible that the entire people could be led astray, and toward which, in that case, it was the duty of those entrusted with its care to lead it back. The nomistic character of Judaism, whatever else it may have meant, surely meant that Judaism was not a mere will-o'-the-wisp. Today a perverted sense of democracy and of a biological nationalism has given rise to a doctrine of the religion of the people corresponding to the old autocratic doctrine of the religion of the king. Judaism is now the changing mood of the Jews. It is no longer an inheritance; it is a set of inherited characteristics. It is no longer a discipline; it is a day-dream. . . We cannot take Jewish life of today as the source of Judaism, for we are all now in a state of apostasy both in a religious and in a secular cultural sense. To remain as Jews it is not sufficient for us to continue to be what we are, for we are not what we should be. Jewish life of today is indeed peculiar, but it is not peculiarly Jewish.

"Escaping Judaism" (*ibid.*, VII [1921], pp. 71 ff), a clever and caustic indictment of that Judaism which "suffers from an excessive craving for modernity, formality and respectability" and deludes itself into thinking that religion without law is possible, is still timely and refreshing.

Harry Wolfson was a great, laconic, and lonely person; his legacy is rich, colorful, and provocative.
Review of the Year

UNITED STATES
OTHER COUNTRIES
Politics and Intergroup Relations

The year 1974, observed the New Republic (December 28), was an "incredible year." For the first time in the history of the United States a president, facing certain impeachment and possible criminal prosecution, resigned. He subsequently received a "full, free, and absolute" pardon before he could be convicted of wrongdoing. For the first time, too, the president and vice-president were not elected by the people. The impeachment hearings on the Watergate scandal in the House Judiciary Committee—the immediate cause of Richard M. Nixon's resignation—were widely hailed as proof that "our system" works. While this was reassuring, Americans had come to feel a deep distrust of politicians and political institutions. According to an April report by public-opinion analyst Daniel Yankelovitch, they saw the great institutions of society in the United States as having "an excess of power, and abusing it by using this power to serve their own selfish ends rather than the country."

The year began with the country struggling to adjust to what the vast majority of Americans held to be naked blackmail, the Arab-imposed oil embargo. It was lifted in March, but the quadrupling of oil prices by the Arab-dominated OPEC countries severely dislocated the world economy and aggravated an already serious inflation and recession in the United States, while it brought undreamed-of wealth to the oil producers. Unable to absorb domestically their wealth, Arab countries and nationals invested in the United States in real estate, industry, and short-term bank notes. American businessmen sought out such investments. Some visited the Middle East, seeking to sell or provide goods and services needed to transform the underdeveloped Arab countries into modern industrial societies. This gave rise to increasing apprehension among non-Jews and Jews alike about the political and economic implications of Arab acquisition of a piece of America. Reports of discrimination against Jews working for, or seeking employment with, companies and institutions doing business with Arabs became widespread.

The simultaneous "double digit" inflation and an unemployment rate of some seven per cent contributed to the grim mood of most Americans. Federal and state unemployment compensation, augmented by union benefits and labor-management

1Address at American Jewish Committee New York Chapter annual meeting, April 2, 1974.
agreements, helped cushion the shock. Neither the Nixon and Ford administrations, nor the Congress, were able to devise a plan or program to stop the growing economic decline. At the close of the session, however, Congress approved additional public-service jobs and extended unemployment benefits. According to a Congressional Joint Economic Committee survey for 1974, the poor were affected most severely. "Not only are they less able to cope with inflation because of their limited discretionary income," it noted, "but low income families and individuals have also suffered price increases significantly greater than those experienced by upper income consumers." Blacks, women, and other minorities were particularly hard hit, since those hired in recent years because of affirmative-action programs were the first to be released as industry cut back. In October the unemployment rate for black workers jumped to almost 11 per cent, compared to an approximate 6.5 per cent for the nation as a whole.

All these factors gave rise to fears that new intergroup tensions were likely to erupt, unless there was an upturn in the economy. The current situation, Elmer L. Winter, president of the American Jewish Committee, warned a White House Summit Conference on Inflation in September, could "exacerbate intergroup conflicts, provide inflammable tinder for scapegoating, and pit race, ethnic and class groups against each other." As the job market diminished, illegal immigrants became the special target of public resentment and official concern.

The condition of urban America worsened. A sharp drop in revenues, the result of a shrinking tax base and reduction of federal grants, aggravated such chronic problems as crime, mass transit, middle-class flight to the suburbs, housing, and substandard schools.

When the year came to a close, there were some who were pessimistic about the future; they felt that we had come to the end of an era of affluence and that it was necessary for America to adjust to changed world economic conditions. Few, however, would agree with Joseph Alsop's evaluation in the Washington Post (December 23, 1974) that "the American situation is the most dangerous faced by this country since the Civil War."

Elections

As anticipated, Democrats made substantial gains in the 1974 elections. They increased their representation in the House by at least 43 seats, considerably more than preelection predictions of 30 to 35. In the Senate, they gained at least three seats, giving them a three to two majority. (The outcome of the Senate race in New Hampshire is still undetermined.) There were Democratic governors in 37 states comprising 74 per cent of the nation's population, and Democrats controlled both houses of the legislatures in 36 states, the greatest degree of Democratic control at

3FBI statistics for 1974 revealed a 17 per cent increase over 1973, the largest in 45 years, in serious offenses: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and auto theft.
the state level since 1936. According to the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* of November 19, there was a high degree of ticket-splitting. Voters in 10 of the 25 states electing both senators and governors voted for a senator of one party and a governor of the other. The electorate turned to the Democrats with no great enthusiasm. The low voter participation—only 38 per cent of registered voters—did not indicate apathy, but rather a feeling that the electorate could bring about no real change or a solution to the country's problems. If anything, the elections were a classic example of negative voting, with Democrats perceived the lesser of two evils.

A preelection Gallup poll, released on November 4, indicated that a majority of Americans were liberal on such issues as health, education, and welfare programs, establishing relations with Cuba, and gun registration, and conservative on such issues as busing to achieve better racial balance, reinstitution of the death penalty, and unconditional amnesty for draft evaders.

The elections brought to a halt Republican gains in the South. In many southern states, there were no Republican candidates for the U.S. Senate or the House. In Texas, where the Republicans had contested every House district in 1964, eight Democrats ran unopposed in 1974.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES

While major concerns of the electorate appeared to be inflation, unemployment, the Watergate scandal, and taxes, the election campaigns generally lacked serious discussion of substantive issues. Democrats were reluctant to use Watergate as a direct weapon and concentrated on so-called "integrity" issues, such as financial disclosures, release of personal financial data, limitations on amount of contributions and expenditures—all of which called Watergate to mind.

Inflation was discussed in almost every campaign, but not as an issue, and suggestions of specific remedies were usually avoided. There was agreement that an energy problem existed, but here too, no one offered a solution, except perhaps to imply that it would disappear once "Project Independence," a plan to make America self-sufficient, got underway. Taxes were an important issue, for lower-income and middle-class voters felt that the tax laws favored the wealthy. With some exceptions, Democratic candidates for the Congress urged increased spending for programs that would create more public jobs, increase benefits to welfare recipients, and give relief for those hardest hit by inflation—the elderly and those on fixed incomes. Other widely discussed issues were food shortages, consumerism and housing; abortion replaced busing as the most talked-about social issue. While law and order virtually disappeared as an issue, there was considerable sentiment for the reinstitution of capital punishment. Regionally, trade restrictions, subsidies, and the sale of wheat

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3 *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, November 19, 1974.
to the Soviet Union, low beef prices, failure to anticipate the fertilizer shortage, excess profits of corporations, oil depletion allowances, and prayer in the public schools were key issues.

MINORITIES AND WOMEN

Of the 91 newly-elected congressmen, nine were Jews, one was black, five were of Italian, one of Japanese, and one each of Lebanese and Polish origins. Michael S. Dukakis, a Greek by birth, was elected governor of Massachusetts, and for the first time since 1919, New Mexico voters elected a governor of Spanish-American origin, Jerry Apodaca.

According to Frances Farenhold, head of the National Women's Caucus, 1974 was the year of the breakthrough for women. There was a significant increase in the number of women candidates, with a total of 113 running for the U.S. Senate, the House of Representatives or governorships, as compared to 70 in 1972 and 47 in 1970. Of the candidates, 47 were major-party nominees for Congress—three of them for the Senate—with the remaining 63 minor-party or independent candidates. They ran on the tickets of the American Independent, Communist, George Wallace, Socialist Workers, U.S. Labor, and Conservative parties. There were now 18 congresswomen in the House, a net gain of two. None of the three major-party candidates for the Senate were elected.

THIRD-PARTY MOVEMENT

Ultra-conservatives, disenchanted almost from the beginning with the Ford administration's "liberalism," called for a new, conservative political entity after the elections. Interpreting the Republican defeat as a direct result of the failure to enunciate clearly and delineate conservative dogma, they made serious efforts to organize a third-party movement. There was persistent talk of a Reagan-Wallace presidential ticket for 1976 which, despite any overt encouragement from either man, seemed to grow in momentum.

While pollsters disagreed on the actual percentage of independent voters, they did agree that their numbers were increasing due to disenchantment with the political system and a deep apathy for politics. This was confirmed by a mid-1974 Gallup poll, which found that 44 per cent of respondents considered themselves Democrats, 33 per cent independents, and 23 per cent Republicans. George Gallup concluded from his data that "there is a fairly good chance that [independent] groups could be grabbed by a 'man on a white horse' if the economy slipped enough." Pollster Daniel Yankelovich, in October, maintained that the growing national anxiety, resentment, and a loss of confidence in institutions swelled the ranks of conservatives, with a "serious potential drift toward authoritarianism" that would work to the disadvantage of "many minority groups who fare badly when democratic processes are threatened."
EXTREMISTS

Presumably because of the growing disenchantment with existing political parties, the ultra-right, represented by the John Birch Society and the American party, ran an unprecedented number of candidates for national, state, and local office. (The American party, whose membership was 35 to 40 per cent Birchers, claimed a total of more than 600 candidates running for elective office nationwide.) Nevertheless, no known member of the American party was elected to office.

Its most successful candidate appears to have been Dr. John Grady, a member of the John Birch Society's National Council, who ran for the U.S. Senate in Florida but polled only 16 per cent of the total vote. In Massachusetts, Birch Society member Leo F. Kahian, running for governor on the American-party ticket on an anti-busing platform, polled over 3 per cent of the total votes, thereby establishing the American party as an officially recognized political party with the right to hold primaries, register voters, and enter candidates without securing petitions. Almost one-third of Kahian's votes came from Boston and Springfield, the two cities affected by court-ordered busing.

Several prominent members of the Birch Society ran for public office on major-party slates. C. R. Lewis was defeated as Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate from Alaska. Dr. Lawrence McDonald was elected Democratic congressman from Georgia. H. L. Richardson, who had been prominent in the Birch Society, was defeated as Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate in California, while Floyd Paxton lost on the Republican ticket in Washington's 4th Congressional district. Republican John Rousselot, a life member of the Birch Society and the only Bircher in the 93rd Congress, was reelected in California's 24th Congressional district. The Birch Society strongly opposed senatorial candidate Mike Gravel of Alaska, Alan Cranston of California, and Frank Church of Idaho, all of whom were reelected.

Politics

For the first time in its history, the Democratic party, in December, held a convention between presidential elections. It produced a party charter, whose prime provisions focused on insuring full participation by all groups in party proceedings. Potentially far more important was the resolution, however temporary, of the vexing problem of how to insure fair representation in party deliberations and conventions without "quotas" for blacks, women, youth, and minorities, which had once threatened party unity (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 172).

After much acrimonious debate, threats of walkouts by the Black and Women's Caucuses, a vague threat by some trade unionists and Southerners to bolt the party in 1976, and astute and skillful maneuvering by party chairman Robert Strauss, article 10 of the new charter was adopted. It provided, among other things, that the Democratic party be open to all who desire to support the party and wish to be known as Democrats. It prohibited "discrimination in the conduct of Democratic Party affairs on the basis of sex, race, age (if of voting age), religion, economic status
or ethnic origin.” It further mandated an affirmative action program on the national and state level “to encourage full participation by all Democrats, with particular concern for minority groups, native Americans, women and youth in all the delegate selection process and in all party affairs as defined by the bylaws.”

Interreligious Relations

Although the spirit of ecumenism moved steadily forward, aid to parochial schools and abortion continued to be tension-producing issues. Catholics remained deeply concerned over what they regarded as the failure of other religions to appreciate and understand their perspectives.

In fact, so widespread was the feeling that anti-Catholic prejudice was growing that a group of Roman Catholic priests and laymen organized the Catholic League for Religious Rights to combat it. In January it filed an amicus curiae brief for a review of *Wheeler v. Berrera* by the U. S. Supreme Court, arguing that the denial of remedial reading, hearing, and speech services to nonpublic-school pupils was part of an effort “to supress the exercise of First Amendment liberties by supporters of religious schools upon the pretext that such exercise is divisive.” The League’s Executive Director, Rev. Virgil C. Blum, in a June statement urging greater unity among American Catholics to achieve their objectives, declared that, compared to American Jews, they were “political pygmies” when it came to creating public understanding of Catholic positions on vital questions affecting Catholic interests, and that much of the mass media treated “Catholics with total disrespect, indecency, and unfairness.” At the October convention of chief administrators of Catholic education, Blum again urged Catholics to greater political action, calling them “politically simplistic” for voting “the party, not the issues.” In a December statement to the Washington, D.C., *Star News*, he charged the U. S. Supreme Court with “religious hostility,” of scuttling “rules of law because the predominant beneficiaries of the legislation are Catholics.”

Even in situations where the Catholic stand received some measure of support from other faiths, friction developed. After the much-publicized March testimony on abortion by four Cardinals before a Senate subcommittee, representatives of other religious groups, who had also given testimony, remonstrated about the lack of publicity given to non-Catholics opposed to legalized abortion, who were seeking to dispel the impression that abortion was a Roman Catholic issue. During these hearings, too, interfaith divisiveness surfaced when representatives of the 200-member Board of the American Baptist Churches accused Catholics of attempting to coerce the conscience and personal freedom of Americans favoring abortion.

Jewish attitudes on abortion continued to distress many American Catholics. Typical was a May 26 editorial by Father Albert J. Nevins in the influential *Our Sunday Visitor*, a nationally circulated diocesan paper, which called for understand-

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ing and sensitivity by American Jews with regard to the Catholic position on abortion. Wrote Father Nevins: "What I am appealing for Jewish groups to understand is that for millions of us, our feelings are just as deep, as sincere, as horrified, and as despairing as was theirs for the genocide perpetrated on their own people."

As in the past, the Jewish and Catholic agendas differed. The "liberal left" segment of the Roman Catholic community resented the preoccupation of American Jews with Israel, which, it felt, diminished the social consciousness of Jews. Mainstream Catholics were primarily concerned with domestic issues such as abortion, birth control, involuntary sterilization, and euthanasia, matching in intensity Jewish feelings over Israel and Soviet Jewry.

Despite differences, however, there were encouraging signs of harmonious relations between Jews and Christians. The formation by the National Council of Churches of an Office on Jewish-Christian Relations in February was a major step in increasing Protestant-Jewish understanding. Commenting on the new office, Dr. Claire Randall, general secretary of the National Council of Churches, expressed the hope that it would overcome the "lack of understanding by most American Protestants of either the interrelation of Christianity and Judaism or the relationship between the Holocaust and the State of Israel." In June the Presbyterian Churches in the U.S. made public a proposed new "Declaration of Faith" that repudiated prejudice against Jews.

While in domestic affairs Protestants worked closely with Jewish leaders and many spoke out in defense of Israel and condemnation of Arab terrorists, there were significant differences of opinion on the Palestinian question. David Hunter of the National Council of Churches, for one, contended in November that, in view of developments at the Rabat Conference, Israel must recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization "as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." The World Council of Churches maintained in February that the legitimate rights of the Palestinians must be recognized and implemented for the achievement of a lasting peace in the Middle East. Christian Century of November 7, 1974, printed an editorial by James M. Wall, declaring America's Christians have a responsibility to demand that the rights of Palestinians be respected, but not at the price of Israel's destruction. The National Council executive, which in December affirmed "the right of Israel to exist as a free nation within secure borders," also endorsed "the right of Palestinians to self-determination."

Among the more prominent pro-Israel Christian voices was that of David Hyatt, president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, who, in a Thanksgiving sermon, urged "men and women of goodwill throughout the world, and particularly my fellow Christians, to speak out with courage and force and defend Israel's right to exist and to live in freedom and peace forever."

Christian concern for the distress of Soviet Jewry was expressed by demonstra-

10Address at American Jewish Committee annual meeting, May 15, 1974.
tions, protests, and other public functions. Interfaith meetings in ten major Ameri-
can cities were sponsored by the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry,
directed by Sister Ann Gillen, a Roman Catholic. Sister Margaret Ellen Traxler,
another Catholic, testifying before the Senate Finance Committee in April, urged
passage of the Jackson Amendment, and asked the Senators "not to sell your
brothers and sisters [in the Soviet Union] for a few pieces of silver." On Easter
Sunday, some 200 members of six downtown Washington, D.C., churches con-
ducted a 15 minute vigil on behalf of Soviet Jews in front of the Soviet Embassy.
In New York in April, a strong plea for freedom for Soviet Jews was issued by a
group of prominent Christian leaders, who asked all New Yorkers to speak out
against the growing repression of Soviet Jews. Calling for Christian support of a
Solidarity Day Parade on behalf of Soviet Jews, M. L. Wilson, chairman of the
National Committee of Black Churchmen, said: "Wherever the rights of the Jewish
community or others are at stake, the black community must be there not only as
silent partners. . . . We must speak out . . . to make our voices heard for Soviet Jews."

Children of God

Forecasting doom for America, extolling the virtues of Libya's President Muam-
mar al-Qaddafi, and preaching antisemitism and anti-Catholicism, hatred of parents
and of previous religious affiliation, a bizarre cult familiarly known as the Children
of God undertook mass distribution of literature in the streets of American cities
and on college campuses. An offshoot of the so-called Jesus Freaks movement, the
Children of God are led by one David Brandt Berg, also known as Moses David.
The movement now has some 2,500 members, living in communes, mostly in Texas
and the West. They are required to surrender all personal belongings, including
bank accounts and cash, to leaders of the communes, who, in turn, are to transfer
assets to Berg. Since the Yom Kippur war, widely distributed Moses David tracts have kept up
steady anti-Israel and pro-Arab propaganda, frequently replete with ancient antise-
mitic canards.

Jews for Jesus

The Jews for Jesus, sponsored by the Beth Bar Shalom Christian Fellowship,
continued to proselytize among Jewish students on college campuses. Calling them-
selves "fulfilled Jews, not Christian converts," a hard core of some 25 missionaries
traveled to various college campuses and churches seeking converts, primarily

11For a full discussion see William Korey, "The Struggle Over the Jackson
Amendment, II," in this volume.
12Final Report on the Activities of the Children of God to Hon. Louis Lefkowitz,
Attorney General of the State of New York, submitted by the Charity Frauds
Bureau, September 30, 1974.
through the medium of rock concerts and the distribution of leaflets and flyers in the streets of cities with large Jewish populations. The literature suggests that rabbis and parents keep young Jews in ignorance of the fact that Christianity is the logical extension of Judaism. Despite considerable efforts, however, Jews for Jesus remain a fringe group, with little prospect of significant growth.

The Jews

For many American Jews, 1974 was a year of misgivings, insecurity, and anxiety. To a large degree, Israel's isolation among the nations of the free world, its expulsion from UNESCO, the welcome given Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat in the UN General Assembly, the possible outbreak of a new war in the Middle East, and fear that American support of Israel was weakening were largely responsible for the widespread unease among Jews. Many also feared that the rise of unemployment and the rate of inflation, as America attempted to cope with a serious recession, could lead to Jewish scapegoating. Some were particularly concerned that heavy Arab investments in the United States may lead to economic and political influence, which could ultimately be used against Israel and American Jews.

Despite the prevailing pessimism, there were indications that these fears were baseless. Polls reflected strong support for Israel by the American people, that Israel was not viewed as being responsible for the energy crunch or the high price of oil, and that there was no discernible inclination to blame Jews for America's economic malaise.14

ELECTIONS

For the first time in recent history, four Jewish candidates ran for the U.S. Senate; Abraham Ribicoff (D., Conn.) and Jacob Javits were reelected; Richard Stone (Dem., Fla.) was the first Jewish Senator to be elected by popular vote in the deep South. Of three Jews who ran for governor, two were elected: Marvin Mandel of Maryland and Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania, the first governor in a century to be reelected in that state. Of 37 Jewish candidates running for the House of Representatives, 21 were elected including Elliott Levitas, a 43-year-old Atlanta attorney and the first Jew to be elected to Congress in Georgia.

Despite the large number of Jewish candidates for high public office, antisemitism as a political weapon continued to be virtually nonexistent. However, in upstate New York a whispering campaign was directed against State Senator Mary Ann Krupsak, a Roman Catholic married to a Jew, who was elected lieutenant-governor, and frequent references were made to excessive "New York City influence," taken

by some to be a euphemism for "Jewish influence." Two candidates for state office in Florida openly appealed for Ku Klux Klan support, a tactic eschewed by major party candidates for more than two decades. In the Georgia Democratic primary, self-avowed white racist and antisemite J. B. Stoner, running unsuccessfully for the lieutenant-governorship on a hate blacks and Jews platform, polled more than 67,000 votes, a dramatic upsurge from the 17,633 votes cast for him in his unsuccessful 1970 gubernatorial attempt.

ISSUE OF ISRAEL

One of the few campaigns in which Israel was an issue, which generated considerable heat, was the New York senatorial race between Democratic candidate Ramsey Clark and incumbent Republican Senator Jacob K. Javits. It was sparked off by a position paper on the Middle East issued by Clark in September, advocating Palestinian representation in any peace discussion and the eventual creation of a Palestinian state as "a solid guarantee of Israel's protection against terrorist attack," a view Javitz saw as "fuzzing and ambiguous" and "gambling on the survival of Israel." Clark denied the charge that he espoused the creation of a West Bank Palestine state.

In the congressional campaign in Colorado, Republican James P. Johnson was attacked for having characterized arms shipments to Israel as an act of war toward Arab countries; in California, the challenger Jack Redden criticized his Democratic opponent Ronald Dellums for having voted against aid to Israel during the 1973 Yom Kippur war.

"NEW ANTI-SEMITISM"

There was the feeling among Jews that the mood of the country was changing, that there had developed an insensitivity and indifference to Jewish concerns. This change, Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein of the Anti-Defamation League asserted in a study, was the basis of a "new anti-Semitism," which differed from the traditional kind in that it "is not necessarily deliberate in character and more often is expressed by respected individuals who would be shocked to think themselves, or have others think them anti-Semites." Their analysis, they said, unequivocally refutes any notion of the existence of a potential for Nazi-like devastation; but "something is happening which is not good for Jews": anti-Israel statements with an anti-Jewish impact, often from respectable sources; silent acceptance by public officials and the clergy of overt manifestations of anti-Jewish bigotry; antisemitism among black extremists blaming Jews for urban ills; radical-left assaults on Israel, Jews, and Jewish concerns, and a revival of anti-Jewish stereotyping in the arts.

While there was considerable agreement among Jews on ADL's new definition

of antisemitism, or some part of it,\textsuperscript{16} others felt that it extended and distorted the meaning of antisemitism by failing to make a distinction between an anti-Israel stance and antisemitic attitudes, and between policies which are contrary to Jewish interests and antisemitism. Non-Jewish criticism of the study's thesis was in the main that it ignored the distinction between lack of sympathy toward Zionism or Israel and antisemitism.\textsuperscript{17}

**SAXBE INCIDENT**

Several incidents reported from Washington, D.C., however, supported the thesis. On April 3 U.S. Attorney General William N. Saxbe\textsuperscript{19} held a news conference in which he announced a new study of the Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations and related internal-security laws, last reviewed in 1955. Explaining his department's concern over a "new breed" of terrorist organizations that replaced the Communist-based organizations of the McCarthy era as potential threats to the country's internal security, Saxbe noted that in the McCarthy era "there was a great distrust of the intellectual," and added: "One of the changes that came about is because of the Jewish intellectual, who was in those days very enamored of the Communist Party."

After vigorous protest by Jewish organizations and widespread editorial rebuke, Saxbe attempted to clarify his remarks on the very next day by stating that "there was a great deal of anti-Semitism in the Communist witchhunts in the late '40s and '50s," much of which was "directed at some highly visible Jewish intellectuals who were considered sympathetic to Russia," but that, "because of the Soviet posture toward issues of importance to Jews, this is no longer the case today, and I believe this change can best be seen by the totally different type of individual involved in the terrorist groups now operating." Despite explanations by Saxbe's aides that his remarks about Jewish intellectuals "just came out" and were not premeditated, the *Washington Post*, on April 21, editorially chastized Saxbe for having made "profoundly unfair and offensive references to Jews," and an "even more offensive" explanation.

**BROWN AFFAIR**

Speaking to a Duke University law forum on October 10, General George S. Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, speculated during the question and answer session that if a severe new oil embargo imposed not merely inconvenience

\textsuperscript{16}Earl Rabb in "Is There a New Anti-Semitism?," *Commentary*, May 1974, stated: "Forster and Epstein accurately sensed that there is a danger abroad in America that does not fall within the old definition of anti-Semitism and they have turned to the idea of indifference in an effort to identify it."

\textsuperscript{17}*The New Republic*, April 20, 1974.

\textsuperscript{19}A U.S. Senator in 1973, Saxbe, in a public statement on U.S.-Soviet trade, for which he subsequently apologized, said: "If the Zionist Jews believe that we are going to fight to the last drop of farmers blood, then I'm not going to be a party to it."
but suffering on Americans, they "might get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and break that lobby." Brown further remarked that Jewish influence in the U.S. Congress "was so strong, you wouldn't believe it," that the "Jews own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers." Brown's off-the-cuff remarks remained unnoticed until the Washington Post, tracking down rumors, verified that Brown in fact did make them, and published the story in its November 13, 1974 edition.

Reaction was instantaneous, drawing protests from all major Jewish organizations, editorial condemnation, and criticism from senators, congressmen, and other prominent Americans. In an unprecedented action, President Ford publicly rebuked Brown. Presidential press aide Ron Nessen reported that the President considered Brown's remarks "ill advised and poorly handled," and that they "in no way represent Mr. Ford's views, or the views of any senior officer of his administration, military or civilian," and that the President "feels very strongly about this matter." In a telegram to the Jewish War Veterans, Brown apologized for his comments and declared that he regretted having made them and that they "certainly do not represent my convictions."

However, Brown's remarks brought more widespread discussion of the hitherto muted subject of "Jewish influence" and of the "pro-Israel lobby." On Capitol Hill there was serious consideration of the nature and extent of military aid to Israel and intensified speculation that America's arsenal has become dangerously depleted because of our shipments to Israel.

The Brown incident brought to the surface some antisemitic resentment. Many letters to the editor in responsible publications from persons with no known record of antisemitic activity were laced with antisemitic remarks or innuendos. Brown, in his first public speech after the story broke, told a business group in Sacramento, Calif., on November 25 that he had "received some letters of support of a type I totally reject as alien to America and alien to me," an obvious reference to antisemitic mail.

The hard-core antisemites found the Brown incident a made-to-order opportunity. The National States Rights party organ, The Thunderbolt, called for a "flood of telegrams to Congress," urging its followers not to allow "the Jews to destroy this courageous patriot who has the guts to tell it like it is." James H. Johnson's The Truth Seeker headlined its story: "Jew Power Reigns in the U.S.," and veteran antisemite Don Bell devoted his entire four-page Don Bell Reports to: "The Influence of Those Who Say They Are Jews." Gerald L. K. Smith reported that "the Jew-Zionists . . . were saturated with armaments furnished by the U.S. and sneaked out of our arsenal by prostituted politicians powerful enough to overrule the best judgment of our military leaders." The neo-Nazi National Socialist White Peoples party flooded the Pentagon parking lot with flyers screaming, among other things, "America's defenses have been dangerously weakened by the Israel first, America

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last policy of Secretary of Defense Schlessinger and other Zionist or pro-Zionist officials."²²¹

**AMERICAN NAZIS**

Between mid-October 1973 and fall of 1974, the National Socialist White People's party (NSWPP), which had been quiescent since founder George Lincoln Rockwell's assassination in 1967, significantly increased its level of activity and became more abrasive in its agitation. Under the direction of its national commander, Matt Koehl, NSWPP flamboyantly picketed foreign embassies, the White House, book stores, theatres, and Jewish houses of worship; appeared in full Nazi stormtrooper regalia before boards of education and city councils; distributed literature and defaced public buildings with propaganda stickers in downtown business areas; conducted "Free Rudolph Hess" vigils in a dozen cities, and publicly announced the opening of "new" national headquarters in at least three cities. Its national and local leaders were featured in television and radio news programs and as panelists on talk shows, and were profiled in local newspapers. The often uncritical presentations thus gave wide circulation to Nazi race theories, religious bigotry, and antisemitic canards.

**Black America**

**ELECTIONS**

One additional black congressman, Harold E. Ford (D., Tenn.) was elected; 12 other blacks running as major party candidates lost, including James H. Brannen, Republican candidate of Connecticut and the only black who ran for the Senate. Mervyn M. Dymally was elected lieutenant governor of California and George L. Brown lieutenant governor of Colorado, the highest state offices ever won by blacks in these states. Southern blacks won more state seats than at any time since Reconstruction. (Since the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, black voter registration has increased from 1.5 to 3.5 million, out of a voting-age population of 6 million.)

**ECONOMIC PROGRESS**

There was growing evidence of the economic progress of blacks. In a report on an intensive survey it conducted, *Time* (June 17, 1974) concluded that "more and more blacks are achieving the American dream of lifting themselves into the middle class. They have become as well-heeled, well housed, and well educated as their white counterparts."²²² This was based on the following findings: More than 30 per

²²¹Ellerin, *ibid.*

²²²Political analysts Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, in a widely discussed article in the April 1973 issue of *Commentary*, reported significant economic advances by blacks in recent years; that, as a result, a slight majority of all blacks could now be considered as belonging to the middle class.
cent of American blacks earned $10,000 or more, and 12 per cent earned at least $15,000. There also were significant increases of blacks in the colleges, in the professions, and in technical jobs. The survey further found that as a result of governmental pressure to end discrimination, enlightened attitudes on the part of business and industry, and efforts by blacks themselves, blacks have increasingly been moving into skilled jobs and managerial positions; that while blacks comprised 11 per cent of the total population, they now held 15 per cent of all full-time jobs in the federal government. Economic advances and the crumbling of housing barriers have enabled blacks to move steadily into better homes, in some cases into second homes.

However, the report added, the "job situation for poor blacks has lately turned worse." Black unemployment stood at 9.5 per cent, compared to 4.7 per cent for whites. One-third of all black teenagers were unemployed, twice the rate for white teenagers. And five million blacks received some form of public welfare.

A United Nations Economic and Social Council report, "1974 Report on the World Social Situation," stated that, since 1965, earnings of blacks and whites have narrowed considerably for both men and women; that while differences between black and white men were still considerable, black women, except in the South, now received higher wage rates than white women. At the same time, the report stated, blacks as a group had a higher infant mortality, shorter life expectancy at birth, and lower standards in housing and education than whites.

EDUCATION

If progress was being made in the desegregation of elementary and secondary schools in the South, this was not true of state colleges and universities. A study made public on December 28 by the Southern Education Foundation disclosed that most institutions in a region that was 20 per cent black remained 90 to 95 per cent white.

There were some differences of opinion on whether over-all college enrollment of blacks had peaked and was now declining. A survey conducted by Alexander Astin, professor of higher education at the University of California, Los Angeles, revealed that the percentage of blacks in the total college enrollment dropped from 8.7 in 1972 to 7.8 in 1973, and to 7.4 at the beginning of the 1974 academic year.23

Some black educators charged that the drop in black college enrollment resulted from a lessening of commitment by college recruiters, who assumed that nothing more remained to be done since the black enrollment had increased, as well as from a change in the policy of the government, the principal source of financial aid to minority students. These educators maintained that as the number of colleges

23 A survey conducted by the U.S. Bureau of Census in October 1974 indicated that black enrollment had increased from 684,000 at the beginning of the 1973–74 school year to 784,000 at the start of the 1974–75 school year, a figure discounted as inaccurate by some black recruitment officers.
having financial problems increased, the tendency was to decrease financial assistance to minority-group students; that Spanish-Americans, Indians, and women at the graduate level were competing with blacks for whatever financial assistance was available, and that pressure from black and civil-rights groups had all but evaporated.

In contrast to Professor Astin's findings, Karen J. Winkler, assistant editor of the Chronicle of Higher Education, reported the total number of college-bound blacks has been growing due to the continued increase over the past years of enrollment in black colleges. Paradoxically, notes Miss Winkler, the active recruiting of blacks for other institutions reduced enrollment in black colleges to only 25 to 30 per cent of blacks in higher education, thus threatening these colleges with a loss of their identity within the next few years. A U.S. Census Bureau study, released on January 1975, reported that the education gap between blacks and whites and between women and men was narrowing. The differential between black and white women was reduced by 2.1 per cent. There also was some encouragement for the prospective black college graduates. A year-end New York Times survey (reported on December 16, 1974), in which college placement officers and graduate students were interviewed, found that "if you are black or female, or both, your opportunities in many fields are very good."

BOSTON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Violence erupted in Boston when schools opened in September, after U.S. District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity had ruled in June that Boston's schools were willfully and illegally segregated and ordered compliance with a state program, including busing as a temporary measure until a more permanent, long-range plan could be evolved. A state law requiring the desegregation of schools was passed by Massachusetts more than a decade ago. The busing program involved some 18,000 junior and senior high-school students in 80 of the city's 200 schools located primarily in South Boston, a predominantly white, Irish-Catholic, working-class district, in white Hyde Park, and in overwhelmingly black Roxbury.

There was violent resistance by parents and students, during which buses carrying black students into South Boston were stoned, both white and black students were physically assaulted, and innocent pedestrians were attacked. Serious fighting erupted in a predominantly black housing project and in South Boston. When violence reached its peak in early October, Mayor Kevin White unsuccessfully appealed to Judge Garrity for 125 United States marshals. (Ultimately, 450 state and city police were needed to cope with the situation.)

Just at that time, in an October 9 news conference, President Ford reaffirmed his long-standing opposition to forced busing to achieve quality education, stating that he "respectfully" disagreed with the federal court order to bus Boston school children. Following widespread editorial condemnation of the President's statement, press secretary Ron Nessen announced that the President's remarks should
not give “aid and comfort to those who disobey the law,” since the President believes that the public and the city administration of Boston “must respect the law, and this ruling of the Court is the law.”

While the Boston conflict over busing had undeniable racial overtones, it also appeared to be motivated by a class conflict. South Boston’s workers resented that white liberal suburbanites, whose children were unaffected, were among the most ardent supporters of the court-ordered busing. Judge Garrity, a resident of white suburban Wellsley; Mayor White, whose children attended private schools, and Senators Edward M. Kennedy and Edward W. Brooke, neither of whom had children in Boston’s public schools, were the prime targets. Busing, they complained, is not “for them,” the white liberals, but for “us,” the Irish, the Italians, and the blacks.\(^2\)

Racial bigots and Marxists attempted to exploit the mood of strife-torn Boston. The American nazis and a Louisiana-based variation of the Ku Klux Klan independently sent “national leaders” into Boston in an unsuccessful effort to agitate and recruit. The Trotskyite Socialist Workers party played a dominant role in organizing a broadly based, massive “keep the buses rolling” march of an estimated 20,000 people through Boston streets on December 14.

On December 22 the Boston School Committee, after refusing to comply with a court order to approve and submit a plan for full integration of all Boston schools, unanimously agreed to adopt Judge Garrity’s desegregation order and busing plan, which was upheld by the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. In defiance of a court order to approve and submit a new desegregation outline, three of the five-member School Committee rejected a plan prepared by school administrators, declaring they would rather go to jail than approve a plan which would lead to more violence. Christmas vacation was set ahead of schedule in an effort to restore calm. But at year’s end Boston remained a city gripped by fear and divided by racial hatred.

BLACK NATIONALISM

Imamu Baraka, the foremost proponent of black nationalism and its most prominent personality, renounced the movement in favor of “the scientific socialist theory founded by Marx and Engels,”\(^2\) because it had become “ineffective and racist.” He urged his followers to make common cause with poor whites and other economically deprived groups to improve their lives and to end capitalism in the United States.

Huey Newton, supreme commander of the Black Panthers who, like Baraka, built a following and a movement by preaching that whites were inherently evil and totally to blame for the economic and social condition of blacks, was arrested by the Oakland, Cal., police in July, and again in August, on a variety of charges


ranging from street fighting to shooting a black prostitute.26 Due for arraignment on August 23, Newton disappeared without trace, forfeiting $421,000 bail.27 Without his leadership, the Panthers movement, once a potent voice in the black community, has all but ceased to exist outside the San Francisco Bay area.

The anti-Israel, antisemitic Black Muslims, whose dogma includes hatred of whites because they are responsible for the ills of American blacks, remained essentially a religious movement, but with heavy emphasis on economic self-sufficiency for blacks. At year's end, these groups still had some activists. But Baraka's shift in priorities and the disappearance of Newton deprived the black nationalist movement of charismatic leadership, with the likely result that it would no longer be a significant force in the black community.

**Black-Jewish Relations**

Tension between blacks and Jews continued to surface, but it was considerably less severe than in the preceding few years. A decline in the advocacy of the Third World and black power muted the once overt and strident anti-Israel rhetoric of young blacks, who preached solidarity with their Arab brothers—a significant factor in exacerbating black-Jewish relations and in the alienating of many American Jews.

The large black publications, despite Arab efforts to curry favor with many of their editors (a three-week tour of Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria by a delegation of black publishers and editors was financed, according to one member of the delegation, by "Arab oil money"),28 condemned the Arab massacre of innocent Israeli school children at Ma'alot. The prestigious *Amsterdam News*, on May 25, described it as "a crime against humanity," while the Columbus, Ga., *Times*, a black daily, on May 19 bitterly condemned those Arab governments without whose financial support "the activities of these gangs [Arab terrorists] would be impossible."

Beyond the sympathies evoked by wanton Arab terrorist attacks, distinguished black leaders, such as Bayard Rustin, Roy Wilkins, and Vernon Jordan, frequently and publicly called for support for Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state. The *Philadelphia Tribune*, in its reaffirmation of support for Israel on May 25, challenged "the assumption of many Jewish leaders . . . that black Americans no longer support the right of Israel to exist." It pointed out, among other things, that 13 of the 15 black congressmen cosponsored a House resolution urging the government to resupply Israel with arms and ammunition depleted or lost in the Yom Kippur war.

The prime cause of what many blacks viewed as a stumbling block to better relations was the Jewish position on quotas, affirmative action, and reverse discrimination. Almost always, however, when the issue was raised in public discussions by prominent black spokesmen, there was, at the same time, reaffirmation of a mutual-

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The prevailing black sentiment was one of sharp disagreement with the stance in the widely publicized DeFunis\footnote{Marco DeFunis et al v. Charles Odegaard, President of the University of Washington, et al (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 88).} case of such influential Jewish groups as the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, which filed *amicus curiae* briefs on behalf of DeFunis. The American Jewish Committee brief argued that the university’s action in granting preferential admission to certain applicants on the basis of race violated the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and that the law school’s plan to bring about a “reasonable representation” of minority-group students, although not labeled a quota, inevitably set a limitation or quota for other groups. The U.S. Supreme Court, in April 1974, ruled the case moot, since DeFunis was about to graduate from another law school.

While Vernon E. Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, expressed understanding of the strong Jewish hostility to quotas of any sort, he argued that blacks were not insisting on quotas, but rather on meaningful affirmative-action programs to erase past and present discriminations, and a less rigid and dogmatic definition of appropriate qualifications.\footnote{Address at annual meeting of American Jewish Committee Atlanta, Ga., chapter, June 2, 1974.} Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP’s Washington bureau, maintained that the inevitable effect of the position of Jewish groups and others opposed to “affirmative admission practices” was that “most blacks who have been handicapped by discrimination in their education would never be admitted to law school.”\footnote{Jones, *op. cit.*}

Although the DeFunis case and sharply divergent opinions on what affirmative action means strained relations between blacks and Jews, even those blacks who were the most critical of the dominant Jewish position on these issues wanted to prevent harmful conflict. There was frequent acknowledgment that the National Council of Jewish Women, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, and other individual Jews supported the black position on DeFunis; and that even those Jewish groups which supported his case were, at the same time, strong advocates of affirmative action in other areas of discrimination against blacks.\footnote{Poussaint, *op. cit.*}

Black gratification was also expressed when, in May 1974, the Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Committee, and American Jewish Congress joined with the National Urban League, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund, and the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP in urging Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Secretary Caspar Weinberger to establish “nondiscriminatory guidelines” clarifying
how educational institutions could best develop appropriate tools for special efforts to recruit persons from previously excluded groups.

Generally, responsible black leaders believed that there was greater support for blacks among Jews than in any other group. Civil-rights activist Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, in a declared effort to end black isolationism and to solve the country's social problems, approached various Jewish organizations for the purpose of forming an alliance between them and blacks, Arabs, and Spanish-speaking Americans. He and Rabbi Irwin M. Blank, president of the Synagogue Council of America, in November convened a two-day conference of 50 Jewish and black religious leaders at the University of Chicago to discuss and air differences in order to reaffirm that there were "more things to unite us than to divide us." A joint statement at the close of the conference called for a program of full employment as a matter of right, rejection of President Ford's anti-inflation program; an adequate national health program, and an effective affirmative-action program for women, blacks, and other minorities.

Earlier, in June, a National Consultation on Black-Jewish Relations, under joint sponsorship of Fisk University and the American Jewish Committee, convened at the university. Representative black and Jewish scholars and institutional leaders examined in depth relationships between Jews and blacks from biblical, theological, historical, and sociological perspectives. Serious disputes arose over historical interpretations, with some blacks resorting to antisemitic remarks to which no black raised objections. Still, at the end of the conference, blacks and Jews agreed that new ways must be found to work together for the benefit of both.

Civil Rights

At the 25th anniversary meeting in Washington in February of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 135 national organizations that spearheaded the 1950s and 1960s movement for civil-rights legislation, the consensus was that what was now needed was enforcement of existing laws, rather than new legislation. The overriding concern was aid to the poor and disadvantaged.

Despite a Congress and country preoccupied with Watergate and the impeachment proceedings, some significant civil-rights legislation was passed. A minimum-wage law ($2747), raising the hourly minimum for most nonfarm workers and extending overtime coverage to domestics and federal, state, and local government employees, was signed on April 8. A three-year struggle to provide legal services for the poor ended in July with the establishment of a Legal Services Corporation. The first major housing legislation ($3066) since 1968, the key features of which substituted community-development block grants for categorical urban-funding programs and established a new rent-subsidy program for low- and moderate-income Americans, became law on August 22. Six days later, the President signed


In its closing days, the 93rd Congress enacted legislation (S 754) to enforce the constitutional right to a speedy trial. One of the Nixon administration's most controversial crime-control measures was eliminated when, on October 16, the Congress passed PL 93481 repealing the so-called "no knock" law which, in some circumstances, authorized federal agents to enter and search dwellings and make arrests without first knocking and identifying themselves.

In a June 10 decision, the U. S. Supreme Court (Michigan v. Tucker) modified, but refused to overturn, the Miranda ruling which barred the use of evidence obtained by the police from a person who was in custody, but was not fully warned of his constitutional right to remain silent and, if necessary, to have legal counsel at public expense.

**EQUAL-RIGHTS AMENDMENT**

The drive for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution, which would prohibit any form of sex discrimination by federal, state, or local governments, seemed headed for an uncertain future (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 117). Although by year's end, 33 of the necessary 38 state legislatures had ratified the amendment, strong opposition was beginning to develop. Spearheading the opposition was Phyllis Schlafly, author, lecturer, and political activist long identified with such right-wing organizations as the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation and the John Birch Society, who maintained that the amendment would give "women no new rights, but a whole bunch of responsibilities." The Birch Society, declaring the defeat of the amendment to be one of its important objectives, mounted an aggressive campaign opposing ratification. The National Council of Catholic Women, the Southern Baptist Association, the Daughters of the American Revolution, fundamentalist groups, and the Mormon Church opposed ratification for ideological reasons. They believed that it would threaten woman's role as wife and mother, and her traditionally privileged position. Other less formal opposition developed because of a bleak economic picture, which made women reluctant to disturb existing relationships and thus jeopardize jobs.

**Affirmative Action**

The thrust of the government's various affirmative-action programs barring discrimination because of race, sex, color, religion, or national origin shifted from blue-collar occupations to academia. The HEW Office of Civil Rights exerted con-

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siderable pressure on law schools and other educational institutions, insisting under threat of terminating federal contract funds, that they actively recruit more faculty members and students from minority groups. Blacks generally saw the issue as a test of whether or not the nation had the will, through preferential treatment of blacks, to rectify previous wrongs.38 Whites, who agreed on the need for increasing minority admissions and faculty representation, saw the actual implementation of affirmative action as reverse discrimination and the legitimation of quotas. Some distinguished blacks argued that acceptance of quotas was an admission of inferiority, or, as Bayard Rustin maintained, a means to "further entrench the tendency of society to respond to the call for equal opportunity with tokenism."39

In a significant effort to heal the wounds caused by the DeFunis case and implementation of affirmative-action programs, the professional heads of the American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Urban League, and Puerto Rican Legal and Defense Fund, in a joint letter dated May 17, urged Secretary Weinberger to issue nondiscriminatory guidelines "for recruitment of minorities by educational institutions."

In order to correct some of the admitted abuses flowing from the affirmative-action employment programs of colleges and universities, HEW Office of Civil Rights Director Peter E. Holmes, after a series of meetings with representatives of major Jewish organizations, issued new guidelines on admissions policies. They stipulated that colleges receiving federal contracts may not 1) discriminate against white males in efforts to improve employment opportunities for minority groups and women; 2) lower job standards for women or minorities; 3) advertise that females or minorities are preferred, or designate certain jobs on the basis of sex or race to meet employment goals.40 To avert a cutoff of federal funds, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia submitted plans for the desegregation of state-controlled universities and colleges, which were approved by HEW.

Generally, however, the government's affirmative-action program continued to take root. Government employees and those working under government contracts constituted a significant segment of the work force covered by goals and timetables. There was substantial compliance with affirmative-action regulations, some voluntary and some to avoid legal action. In March seven of the nation's largest trucking companies, threatened by a government lawsuit, agreed to adopt hiring goals under which one-third to one-half of their employees would be blacks or persons with Spanish surnames. In April nine major steel companies signed a consent decree with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the U.S. Departments of Labor and Justice, agreeing to fill within the next year 20 per cent of new production

38 *Amsterdam News*, March 9, 1974.
40 "Memorandum to College and University Presidents," December 1974.
and maintenance jobs with women, 15 per cent of new high-craft jobs with minorities, and 25 per cent of supervisory and management-training jobs with minorities and women.

The city of Jackson, Miss., agreed to hire two blacks for every white in its police department, until a 35 per cent ratio was achieved. The Maryland state police, in conformity with a consent decree, agreed to hire enough blacks to constitute at least 4 per cent of its personnel. A U.S. District Court Judge in Newark ruled in October that one-third of all policemen hired in the city must be black or Hispanic.

Revenue Sharing

The State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972, known as the General Revenue Sharing Act, was conceived by the Nixon administration as part of its New Federalism to phase out traditional patterns of federal aid by giving state and local officials more control over the expenditure of federal funds; to help create greater fiscal equity, and to bring government closer to the people. But two years of implementation have pointed up the shortcomings of the law. In general, Congress was having second thoughts about the entire program, with many congressmen increasingly reluctant to allow state and local officials to decide how substantial federal monies should be spent.41 Their misgivings were not without cause.

There has been concern over growing difficulty encountered in financing local programs for the poor, the aged, the sick, and other disadvantaged.42 Hearings in June before the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations produced testimony by the Brookings Institution and others that state governments were using the funds made available to pay bills, or to lower or hold down taxes; that states were failing to enforce the civil-rights provisions of the act, and that only a relatively little amount was being spent for the poor and elderly. In a December 4 meeting in Houston, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, charged that cities were not spending funds to aid the poor, and that only 1 per cent of monies received were used for social services, 2 per cent for housing and community development, and 5 per cent for health programs.43

The Revenue Sharing Law, it was asserted, has also worked to the disadvantage of minorities. Big cities with large black and Spanish-speaking populations, which were undercounted by census-takers, have received less monies than they should.44 The law contains antidiscrimination provisions, but these were generally not known. Awareness of these provisions became more widespread when on December 18, following a federal court ruling that the city of Chicago was guilty of discrimination against blacks and Chicanos in its police recruitment, testing, promotion, and

41 Congressional Quarterly Weekly, July 6, 1974.
assignment practices, the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., ordered a halt of all payment of revenue-sharing funds to that city until it ceased its discriminatory practices. Authorities believed that this decision, the first of its kind, could well set a precedent for action against other cities, where similar suits were pending.

Illegal Aliens

The continuing influx of illegal immigrants in ever larger numbers has been causing considerable concern. According to Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., some three million undetected illegal aliens were living in the United States at the beginning of 1974. By June 30, he put the number at "somewhere between five, six, or seven million," and growing every day. There were 670,000 arrests in 1973, and 800,000 in 1974. In contrast to years past, many illegal aliens now came to the large cities, rather than farms, swelling the ranks of the poor. Fearful of exposure, they generally did not apply for welfare relief or other social services. Those who managed to find employment were frequently exploited by unscrupulous employers, who paid less than the minimum wage. In some areas of extensive unemployment, residents resented that these people were working as waiters, bellhops, and taxi drivers.

Sentiment was growing to curb illegal entry by legislation making it unlawful for an employer knowingly to hire an illegal alien. Opposition to such a law came from farming interests, and, in some instances, from the Roman Catholic clergy who considered the law "anti-Catholic," since 90 per cent of the aliens in question were Mexicans.

Textbook Controversy

Deep community divisions, based on class lines, religious beliefs, life styles, and cultural values, gave rise to new attacks on public schools after several years of relative calm. In the ultra-rightist-inspired assaults of a decade-and-a-half ago, schools had been a major target of the war against "Godless Communism."

Violence erupted in West Virginia's coal-mining area of Kanawha county over the use of textbooks in the public schools which, in compliance with state law, were multicultural. It began when school opened and lasted for almost six months. In a region heavily Fundamentalist in religious outlook, many parents denounced the textbooks as "un-American, anti-Christian, and pornographic," and complained bitterly that they had no voice in determining what their children should be taught. Protest marches, rallies, parades, scuffles, picketing, and arrests were almost daily occurrences; weekly church sermons frequently stirred up the people. The Ku Klux Klan and John Birch Society, which opposed the use of the mandated textbooks, came into the community to cajole and recruit.

In October two elementary schools and a rural bridge, used by county school buses bringing pupils to schools where the controversial textbooks were being used, were bombed. At the end of the month, an explosion shattered windows in the school board administration building in Charleston. Similar, though less violent, protests over textbooks or classroom materials took place in Hanover county, N. C., Boise, Ida., Prince George's and Montgomery counties, Md., Prince William and Bedford counties, Va., and Sauk Village, Ill.

While ultra-rightists continued to regard the textbook controversy in terms of a "conspiracy," more objective observers read deeper meaning into it. According to U. S. Commissioner of Education T. H. Bell, it was a manifestation of a "growing concern on the part of parents that they have lost control over their children's education." Others, such as Paul Salmon, executive director of American Association of School Administrators, observed that both parents and teachers are seeking more power, and that teachers, who frequently lived outside the communities where they taught, were unfamiliar with community mores or life-styles. However, the fundamental issue surfacing from the current conflicts appeared to evolve over the rights of parents, as opposed to boards of education, to determine what their children should be taught in the public schools.

Amnesty

An unresolved divisive issue continued to be the question of amnesty for young men who, for a variety of reasons, either failed to report for induction or deserted from the armed forces during the Vietnam war. In a clearly sincere effort to "bind up the nation's wounds" and to respond to a growing sentiment for forgiveness, President Ford, speaking to the Veterans of Foreign Wars on August 19, announced his amnesty program. Although he favored "leniency," he said, he endorsed pardon only for those who agreed to do some public service to earn their way back into the country's good graces.

There were many who initially approved of the President's program, among them newspapers like the New York Times and religious leaders. There were others who, harking back to Ford's "full, absolute, and unconditional" pardon for Richard Nixon, argued for unconditional amnesty here too.

Immediately after the President announced the details of the plan on September 16, spokesmen for those to whom the conditional amnesty would apply called it "vindictive" and "more punitive than expected." Exiles in Canada maintained that anything less than unconditional amnesty was unacceptable. Indeed, the response was far less than anticipated. When the amnesty offer expired on July 31, only 15 per cent of the estimated 12,500 eligible deserters had applied; of 6,800 draft evaders, only 97 had surrendered, and of the estimated 213,000 convicted of draft evasion or desertion, only 623 had asked for a Clemency Review Board hearing.

Indians

For the first time in American history, the United States Department of Justice sued to protect the voting rights of Indians. In a January complaint filed in the United States District Court, Phoenix, Ariz., the Department charged that the state of Arizona, by dividing the Apache county—which was inhabited by 23,994 Indians and 8,304 non-Indians—into three separate districts, left the Indians with a majority of voters in only one of the three districts. Each of the districts elects a county supervisor, and the three collectively manage county affairs. The suit alleged that the redistricting, which went into effect in 1972, violated the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, as well as federal voting statutes.

Disappointed over the fulfillment of a promise of increased self-government made by President Nixon in July, 170 Indian tribes from coast to coast intensified demands that their reservations be given commonwealth status. Earlier, in June, the American Indian Movement had voted to establish an International Indian Treaty Council and to apply to the United Nations for membership on "behalf of all Indians." At the same time, it declared its intention to open negotiations with the government through the State Department as a sovereign people, rather than as citizens of the United States.

Milton Ellerin
The United States, Israel, and the Middle East

During the first half of 1974 United States diplomatic efforts in the Middle East concentrated on the negotiation of disengagement agreements between Egypt and Israel, and Syria and Israel, to replace the fragile cease-fires that had halted the intensive October 1973 war (p. 398). The ultimate success of the negotiations was attributed at the time to the unprecedented "shuttle diplomacy" of United States Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. While his personal negotiating skills and his seemingly tireless efforts in moving back and forth between the belligerent parties to help narrow their differences no doubt played an important role, equally important were the unpublicized understandings and assurances he provided to the parties on behalf of the United States.

Thus, the disengagement of the hostile forces depended in large measure on the confidence Kissinger inspired among the parties that the United States would stand behind its promises. While explicit United States commitments, such as arrangement for American photoreconnaissance to provide independent surveillance of the deployment of forces in the disengagement zones, helped to reassure each of the parties regarding compliance by the other, the more general American pledges to work for a just and lasting peace in accordance with UN Security Resolutions 242 and 338 gave rise to conflicting expectations.

The Egyptian government thought this meant that the United States had committed itself to restoring all of Sinai to Egyptian authority and would use the necessary pressure on Israel to agree to withdraw its armed forces. Egypt, in turn, would agree to end its belligerence against Israel, but only after Israel had withdrawn from all occupied territories and satisfied the "rights of the Palestinians." The Israel government thought that United States commitment to Israel's right to live within secure and recognized boundaries meant that the United States would not only provide all the military equipment Israel needed to maintain its defenses, but would also refrain from imposing its own views on the parties, limiting itself to facilitating the negotiations between them. This difference in conception of the American posture became apparent in the latter part of the year. The Egyptians began to urge Washington to press for speedy further withdrawals by the Israelis, while the Israelis urged a period of waiting for practical evidence of Egypt's peaceful intentions by reopening the Suez Canal and rebuilding the cities along its banks.

Nothing came of various suggestions for a similar disengagement or thinning out of Israeli and Jordanian forces along the Jordan River and for restoring Jordanian civilian authority in part of the West Bank. Since there had been no active fighting along the Jordan River frontier during the Yom Kippur war, the practical military urgency to avoid renewed confrontation, which had motivated the disengagement
agreements with Syria and Egypt, was not as great. Moreover, the Rabat Arab
summit conference's designation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as
the sole legitimate spokesman of the Palestinians greatly reduced the likelihood of
any arrangement exclusively between Jordan and Israel regarding the West Bank.

Geneva Conference in Abeyance

Although the bilateral disengagement agreements were nominally undertaken
within the framework of the Geneva conference, the full conference failed to take
place in 1974. The only meeting in Geneva was the one at which the Syrian-Israeli
disengagement agreement was signed at the end of May. Since the Syrians had
officially refused to participate in the Geneva conference because such direct
negotiations might have implied political recognition of Israel's legitimacy, the
meeting was ostensibly only between the Israeli and Egyptian military working
groups, with the Syrians subsumed under the Egyptian delegation.

Only the Russians seemed publicly eager for an early resumption of the Geneva
conference. In reiterating this Soviet position to the UN General Assembly on
September 24, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko emphasized that the Palestinians
should take their "rightful place" at the conference table. A Soviet-PLO joint
communique, issued after PLO leader Yasir Arafat's visit to Moscow in August, had
reaffirmed Soviet support for PLO, authorized it to open a Moscow office with
embassy status, and noted with satisfaction that the Arab and Islamic summit
conferences had recognized the PLO as sole spokesman of the Palestinians. At the
same time, however, Gromyko also reiterated in his UN speech that the Soviet
Union "stands in favor of Israel existing and developing as an independent sovereign
state," a position officially rejected by Arafat in the UN Assembly on November 13,
when he emphasized that the PLO's political objective continued to be a single
secular, democratic Arab state in all of Palestine.

Dispute Over PLO Position

There were some who thought that, despite his rhetoric, Arafat was moving
toward acceptance of a mini-Palestine state on the West Bank and in Gaza. Alleged
indications of this were the endorsements given to PLO by the Palestine National
Council in Cairo in June, and by the Arab League at the Rabat summit, to establish
an independent Palestinian "national authority" on any territory "liberated" from
Israel; Arafat's new professed willingness to allow all Jews currently living in Israel
to remain in his proposed Palestinian state, and his subsequent explanations to
reporters that when speaking at the UN, he had purposely chosen the word "dream"
in speaking of the establishment of a secular, democratic Arab state in Palestine to
indicate that this was only an ultimate objective, implying that he might reach some
interim modus vivendi with Israel.

Widespread reports that the PLO would soon set up a provisional Palestinian
government-in-exile were not borne out in 1974. One reason for the delay appeared
to be Arafat’s failure to win approval for such action from the more militant groups in PLO. On September 26 the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), headed by George Habash, announced in Beirut that it was withdrawing from the PLO executive committee because of the organization’s “deviation from the revolutionary course.” Its deputy chief Ahmed Yamani said it would continue to struggle until all Palestine was “liberated,” Israel destroyed, and King Hussein overthrown. Two other guerrilla groups belonging to the self-styled “rejection front” said they would follow PFLP.

While King Hussein nominally agreed to abide by the Rabat decision, he continued to pay subsidies to West Bank Palestinian leaders friendly to the throne and refused to permit PLO terrorist operations against Israel from his territory. Although the Rabat summit set up a committee to attempt to reconcile PLO-Jordanian relations in preparation for a common negotiating line toward Israel at Geneva by the Arab “confrontation” states, no substantial progress was made in that direction.

**Israeli and U.S. Attitudes to PLO**

The government of Israel reiterated its categorical refusal to negotiate with PLO (p. 405). Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin enumerated the reasons for this position in an interview with Livio Caputo (published in *Epoca* on July 27, 1974): 1) the PLO was not the legitimate representative of the Palestinians “since nobody has elected them;” 2) Israel saw no point in negotiating with people “who want to eliminate us from the face of the earth and who seek to murder civilians, including women and children;” 3) “on principle, we will deal only with sovereign states—otherwise we risk having to face a myriad of organizations, each one claiming that it is a representative body.” Israel, Rabin declared, continued to prefer to deal with Jordan, noting that Jordan in fact was a predominantly Palestinian state in population and that Hussein had promised to hold a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the West Bank Palestinians after the area had been relinquished by Israel.

While there was virtual unanimity in Israel against negotiating with the PLO as long as it sought the elimination of Israel and used terrorist methods, Israelis were deeply divided on the future of the occupied territories. As a result, the Israeli government pledged not to sign any treaty relinquishing territory in Judea or Samaria (the Biblical names for the West Bank) without approval from the electorate.

Because of the numerous complications involved in dealing with the Palestinian issue in general, and the PLO in particular, the United States government tried to defer any decisions on the matter. When President Richard M. Nixon went to the Middle East in June, all the Arab leaders he met with stressed the importance of recognizing Palestinian national rights as part of any just solution to the Arab-Israel conflict. King Faisal was most explicit in stating the Arab demands when he warned, at a state dinner in Nixon’s honor, that there would be no lasting peace in the area “unless Jerusalem is liberated and returned to Arab sovereignty, unless liberation
of all the occupied Arab territories is achieved, and unless the Arab people of Palestine regain their rights to return to their homes and their right to self-determination.” Nixon did not respond directly; he praised Faisal as a wise leader and assured him that the United States was interested in “a lasting peace.”

In its official pronouncements the United States stopped short of recognizing the “legitimate national rights” of the Palestinians—the Soviet and Arab formulation—and shied away from any reference to PLO as Palestinian spokesman. However, the United States did modify its concept of the Palestinians as constituting a refugee problem and began to acknowledge their role as a people. Thus, the joint statement issued by Nixon and Egypt's President Anwar al-Sadat in Cairo on June 14 declared that a durable peace based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 “should take into account the legitimate interest of all peoples in the Middle East, including the Palestinian people, and the right of existence of all states in the area.” The latter clause was seen as the implied Egyptian recognition of Israel. The statement also noted that “peace can be achieved only through a process of continuing negotiation as called for by UN Security Council Resolution 338 within the framework of the Geneva Middle East peace conference.” This left open the door for the continuation of Kissinger's step-by-step diplomacy, while giving lip service to the Soviet demand that the negotiations be part of the Geneva conference.

A vague formulation was also used to sidestep the issues of PLO and the Geneva conference in a joint communiqué issued by Nixon and Brezhnev at the end of their meeting in Vladivostok in July. It asserted that a peace settlement should take into account “the legitimate interests of all people in the Middle East, including the Palestinian people, and the right to existence of all states in the area.” It called for the resumption of the Geneva conference “as soon as possible,” a compromise formula that papered over the Soviet-American disagreement on the subject.

At a press conference during Nixon's visit to Jerusalem in June, Kissinger declared that “the most efficient way for the Palestinians to be brought into the [negotiating] process is through the Jordanian delegation in which there is the historical background and for which Israel has always declared its readiness in principle.” At a press conference in Washington on October 7, he reiterated that he would not meet Arafat, or any other Palestinian leader, during his forthcoming trip to the Middle East. While there were some informal contacts of lower-level American officials with PLO representatives in the Middle East, on the official level the United States shunned PLO.

The resignation of President Nixon in August and the assumption of the presidency by Gerald R. Ford brought no immediate change in American Middle East policy or in the United States attitude to PLO. Ford, who had established a record of sympathy for Israel during his years in Congress, expressed full confidence in Kissinger's peace efforts in the Middle East.

At the United Nations, United States delegate John Scali opposed the invitation extended to PLO, warning that its participation could impede rather than promote current peace efforts. He emphasized that “the only basis for a just negotiated
settlement is and must remain Security Council resolutions 242 and 338,” which did not recognize the Palestinians as a separate party to negotiations. At the June meeting in Cairo of its National Council, PLO had explicitly rejected the underlying principles of these resolutions when it declared that it would continue to “struggle against any scheme or projected Palestinian entity the price of which is recognition, peace, secure boundaries” or denial of the Palestinian objective of “liberation of the entire Palestinian soil.”

End of Arab Oil Embargo

On March 18 the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) announced the lifting of the embargo on oil supplies to the United States, which they had imposed during the October 1973 war. They warned, however, that this decision, as well as the question of production levels, would be periodically reviewed. The main objective of their embargo and production cutbacks, the Arab oil ministers explained, had been to draw world attention to the Arab cause and to “create the suitable political climate” for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242, which, they contended, calls for Israel’s “complete withdrawal from the Arab-occupied territories, and for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.” This differed from the interpretation of the resolution by its American and British sponsors, who had deliberately omitted reference to withdrawal from “all” or “the” territories to allow room for negotiation by the parties of secure and recognized final boundaries as part of a package peace agreement. The resolution also failed to include explicit reference to Palestinian rights, speaking only in general terms of the need for “a just settlement of the refugee problem.”

The Arab oil ministers noted that their embargo had made world public opinion aware of the “importance of the Arab world for the welfare of the world economy,” and thus “receptive” to Arab rights, which led to the “gradual isolation of Israel” and the adoption of “political stances which openly condemn Israel’s expansionist policy.” After singling out Belgium, Italy, West Germany, and Japan for special praise in this regard, the Arab oil ministers noted that there were also some signs of a more “evenhanded policy” on the part of the United States. Apparently alluding to the United States role in obtaining Israeli troop withdrawals as part of the Egyptian-Israeli disengagement agreement, they said it appeared to them that “American official policy as evidenced lately by the recent political events assumed a new dimension vis-à-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict.”

In an attempt to get Syrian concurrence in the lifting of the embargo, the Arab ministers’ statement emphasized their support for all the Arab countries “in their just struggle” and for “the Syrian Arab Republic at the present time during which it endeavors to reach the means which would eventually lead to the full liberation of its territory and to the complete liberation of all the Arab-occupied territories, first of which comes Jerusalem.” Nevertheless, the Syrian government refused to endorse the decision to lift the embargo, holding to its view that the oil weapon
should have been maintained at least until after Syria, too, had concluded a disengagement agreement with Israel. Libya, keeping to its militant position, declared that it would neither assent to lifting the embargo nor to any production increase.

The embargo against the Netherlands, whose government had been regarded as particularly sympathetic to Israel, was unanimously lifted by OAPEC only on July 10, after the signing of the Golan Heights disengagement between Syria and Israel (p. 401).

Conservation measures, a mild winter in Europe and the United States, and the inflationary and recessionary effects of the fourfold increase in world oil prices, all served to limit demand and thus minimize the disruptive effect of the Arab embargo, both in Holland and the United States. Moreover, not all the Arab states were equally scrupulous in enforcing the embargo. In June Algeria officially announced that it would not abide by the embargo. Iraq had never really gone along with it; United States Commerce Department April figures indicated that some Saudi Arabian and Tunisian oil had continued to arrive several months after the imposition of the embargo. United States government energy officials also privately acknowledged that American oil imports in early 1974 from such countries as Italy, Chile, Columbia, Bolivia, and the Netherlands Antilles, which normally do not supply oil to the United States, probably represented shipments of Arab oil that had been diverted to evade the embargo.

**Power of Petrodollars**

In their March statement, the Arab oil producers warned that they might take "even more severe oil measures" in the future, if Israel did not meet Arab demands. For the time being, however, they were going to concentrate on utilizing their oil "in a positive manner in order to lead to results, the effectiveness of which may surpass those if the oil weapon was used in a negative manner." This was an allusion to the new economic power felt by the Arabs as a consequence of the unprecedented money reserves accumulated by the major oil producers who had quadrupled and, in some cases, quintupled oil prices since 1973.

In addition to financing more sophisticated propaganda and arms purchases amounting to billions of dollars, the new Arab wealth was temptingly dangled before Western industrialized countries as a source of loans, investments, and large-scale development contracts. Some of these offers were explicitly or implicitly linked to compliance by the recipients with Arab-boycott regulations against Israel and sought to exclude Jewish officials or firms regarded as sympathetic to Israel. Although numerous congressional committees began investigations into the problems relating to Arab investments, no comprehensive new legislation was adopted; the exception was a law to conduct a survey of foreign investments in the United States. Although Saudi Arabian officials privately assured American diplomats that they were working to lower world oil prices, the Saudis refused to take unilateral actions, like major increases in production which would have depressed prices, because of
their overriding desire to maintain a united Arab economic and political front, as well as to preserve the bargaining power of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). There was no significant reduction in oil prices in 1974. On the other hand, OPEC refused to accede to the demand of the Shah of Iran for substantially higher oil prices to compensate for the loss of purchasing power of the dollar, the traditional unit for calculating oil prices.

The fact that oil prices stayed high despite the signing of the disengagement agreements and the lifting of the embargo, together with evidence that such non-Arab states as Venezuela and Iran which had defied the embargo by shipping oil to Israel and the United States had been prime movers behind the worldwide OPEC price increases, served to discredit the Arab argument that the reason for high oil prices was Israel's alleged intransigence. This Arab campaign backfired, for 1974 public-opinion polls found that Americans tended to overestimate the degree to which the United States was dependent on Arab oil imports, and consequently placed a heavy share of the blame for the inflation, unemployment, and recession on the Arab states. Nevertheless, there was little public support for the suggested use of American military intervention to take over the Persian Gulf or North African oilfields to force a reduction in oil prices.

**Confronting the OPEC Cartel**

While neither President Ford nor Secretary Kissinger would rule out the ultimate use of force if a new embargo threatened the Western industrialized world with economic "strangulation," both made it clear that the United States hoped to achieve a reduction in oil prices first through cooperative efforts of the consuming countries and then negotiations between the major producers and consumers. Although the administration repeatedly proclaimed its intention to develop a national energy policy which would make the United States independent of foreign sources by 1985, there was division on what measures to take; and once the immediate inconvenience of the gasoline shortage abated, Congress no longer felt the need to enact the many necessarily unpopular measures required for a comprehensive energy-independence program.

On the international front, the United States government was torn between its traditional commitment to multilateral economic cooperation and the fear that it could not afford to remain aloof from the scramble for bilateral arrangements with the major oil producers that France, Japan and other industrial countries were rapidly concluding. Thus the United States in 1974 established with Saudi Arabia a bilateral economic commission for expanded economic cooperation, which included massive American arms and defense-related sales to Saudi Arabia. Similar deals were concluded with Iran. Bilateral commissions were also set up with Egypt and Israel, which helped to minimize the impression that the sole aim was to recycle petrodollars.

On the multinational level, the United States took the lead in November in
establishing the International Energy Agency, which brought together 15 of the major industrial nations to agree to stockpile oil, to allocate oil in emergencies, to encourage conservation, and to sponsor joint research in alternative sources of energy. The new agency was to work under the auspices of the 24-member Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Although France did not formally join, it agreed, after a December meeting between Ford and President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, to coordinate its energy policies with the United States and to participate in a $25 billion multilateral emergency-loan fund proposed by Kissinger to help oil-consuming nations meet financial crises caused by high oil prices. In return, the United States agreed to a French proposal to convene a meeting between major oil producers and consumers in 1975.

In a Time interview at the end of the year, Kissinger reiterated that prior evidence of consumer solidarity would help assure the success of such a conference. Softening the U.S. opposition to OPEC demands for "indexing," under which oil prices would rise to reflect inflationary changes in the prices of other major commodities and manufactured goods, Kissinger said the United States would be prepared to consider indexing, but only after oil prices had been reduced from the arbitrarily high levels set by OPEC.

U.S. Aid to Egypt

Aside from presumed American leverage on Israel, the major inducement for the Arab states to improve their relations with the United States was the prospect of tapping American scientific and industrial expertise. The United States government's eagerness to assist the Arabs in their economic development was clearly signaled in the Nixon-Sadat joint statement of June 14, which noted that in 1973 Egyptian-American relations had changed "from estrangement to a constructive working relationship," and that they were now in 1974 "moving to a relationship of friendship and broad cooperation." Special working groups under a joint cooperation commission were established to prepare a program having several specific aims: 1) to encourage American private investment in joint enterprises in Egypt in such fields as petrochemicals, transportation, agricultural development, tourism and banking, and to promote trade (projects already "under serious consideration" exceeded $2 billion, but in view of the Nasserist nationalizations and expropriations, which had discouraged foreign investors, a new Egyptian-American investment-guarantee agreement was to be negotiated "immediately"); 2) to increase Egypt's agricultural production; 3) to exchange scientists and foster "technology, research and development in scientific fields, including space;" 4) to develop and strengthen Egypt's medical research treatment and training facilities; 5) to encourage and facilitate cultural exchanges.

In support of these efforts, Nixon pledged that the United States "will make the maximum feasible contribution, in accordance with Congressional authorization, to Egypt's economic development, including clearing the Suez Canal, reconstruction
projects and restoring Egypt's trade." In addition, the United States promised to give "special priority attention" to Egypt's needs for agricultural commodities to help feed its burgeoning population.

**Controversy Over Nuclear Reactors**

There was general support for this program in the United States Congress, and even the Israelis welcomed American economic aid that encouraged the Egyptians to reorient their priorities from war to peaceful development. However, much opposition was aroused by the dramatic announcement in the joint statement that "the United States is prepared to sell nuclear reactors and fuel to Egypt" to enable it to substantially increase its electric power-generating capacity by the early 1980s. Pending conclusion of an agreement "under agreed safeguards," the United States Atomic Energy Commission and the Egyptian Ministry of Electricity would, within a couple of weeks, conclude a provisional agreement for the sale of nuclear fuel to Egypt.

Congressional and editorial opposition centered on the following points: It was premature and potentially dangerous to supply nuclear technology to Egypt until it had clearly demonstrated its peaceful intentions. The recent explosion of a nuclear device by India, in circumvention of its agreement with Canada, revealed the weakness of existing safeguards against diversion of nuclear fuel byproducts from power generation to weapons production. Once the Egyptians began operating the nuclear reactors and trained a cadre of nuclear scientists, there was nothing to prevent the Egyptians from abrogating whatever commitments they made to the United States.

To minimize the opposition, the United States offered a similar nuclear-power program to Israel during Nixon's stop in Jerusalem on June 17. Proponents of United States nuclear aid to Egypt pointed out that it would be 1980 before the reactor was completed and the first shipment of nuclear fuel was delivered to Egypt. They argued further that Egypt already had two small reactors provided by the Soviet Union; that the Russians were already discussing a Soviet-built nuclear power reactor, and that the American offer would help free Egypt from dependence on the Russians. They held, too, that the Congress could insist on strict safeguards for United States control over the production, shipment, and reprocessing of uranium and plutonium. There were some who suspected that since Israel was far ahead of Egypt in nuclear technology, the American offer to both Egypt and Israel had a dual purpose: to increase American prestige and influence in Egypt and, at the same time, assure strict American supervision over all of Israel's present and projected nuclear reactors. Preliminary ten-year contracts for the sale of United States nuclear fuels and technology were signed by Egypt and Israel in Washington on June 26, and plans were announced for a 600-megawatt plant in each country, providing sufficient power for about 250,000 people.
Military Supply to Israel

Although Richard Nixon had visited Israel earlier, his 1974 trip marked the first time in Israel's history that an American president paid an official visit to the country. The joint communiqué issued at the end of the visit generally paralleled that issued in Cairo in terms of the offer to provide nuclear power assistance and in the pledges to continue cooperation in the fields of industry, energy production, tourism, aviation, space-technology research, and cultural exchanges. The communiqué further stated that American and Israeli representatives would soon meet to devise ways to insure the supply of oil and other essential raw materials to Israel on "a continuous basis." This was to reassure Israel regarding the problems it might face if it gave up the Abu Rudeis oilfield in Sinai in a new agreement with Egypt, or if Egypt reimposed its blockade at the Bab el Mandeb entrance to the Red Sea and cut off the passage of Iranian oil to Israel's port of Eilat.

Israelis placed special emphasis on that part of the communiqué in which Nixon affirmed "the continuing and long-term nature of the military supply relationship" between the two countries. This was because they had frequently encountered what at times they believed to have been politically motivated delays before arms purchases were concluded. Therefore it was important to Israel to be assured of continuing United States military supplies and economic aid over an extended period if it should agree to any further substantial withdrawal in Sinai. The President also reiterated his view that "strengthening Israel's capacity to defend itself" was essential to prevent further hostilities and "to maintain conditions conducive to progress towards peace." American economic assistance, the communiqué indicated, would continue at a "substantial" level and would be "the subject of long-range planning" between the two countries.

In an apparent allusion to Syrian and Lebanese acquiescence in Palestinian guerrilla attacks against Israel, the communiqué expressed United States-Israeli agreement on "the duty [of every state] to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular forces or armed bands including mercenaries for incursion into the territory of another state."

Congressional Appropriations

AID TO ARAB STATES

The major new American aid to the Arab countries which President Nixon had visited did not receive final congressional approval until well into the 1975 fiscal year. During the 1974 fiscal year Jordan continued to be the main Arab recipient of United States aid, with grants of $55 million in economic supporting assistance, $36 million in military grants, and $6.9 million in agricultural commodities under Public Law 480 Food for Peace soft loans. Smaller sums for military sales credits were provided to Lebanon ($5 million), Morocco ($12 million), and Tunisia ($2.5
While Saudi Arabia received only $200,000 under a military training program, this figure was dwarfed by the billions of dollars Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich Persian/Arabian Gulf states were spending in the United States for arms and defense-related technological products and services.

After considerable debate, during which Congress increased the administration proposals for aid to Israel and imposed some strings on aid to some of the Arab states, the U.S. Fiscal Year 1975 (July 1, 1974–June 30, 1975) Foreign Aid Appropriation Act included the following figures: Egypt received a $250 million supporting assistance grant, including part of the cost of clearing the Suez Canal—to which the United States Navy contributed its equipment and skilled personnel—and rehabilitation of the cities along the canal; and $139 million in P.L. 480 soft currency loans for food. Jordan received $100 million in military grants and $30 million in military sales credits, and $77.5 million in grant economic aid. Other Arab recipients of United States military aid, mostly in the form of credits, included: Lebanon ($10.1 million), Morocco ($14.8 million), Tunisia ($3.5 million).

SYRIAN AID CONTROVERSY

The Administration had also asked for a $100 million special requirements fund, which was expected to be used largely for aid to Syria. For many years Syria had refused to accept aid from “imperialistic” America and the new receptivity of Syria to diplomatic relations and economic ties with the United States reflected the more pragmatic approach of the regime of President Hafez al-Assad. While welcoming the reported signs of lessening ideological rigidity in Damascus, Congress was still dubious about Syria’s commitment to peace in view of its continued close ties with Moscow, evidenced by the presence of Soviet advisers and the recent arrival of shipments of the most advanced Soviet tanks, planes, and missiles, as well as by active Syrian support of Palestinian liberation groups.

Congress was also deeply concerned over the arbitrary secret-police control and the numerous discriminatory measures to which Syria’s estimated 4,500 Jews were subjected, including denial of their right to emigrate, even for purposes of reunion with their families in the United States and other Western countries. Consequently, the Congress approved an amendment to the Near East section of the Foreign Assistance Act, introduced by Representative Jonathan B. Bingham (Dem.-Lib., N.Y.), which declared it to be “the sense of Congress that none of the funds authorized by this Act should be provided to any nation which denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate.” The administration regarded this language as not binding upon it. However, Congress included in the act another provision empowering it to disapprove any specific expenditures requested by the administration under the special requirements fund, if the Senate and the House concurrently adopted resolutions opposing such expenditures within 30 days after requests were made.

Syria received a total of $83 million under the special requirements fund, mainly
for improvement of the Damascus water system, the purchase of equipment for agricultural expansion, and student exchanges with the United States. Separately, Syria obtained $28 million in surplus United States agricultural commodities under P.L. 480 soft loans. The administration arguments, which moved Congress reluctantly to go along with the requests, were that the top priority was not to jeopardize the Kissinger peace efforts by antagonizing Syria; that Syria would not ease its emigration policy on threat of an aid cut-off, since it was receiving far more substantial aid from the Soviet Union and the oil-rich Arab states, and that gradual improvement in Syrian-American relations, together with progress on the Syrian-Israel diplomatic front, offered the best hope for improving the status of Syrian Jews.

Representative Stephen Solarz (D., N.Y.), whose district includes most of the 25,000 Syrian Jews in the United States, sent to Secretary Kissinger on February 25, 1975, a letter, cosigned by 81 other representatives, agreeing not to oppose the administration's initial $25 million request for Syria so as "not to undermine or impair" the United States government's negotiating position, but also urging the administration to use the opportunity of its diplomatic negotiations to prevail upon the Syrians to reciprocate the United States "expression of good faith" by lifting its emigration restrictions on Syrian Jews.

AID TO ISRAEL

After the Yom Kippur war, the administration had asked Congress to approve a $2.2 billion emergency military-aid package for Israel. Congress gave the President discretion to give up to $1.5 billion of this sum as an outright grant. In April the administration made an initial determination to allocate $1 billion as a grant, and the remainder in long-term, low-interest loans. At the end of June 1974, after his visit to the Middle East, Nixon approved the additional $500 million authorized by Congress as a grant.

During the 1974 fiscal year (July 1, 1973 to June 30, 1974) Israel also received $50 million in grant economic support, about $36 million of the $40 million appropriated to help integrate Russian Jewish refugees, and several small grants totaling a few million dollars to various educational institutions in Israel.

For the fiscal year 1975, Congress increased from $50 million to $324.5 million the administration's request for a supporting assistance grant. Israel further received $100 million in grants and $200 million in credits to purchase United States military equipment (the administration had initially recommended that the entire $300 million be in credits to be repaid). Under a contract concluded in December 1974, Israel was to receive another estimated $9 million in agricultural commodities under P.L. 480.

Controversy Over U.S. Arms Supply to Israel

In the latter part of 1974 a flurry of articles appearing in the American press alleged that the rapid delivery by the United States of arms to Israel during and after
the 1973 Yom Kippur war had denuded the American arsenal and thus weakened the fighting capacity of the United States armed forces. The charge was largely stimulated by the off-hand remarks in October 1974 by chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. George S. Brown (p. 126). As Air Force chief of staff and in charge of the United States arms airlift to Israel during the Yom Kippur war, Brown had won praise from Prime Minister Rabin for being the man who "probably helped Israel more than anyone else." Following the incident Brown and other high United States officials denied the allegation read into his remarks by some observers. In Sacramento, Cal., on November 25, General Brown noted that one of America's national objectives was the continued "viability of the State of Israel," adding that "if the national decision is made by the Chief Executive and endorsed by Congress, of course this great nation can afford to supply the State of Israel."

While it was true that at the end of 1974 the United States Army was still some 1,800 tanks short of its authorized strength of 10,000, the 600 tanks supplied to Israel on an emergency basis were acknowledged by the Defense Department officials to be merely a symptom rather than a fundamental cause of the problem. Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger curtly told Newsweek that the talk of a great arms drain was "bull..." From the Pentagon's viewpoint, the 1973 war had the favorable effect of drawing public attention to the need for adequate conventional military forces to counter the Soviet Union's rapid expansion of such forces which, when lavishly supplied to the Arab states and other Soviet friends, threatened to upset the balance of power in the Middle East and elsewhere. Thus, after the 1973 war had revealed the dangerous degree to which the United States had permitted its production of tanks to fall below that of the Soviet Union, Congress approved a long-standing Army request to increase tank production from 40 to 103 units a month.

Army Chief of Staff General Fred C. Weyand, in an interview with Associated Press correspondent Fred S. Hoffman on December 14, denied that the American supply of tanks and other equipment to Israel and other countries had seriously damaged the Army's combat readiness. On the contrary, he declared, "the Army is probably in better shape than at any time in its peacetime history." He confirmed that the main reason for the tank shortage was that "we let our production base deteriorate." But the shortage had not been serious enough to affect training or morale, and no regular divisions were short of tanks, since overseas shipments had been made from the stocks of the National Guard and reserve units.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Although public attention in 1974 was focused on the anti-Israel resolutions adopted by various United Nations organs, the UN took some positive action. The Security Council established the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), which was to supervise the implementation of the cease-fire and serve as a crucial neutral buffer
between Syrian and Israeli forces on the Golan Heights. It also renewed the mandate of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) in the Sinai.

**Establishment of UNDOF**

The creation of UNDOF followed arduous negotiations between Israel and Syria, with Secretary Kissinger as mediator. Initially, Syria agreed to no more than 100 UN observers, while Israel requested a force of 3,000 UNEF troops. After concessions on both sides, the final agreement called for 1,250 men with a new title incorporating the terms “observer,” to satisfy the Syrians, and “force,” to meet the Israeli wish for a force similar to UNEF in Egypt. UNDOF in fact drew its initial personnel and equipment from the 7,000-man UNEF. The powers and assignments of the two forces were similar. UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim told the Security Council in May that, in setting up the Golan Heights force, he would follow the principles approved by the Council the previous October for the Sinai UNEF: that weapons of a defensive character would be provided, that force would not be used except in self-defense, but that any attempts to prevent the enforcement of the Council's mandate would be resisted.

The Soviet Union demanded that, to be technically legal, the Security Council delay the creation of UNDOF until May 31, to follow signing of the Israeli-Syrian disengagement agreement in Geneva. At that point, it joined the United States in cosponsoring the resolution setting up UNDOF for an initial six-month period, an action interpreted as reflecting Moscow's insistence that, as a cosponsor of the Geneva conference, it must be a partner in any formal peace-making step in the Middle East.

The Council approved UNDOF for a period of six months by a vote of 13 to 0, with China and Iraq “not participating.” China dissociated itself from what it called the efforts of two superpowers to establish spheres of influence for themselves in the Middle East at the expense of the Arab states and the Palestinians. Iraq, leading the Arab “rejection front,” wanted no part in any agreement based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which implied Israel's right to existence. British delegate Ivor Richard pointed out that since UNDOF and UNEF were established by the Security Council, in contrast to the UNEF which was set up in 1956 after the Sinai Campaign by the General Assembly, the new forces could not be withdrawn without Council approval simply upon demand of one of the belligerents, such as that by Egypt in May 1967.

**Renewal of UNEF**

However, renewal of the forces was not automatic; it required Council action to extend it for an additional six-month period. In 1974 the Security Council twice voted to do so. The only points of controversy were French and Soviet demands for greater control by the Council's permanent members of the financing and operational efficiency of the force, and the Soviet Union's complaint that Israel be re-
quired to permit the Polish contingent of UNEF to travel freely on the Israeli side of the line. Israel balked at permitting entry by soldiers from countries it considered unfriendly, since they might pose a security risk. Israeli leaders also reportedly feared that if Polish troops were let in, the Soviet Union would press for admission of its 36 military officers who were members of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization, which continued to operate side-by-side with the UNEF. The Soviet request that the Council instruct Secretary-General Waldheim to order the Israelis to allow freedom of movement for all UN contingents was not reflected in the compromise resolution adopted on April 8, to extend the force. It merely endorsed the secretary-general's efforts to solve outstanding problems.

In again extending UNEF on October 23, the Council reaffirmed that the force "must be able to function as an integral and efficient military unit in the whole Egypt-Israel section of operation without differentiation" among the various contingents, and asked the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to this end. In response to French and Soviet concern over the $83.6 million cost of the force in its first year of operation, the resolution expressed the Council's confidence that the force "will be maintained with maximum efficiency and economy." Thus Moscow and Paris failed in their efforts to exert a greater direct national control over the secretary-general's authority to run this neutral international body.

After some tense moments and protracted last-minute confidential consultations, Syria agreed to the Security Council's renewal of the Golan Heights UNDOF, for another six months by Resolution 363 of November 29. Israel's delegate Yosef Tekoah hailed the Council's action as a "positive development," adding that the continuation of UNDOF was an integral element of the Israeli-Syrian disengagement agreement and its prohibition on the resort to force, which he stressed, "is not limited in time." Syrian delegate Haissam Kelani emphasized that the disengagement agreement was not a peace agreement, but only "a first step on the road to a just and lasting peace based on resolution 338." Syria, he said, accepted UNDOF's extension to provide "a fresh opportunity" to establish such a peace.

Soviet delegate Yakov Malik declared that although no dates had been set for termination of the disengagement agreements, it was understood that they could not be prolonged indefinitely. He underscored the Soviet position that lasting peace could be achieved only by "the complete liberation of all Arab lands occupied in 1967, the exercise of the lawful right of the Arab people of Palestine to establish their own state, their right to self-determination, and a reliable and authoritative guarantee of the security and independence of all countries involved in the area of conflict," all of which must be achieved within the framework of the Geneva conference. To help satisfy the Soviet and Syrian demands for further rapid progress in negotiations, Resolution 363 reaffirmed that the disengagement agreements were "only a step" toward peace, and sandwiched the decision to extend UNDOF between two paragraphs calling upon the parties "to implement immediately Security Council Resolution 338" and asking the secretary-general to report at the end of six months on measures taken in that direction.
Terrorism

Following a retaliatory raid by Israel against Palestinian guerrilla bases in Lebanon, the Security Council on April 24 adopted a resolution condemning the "violation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and sovereignty" and calling upon Israel "to refrain from further military actions and threats against Lebanon." It also condemned "all acts of violence, especially those which result in the tragic loss of innocent civilian life," but did not explicitly condemn the incident that had provoked the Israeli retaliation, the Arab terrorist attack on the Israeli town of Qiryat Shemona in which 18 persons were killed. A United States amendment to insert a reference to Qiryat Shemona was defeated by a vote of 7 to 6, with 2 abstentions. The United States then joined with 12 other Council members to vote for the resolution as a whole. China and Iraq said they were not participating in the vote, China because it opposed the resolution's endorsement of peace negotiations and Iraq because it considered mere warnings and condemnations inadequate to deter Israel from further "aggression." Tekoah denounced the resolution as another example "of the bias and inequity" prevailing in the UN's Middle East debates.

NO ACTION ON INTERNATIONAL INCIDENTS

The issue of international terrorism had been formally raised by Secretary-General Waldheim in 1972 after the murder of Israeli athletes by Palestinian terrorists at the Olympic Games in Munich. Following several years of inconclusive discussion, the General Assembly's Legal Committee on December 10, 1974, recommended that the issue be postponed for yet another year. Although the delay was deplored by the United States, West Germany, and some Latin American countries, only Israel voted against the postponement—a situation reflecting in large part the growing influence of the Arab countries and the reluctance of many states to offend them.

While Eike Bracklo of West Germany and Shabtai Rosenne of Israel stressed the urgent need for international measures to prevent terrorism, the other delegations could not agree on what constituted terrorism and what was part of a legitimate struggle for liberation. The conflict of ideologies was reflected in the exceptionally long official wording of this UN agenda item: "Measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes innocent human lives or jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes." Burhan Wasfi Hammad of the United Arab Emirates welcomed the postponement because, he said, it would give his delegation time to document the "types of terrorism that the Arab and Palestinian peoples had suffered" at Israeli hands.
UN Invitation to PLO

The Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) long campaign to gain international recognition made spectacular progress in 1974. Ever since 1965 PLO spokesmen had been given permission to speak during the annual UN debate on the Arab refugee question. In the past, however, they could appear only at meetings of the special political committee and under an explicit ruling of the chair that they were permitted to speak "without such authorization implying recognition" of their group. Indeed, the committee usually also granted a hearing to the spokesman of a rival group, the "Palestine Arab Delegation," sponsored by the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine, which had been founded by the late Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin el-Husseini (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], pp. 265-66).

Contrary to past practice, the UN General Assembly on October 14 passed a resolution declaring the Palestinian people to be "the principal party to the question of Palestine" and inviting "the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine in plenary meetings." The resolution, which had been sponsored by 71 countries from the Arab-Afro-Asian and Communist blocs, was approved by a vote of 105 to 4. Only the United States, Bolivia, and the Dominican Republic joined Israel in opposing the invitation. Most of the 20 countries which abstained were Western European or Latin American.

In explaining the American negative vote, Ambassador Scali pointed out that it did not reflect lack of sympathy for the Palestinians, but rather concern that the resolution could be interpreted as prejudging the negotiating process, since its implication that only the Palestinian Arabs, and not the Israelis, had any legitimate claim, would make more difficult the attainment of a durable peace. He also expressed "profound concern" over the departure from the longstanding precedent that only representatives of governments be allowed to participate in plenary sessions. "Have we," Scali asked, "created a dangerous precedent which may return to haunt this organization—perhaps cripple its effectiveness?"

The warning had little effect on the voting of other delegations, whose governments automatically supported PLO because of ideological affinity with revolutionary movements, appeals to Muslim and Afro-Asian solidarity, and the prudent calculations of not openly opposing a cause backed by the Arab oil producers. On October 25 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) voted by an overwhelming majority of 80 to 2 (United States and Israel dissenting) to admit PLO as an observer to its general conference. Seventeen others, including France and its eight Common Market partners, abstained.

Earlier, the PLO had managed to gain admittance to various conferences held under UN auspices—the World Food Conference, the World Population Conference, and the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts—under a general formula originally intended to aid the emergent African states. It was used by the conferences as a basis for inviting all "national liberation" movements recognized
by their respective regional organizations, namely, the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States. Its past successes and evidence of the automatic majorities it mustered at international forums won for PLO also an invitation to be a nonvoting observer at the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea, which met in Caracas in July 1974.

Arab domination of the UN General Assembly was further revealed in the rulings of the Assembly's president, Algerian Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika. Departing from the tradition of nonpartisanship of his predecessors, Bouteflika ordered that PLO leader Arafat be accorded the protocol honors—such as a special armchair—normally reserved for heads of state. Bouteflika then made an unprecedented ruling to limit each delegation to one speech during the forthcoming debate on the "Question of Palestine," which, in effect, muzzled Israel by denying it the right to speak, as it had requested, after each of the 20 Arab-League member states presented its view on this highly controversial issue. Israel and the United States challenged the Algerian's ruling, but he was upheld by a large majority. When the General Assembly on November 12 upheld Bouteflika's ruling which suspended South Africa from participation in the current General Assembly session, he actually arrogated to the Assembly the power to deny membership in violation of the UN Charter, which provides that only the Security Council has the authority to expel or suspend a member.

**PLO Wins UN Observer Status**

On November 22 the General Assembly adopted two resolutions enhancing PLO's international position. The first (Resolution 3236) recognized that "the Palestinian people is entitled to self-determination" in accordance with the UN Charter and reaffirmed the "inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine," including self-determination, "national independence and sovereignty," and "return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return." While the resolution "recognizes that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East," it also implicitly endorsed PLO's armed struggle for liberation when it "further recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" (emphasis added). However, some countries which supported the resolution, including Argentina, Mauritius, and Thailand, interpreted the latter clause as meaning that their support of Palestinian sovereignty was not intended to question the statehood of Israel, a UN member entitled to equal sovereign rights under the Charter.

Israel bitterly opposed the resolution, which nowhere mentioned it by name. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 89 to 8 (Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Iceland, Israel, Nicaragua, Norway, United States) with 37 abstentions.

The second resolution (3237) invited PLO to participate as an observer in the
sessions and work of the UN General Assembly, as well as in all international conferences convened under the Assembly's auspices, and declared PLO entitled to participate in conferences convened by other UN organs. This accorded PLO a position similar to some nonmember states, such as Switzerland and North and South Korea. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 95 to 17, with 19 abstentions. Opposed were Israel, the United States, Canada, and some Western European and Latin American states.

**UNESCO and Israel**

On November 7 the UNESCO Commission for Social Sciences, Humanities and Culture voted to invite the director general to "withhold assistance from Israel in the fields of education, science and culture." The ostensible reason for the sanction was Israel's alleged "persistent alteration of the historic features of the city of Jerusalem" and "undertaking excavations which constitute a danger to its monuments, subsequent to its [Israel's] illegal occupation of the city." Although a report based on an on-the-spot investigation by a UNESCO technical expert had found the charges essentially groundless, the politically inspired resolution was approved by a vote of 54 to 21, with 25 abstentions. It was formally adopted at the UNESCO General Conference on November 20, by a vote of 64 to 27, with 26 abstentions. The United States, Israel, and most Western European countries, including France, voted against the resolution. The blow to Israel was more psychological than financial, since Israel contributed to UNESCO's budget more than eight times the amount spent by UNESCO on projects within Israel.

The following day, in a vote dominated by Arab and Communist delegations, UNESCO voted to exclude Israel from its European regional group. Since the Arabs had long opposed Israel's admission to the Asian group, Israel became the only UNESCO member not to be part of any regional group. Lebanese delegate Salah Stetie was quoted as saying, "Israel belongs nowhere." Although 33 countries in Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere had supported Israel's admission to the European region, 48 countries now voted its exclusion and 31, including France, abstained. This was followed by a third resolution which was opposed by Israel, calling on UNESCO's director general to cooperate with the Arab states and PLO to assure education and culture to the Arabs living in Israeli-occupied territory. It was adopted by a vote of 51 to 5 (United States, Israel, Guatemala, Paraguay, New Zealand), with 22 abstentions.

*Backlash Against Arab Politicization of UNESCO*

The Arabs may have overplayed their hand, for the blatant signs that they were intent on politicizing an agency that had long been a symbol of objective scientific and cultural cooperation soon produced an intense backlash among Nobel laureates and cultural luminaries throughout the Western world. Many indicated that they would not participate in UNESCO projects until the agency rescinded its unjustified anti-Israel measures. In the United States, Congress approved an amendment to the
foreign-aid bill, introduced by Senator Clifford Case (R.-N.J.), banning contributions to UNESCO “until the Secretary of State certifies that each resolution passed by UNESCO [which is] not of an educational, scientific or cultural character has been repealed.” Thus, while the Arab states succeeded in denying Israel some $24,000 in money assigned to be used for museums, libraries, and restorations, they were responsible for the loss to UNESCO of the usual United States contribution of $16,000,000.

The developments at the United Nations prompted a bipartisan group of 71 senators to reaffirm—in a letter sent to President Ford in December—their commitment to the “survival and integrity” of Israel and to ask that he reiterate that commitment by a policy giving Israel continued military supplies, and diplomatic and economic support. The senators maintained that the prominence given PLO at Rabat and at the UN “poses a direct threat to American foreign policy which must be met vigorously and promptly.” They emphasized that Arafat’s “espousal of terrorism and his repeated calls for the destruction of Israel as a Jewish homeland must be resolutely opposed by the United States,” if it hoped to make progress toward genuine peace in the Middle East. UNESCO’s decision to withhold assistance from Israel, they said, was “a shameful example of the transformation of that international humanitarian organization into a political weapon.” The letter called on the United States to take the lead in organizing “our friends and allies to resist political and economic blackmail in the future.”

John A. Scali, the United States representative to the United Nations, took a similarly tough stance in a speech in the UN General Assembly on December 6. He reminded the Assembly that it was not a true legislature; that most of its resolutions were merely advisory in nature. Pointing out that some resolutions adopted by Assembly majorities “which represent only a small fraction of the world, its wealth or its territory” sometimes “brutally disregard the sensitivity of the minority,” Scali predicted that “when the rule of the majority becomes the tyranny of the majority, the minority will cease to respect or obey it.” Alluding to the anti-Israel measures adopted by the Assembly and by UNESCO, he emphasized that “neither the American public nor the American Congress believe that such actions can be reconciled with the spirit or letter of the United Nations Charter.” His subsequent statement that “my country cannot participate effectively in the United Nations without the support of the American people and of the American Congress,” was a clear warning that the substantial United States financial support of the UN was in jeopardy. He then spoke of the threat of the Assembly’s action to the very existence of the UN:

If the United Nations ceases to work for the benefit of all its members, it will become increasingly irrelevant. It will fade into the shadow world of rhetoric, abandoning its important role in the real world of negotiation and compromise.

In his concluding remarks, Scali appealed for a renewed commitment to tolerance and harmony and a redoubling of efforts to transform the UN into an effective instrument for compromise and negotiation.

George E. Gruen
The Struggle Over the Jackson Amendment

WITH THE PASSAGE by a large majority of the Jackson amendment in the House of Representatives in December 1973 (AJYB, 1974-75 [Vol. 75], pp. 203-34), the stage was set for the final act of a historic struggle aimed at easing Jewish emigration from the USSR through legislation linking the trade benefits of most-favored-nation tariff treatment and credits to the removal of barriers to the right to leave a country. The Nixon administration had strenuously resisted the legislative effort by a variety of means, including attempts to isolate or split Jewish leadership from the congressional sponsors of the legislation. The collapse of this strategy compelled the administration to shift in 1974 to a new approach in the attempt to achieve its overriding objective of winning Senate approval of the Trade Reform Act.

Even if Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger continued to oppose the Jackson amendment as a threat to détente and as "counterproductive" to the aim of emigration, as spelled out in his March testimony before the Senate Finance Committee, he nonetheless had to recognize the political reality that more than three-quarters of the Senate supported the legislation. In that month he, therefore, for the first time, entered into negotiations with the principal sponsors of the amendment, Senators Henry M. Jackson, Abraham A. Ribicoff, and Jacob K. Javits. The purpose of the negotiations which continued throughout the spring was to find a formula, including modification of text, to make the Jackson amendment acceptable to the administration and to the Kremlin.

Ineluctably, the administration was compelled to conduct parallel and interlocking discussions with Soviet officials to determine what concessions the Kremlin was prepared to make to satisfy the Senate. Kissinger frequently met with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, and saw Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko at Geneva in April and at Cyprus in May, to discuss the matter. It was also reviewed by President Richard M. Nixon and General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev at their meeting in Moscow in June.

Two critical aims were central to these discussions: 1) ending the harassment of Soviet Jews who applied for exit visas; and 2) raising the level of Jewish emigration. (The rate of Jewish emigration during the first half of 1974 had declined since the year before by 40 per cent.) Concerning the first point, Gromyko at Cyprus was prepared to acknowledge that such practices were "inconsistent with Soviet laws." With reference to the level of emigration, he proposed a figure of 45,000. The three key senators, whom Kissinger advised of the proposal, rejected it as inadequate and suggested 75,000 as a desirable number. The aftermath of the Watergate scandal supplied a powerful impulse to the partially stalled discussions.
The accession of Gerald R. Ford to the presidency on August 9 was a decisive development. Not only was Ford, in the calculations of the Kremlin, an uncertain factor as far as détente was concerned; he had also committed himself, in his first public act, to a “marriage” with Congress, where resistance to trade benefits for the USSR was strongest. The Kremlin moved rapidly to reduce that resistance. Three days after Ford’s inauguration, Dobrynin interrupted his vacation to fly to Washington, and the two met on August 14 to discuss the trade measure.

Precisely what Dobrynin told the President is not known, but the latter was given adequate assurances to enable him to call the three senators to the White House the following morning and offer them his personal guarantee that the Kremlin was prepared to end harassment of Jewish applicants for exit visas and to raise significantly the level of emigration. At a news conference after the meeting, Senator Jackson commented that the President’s “direct intervention in this matter has given it new momentum and new movement.”

Kissinger-Jackson Correspondence

The administration-Senate negotiations now entered their final stage, with the organized Jewish community, principally through the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, playing a valuable role. It spurred the opposing sides to reach agreement, a task that was complicated by personality clashes of the principal antagonists. Initially, the negotiators agreed that Kissinger would write a letter spelling out the Soviet commitment on eased emigration procedures. Upon the insistence of Stanley H. Lowell, chairman of the National Conference, and supported by Jackson, it was agreed that the letter would refer to “assurances” rather than a vaguer term. Jackson would then respond by giving his interpretation of the agreement, indicating a precise figure of 60,000 as the emigration rate—a compromise between the 45,000 mentioned by Gromyko and the 75,000 the Senators had proposed. A third letter from Kissinger to Jackson, accepting Jackson’s interpretation on behalf of the President, would complete the agreement. (The idea of a third letter was later dropped.)

As the negotiations proceeded, the Soviet Union was kept apprised of, and appeared to accept, the understandings which were being reached. Indeed, on September 20 President Ford met successively with Jackson and Foreign Minister Gromyko on the basic content of the proposed exchange of correspondence, and later that day Kissinger and Gromyko talked about it at length. In essence, the Kremlin had become a “silent partner” to an administration-Senate understanding.

Announcement of the understanding was made by Senator Jackson on October 18, when he made public the contents of the correspondence between him and Secretary Kissinger. Kissinger’s letter stated that the administration had been “assured” by the Kremlin that “punitive actions” against would-be emigrants and “unreasonable impediments” placed in the path of applicants for exit visas would no longer obtain. Specifically mentioned as unacceptable was the principal form of
intimidation—job dismissal. Only in the case of persons holding "security clearances" would "limitations of emigration" be imposed, and then only for a designated time period. As a result of the new "criteria," Dr. Kissinger's letter concluded, "the rate of emigration from the USSR would begin to rise promptly from the 1973 level."

Senator Jackson's response translated the assurances into specific terms. With respect to "security clearance" cases, he set a date of three years from the time they had been exposed to sensitive information. As a "benchmark—a minimum standard of initial compliance," Jackson set an emigration figure of 60,000 per annum. He added that "we understand that the President proposes to use the same benchmark."

**Presidential Waiver Amendment**

On the basis of these understandings, set down in the exchange of correspondence, Jackson agreed to propose an additional amendment that would authorize the President to waive, for a period of 18 months, Title IV restrictions with respect to most-favored-nation status and credits. Thereafter, the presidential waiver authority could be extended, on a one-year basis, by concurrent resolution of both Houses of Congress. In the event they failed to give this approval and the President continued the waiver on his own, either House of Congress could veto the presidential action within 45 days. The latter legislative safeguard was regarded as vital by both the key senators and the Jewish leadership in providing assurances that the Kremlin could be severely penalized should it choose gross noncompliance with the agreement.

**USSR Rejects Conditions**

Commenting on the breakthrough in the two-year-old intensive legislative struggle, Jackson said: "I share the joy with which news of this agreement will be greeted by so many who have waited so long. I hope and pray that we will one day look back on this agreement as an early step along the road of a genuine détente." Hope among Jews in the Soviet Union ran high, as it did within the American Jewish community. But excessive optimism was dispelled when, during the autumn months of 1974, the level of emigration of Soviet Jews remained low and harassment continued.

On November 21 nine prominent Soviet Jewish activists, in a nine-page open letter to President Ford, received on the eve of his trip to Vladivostok for decisive meetings with Brezhnev, extensively documented cases of harassment against would-be emigrants. More importantly, the activists warned, the Kremlin was already taking "vast precautionary" steps to reduce the number of possible applicants for emigration, once the Trade Reform Act was adopted. They called attention to a new device introduced in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, that required employees in a number of enterprises to sign a pledge that they would not seek to
emigrate. They feared that "tomorrow, such documents may be distributed throughout the country and hundreds of thousands of Jews will sign them."

The concern of the Soviet Jewish activists, which was echoed by the American Jewish leadership, only testified to the fact that, in the last analysis, Soviet "good faith" had yet to be fully tested.

Subsequent events justified the concern. Even before the Kissinger-Jackson exchange, Brezhnev appeared to suggest that Soviet "assurances" should not be taken for granted. On October 15, at a formal dinner given in the Kremlin for Secretary of the Treasury William Simon and more than a dozen prominent American corporation executives, Brezhnev warned the United States against attaching "utterly irrelevant and unacceptable" conditions to its trade with the Soviet Union. With a clear reference to the link established in the Jackson amendment between trade and emigration, he denounced "such attempts at interference in internal affairs" which will "do nothing but harm" to the "economic relations between our two countries."

A week after the Kissinger-Jackson exchange, Gromyko handed Kissinger, who was then in Moscow, a letter dated October 26, which complained that the letters presented "a distorted picture of our position." It stated that "we resolutely decline" the interpretation of "elucidations that were furnished by us" on emigration practices as involving "some assurances and nearly obligation on our part," and projecting an increase in the rate of emigration, as compared with previous years. In discussing emigration figures with Kissinger, the letter continued, the Kremlin had emphasized a "tendency toward a decrease in the number of persons wishing to leave the USSR." Still, Gromyko indirectly acknowledged that emigration had been discussed and that the USSR had provided "elucidations" of what it was prepared to do.

The Gromyko letter was kept from the Senate, and the public. Kissinger made no reference to it during his crucial testimony in support of the Trade Reform Act before the Senate Finance Committee on December 3. He insisted that the use of the word "assurances" in his letter to Jackson was based on solid evidence. Asked who gave the "assurances," he named Brezhnev, Gromyko, and Dobrynin. At the same time, Kissinger emphasized that the USSR "considered the issue of emigration a matter of its own domestic legislation and practices, not subject to international negotiation," and that, therefore, "if I were to assert here that a formal agreement on emigration from the USSR exists between our Governments, that statement would immediately be repudiated by the Soviet Government."

In the interval between the receipt of Gromyko's letter and Kissinger's testimony, President Ford met, for the first time, with Brezhnev. At the conference which took place in Vladivostok on November 23–24, they reached a groundbreaking agreement on strategic force levels, and also discussed the trade legislation and its linkage to emigration. Judging from the extensive and laudatory Soviet press coverage of the event, Brezhnev appeared to have had no reservations regarding the understandings reached on all sides. Indeed, Kissinger clearly implied in his Senate testimony
that, at Vladivostok, the President was personally given indications that justified the use of the term "assurances" in Kissinger's October 18th letter.

**Congress Acts on Waiver**

On December 13 the Senate, by an overwhelming vote of 88 to 0, approved the waiver provision allowing the President to grant the USSR most-favored-nation tariff treatment and to extend it credits, with the proviso that he certify to the Congress that "he has received assurances that the emigration practices" of the USSR will "henceforth lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives" of the Jackson amendment. The entire Trade Reform Act, including the Jackson amendment, was then adopted by a vote of 77 to 4.

Since the House version of the bill differed from the Senate's in that it did not contain the Jackson-sponsored waiver provision, it had to be sent to a Senate-House conference committee for a resolution of the differences. On December 18, only two days before Congress adjourned, the committee finally accepted the Senate version and approved the Trade Reform Act. (On December 20 each chamber of the legislature adopted the conference action.)

**Soviet Publicly Rejects Conditions**

But on the morning of December 18, Moscow suddenly decided to react publicly to the trade measure. Its comments were so unusually negative that they caused anxiety in various quarters. The official Soviet news agency Tass asserted that "leading circles" in the USSR flatly reject as "unacceptable" any attempt to attach conditions to the reduction of tariffs on imports from the Soviet Union or otherwise to "interfere in [its] internal affairs." The statement denied that the Kremlin had given any specific assurances that emigration procedures would be eased in return for American trade concessions and credits. To support its contention, Tass released the Gromyko letter of October 26.

**U.S. Reaction**

Initially taken by surprise at the Moscow statements, the State Department emphasized later that day that Kissinger stood by his October 18 letter to Senator Jackson; that, in fact, the Gromyko letter contained nothing to change the understanding cited in Kissinger's letter. As for Gromyko's denial of an agreement on the numerical level of emigration, the State Department merely commented that the administration "has always made clear" that it had never reached an agreement on this question.

More striking than the claim of the State Department's reaction to the release was the relaxed manner in which key Senators responded. Senator Jackson observed that "we should keep our cool," since failure to liberalize Soviet emigration practices would mean the loss to the Kremlin of the trade benefits provided in the waiver. He even refused to register a complaint that Kissinger had failed to bring the
Gromyko letter to his attention. (Kissinger authorized an aide to say that he had intended to show the letter to Jackson and his colleagues, but "forgot.")

Most members of the Senate-House conference committee were equally unperturbed. In their judgment, the Tass release was merely "face-saving," or meant to serve an internal Soviet purpose. Said the committee's chairman, Senator Russell Long: "I don't pay attention to what the Russians say, anyway." The attitude of the senators was encouraged by Soviet diplomats in Washington, some of whom advised American officials not to be overly excited about the Tass release. One diplomat went out of his way to telephone an Israeli lobbyist to emphasize that it contained "nothing new" and, therefore, warranted no concern. Significantly, at a White House meeting on December 20 between President Ford and Secretary Kissinger and 20 Jewish leaders, headed by Stanley Lowell and Rabbi Israel Miller, chairmen of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, no reference was made to the Jackson amendment as possibly having triggered the Tass story.

**Stevenson Amendment**

The Tass story in fact revealed a totally new attitude in the Kremlin toward the legislation, which initially was not recognized by Washington and which was triggered by a development completely unrelated to the Jackson amendment. It is important to focus on this development because Soviet propaganda since the Tass release, as well as statements emanating from the White House and other Washington circles, have tended to blur the issue. In this connection, it must be reiterated that at no time before December 18 had the Kremlin publicly or privately indicated that it had second thoughts about the understandings reached, as set down in Kissinger's October 18 letter.

By December 16 it had become clear to the Kremlin that the Senate was about to approve an amendment to a bill which extended the life of the U.S. Export-Import Bank for four years. The amendment, sponsored by Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III (Dem., Ill.), placed a ceiling of only $300 million on credits to the USSR over that period. (A sub-ceiling of $40 million was placed on projects involving exploration for gas and oil, and no credits were allowed for projects relating to the actual production of gas and oil.) A further provision, which was especially disturbing to both the Russians and the administration, stated that the credit ceiling could be lifted by the President if he believed it to be in the national interest, but only with congressional approval. According to Stevenson, such approval would depend on Soviet moderation not only with respect to emigration, but also to Middle East questions, arms control, and force reduction talks. In Stevenson's view, the United States should not subsidize trade by means of low-interest-bearing credits with a country whose gross national product is second only to that of the United States. The implication was that if more than a minimum subsidy was granted, compensatory political benefits ought to be obtained.

The administration made clear its opposition to the ceiling when it was first
introduced into the House version of the bill in June 1974. And indeed, the Export-Import Bank bill, as passed by the House on August 21, did not contain the amendment. However, since the Senate, on September 19, adopted the Bank bill with the Stevenson amendment, a Senate-House conference met in October to iron out differences in the two versions. The administration's efforts to eliminate the reference to congressional approval for above-ceiling requests for credits by the USSR failed, and on December 12 the Senate-House conference adopted the ceiling and congressional approval provisions. The Senate considered the Senate-House conference report during several sessions, the last time on December 16, before final action. By then, the passage of the amendment was virtually certain.

Implications for Soviet Union

As Kissinger later indicated, the amount of credits permitted the USSR under the ceiling was "peanuts in Soviet terms." Moscow had already received close to half a billion dollars since 1972, so that the ceiling constituted a retrogressive act. And, compared to the more than one billion in credits it sought for the next three years, the ceiling was a severe disappointment. Also disturbing was the provision for congressional approval if credits above the ceiling were requested. From the Soviet point of view it meant that, in such event, each Kremlin foreign policy decision, even if unrelated to emigration, would become the subject of political debate in the Congress.

A leading American specialist on Soviet affairs, Professor Vernon Aspaturian, commented that when the Kremlin "added it all up, it was a bum deal." In fact, the ceiling struck at the very heart of the understandings reached on the Jackson amendment. If the understanding is perceived as fundamentally one of exchange of money in the form of credits for bodies, then Moscow was bound to reach the conclusion that the agreed-upon conditions of the bargain had been unfavorably altered. The bargain, after all, established a relationship between emigration to freedom on the one hand, and the largely symbolic most-favored-nation status and the more concrete, rather extensive credits to purchase American technology, on the other.

The bargain had not been easily achieved. For a long time the Kremlin resisted the Jackson amendment as an intrusion into the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. If it ultimately acquiesced as a silent partner to the Kissinger-Jackson agreement, it was mainly because American credits appeared particularly attractive.

Soviet Hard-liners Win

The imposition of the ceiling strengthened the hands of hard-liners in the Soviet party and state bureaucracies who had opposed any relaxation of internal controls. Ever since the beginning of détente discussions and arrangements with the West in early 1971, they had fought a rear-guard action to prevent unrestricted emigration. At various stages they were forced by the supporters of détente to accept compro-
mises, an example being their capitulation on the "diploma" tax which they had chosen as a means to limit emigration. Shortly after the Vladivostok agreement, President Nikolai Podgorny, whose enthusiasm for détente had been clearly less marked than Brezhnev's, gave expression to the rear-guard resistance effort by asserting that it would be "intolerably shortsighted" not to take "full account" of foreign attempts to interfere in matters of "internal state policy." With an indirect reference to the Kissinger-Jackson exchange, he emphasized that "our internal affairs have never been, and will never be, a matter for political bargaining." Significantly, when Kissinger was specifically asked at the Senate Finance Committee hearings on December 3 whether Podgorny was, along with Brezhnev, Gromyko, and Dobrynin, among those who had given "assurances," he answered in the negative.

On December 16, the very day the Senate ended its consideration of the conference report on the Export-Import Bank bill, a one-day plenum of the Party Central Committee was held in Moscow. At that closed meeting, Podgorny's supporters, and hard-liners generally, may very well have unleashed a barrage of criticism against Brezhnev's policy. The Central Committee is composed primarily of provincial party bosses who are inclined to assume a hard-line position to maintain control in local areas. Never particularly sympathetic to unregulated emigration, they must have loudly complained about the "bum deal" flowing from the credit ceiling.

From this meeting emerged two interrelated actions. Ambassador Dobrynin asked on December 18 to meet with Secretary Kissinger. In what was reported to have been a stormy session, Dobrynin lashed out at the credit ceiling and warned that the October 1972 trade agreement would thereby be placed in jeopardy. At the same time, Tass issued its statement denying that "assurance" on emigration had been given. The connection between the two acts was clear. Moscow was saying that if the ceiling on credits was maintained, its deal with the United States going back to October 1972, and later incorporated into the Kissinger-Jackson exchange, was jeopardized.

The target of the actions was the Congress, where final consideration was being given to the conference report on the Bank bill in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives. The Tass story on the crucial day of December 18 seemed to be a warning to both that adoption of the Stevenson amendment would lead to Soviet rejection of the understandings; and the Dobrynin visit was designed to activate vigorous State Department lobbying against the amendment. It was too late for any reversal in the House; on that day it already had approved the conference report.

**Congress and Foreign Policy-making**

The State Department did lobby intensively in the Senate, but to no avail. A group of senators, led by Frank Church (Dem., Idaho), threatened to kill the entire Eximbank bill if the amendment was dropped. The administration, of course, needed the broad authority of the Eximbank bill to conduct its ramified foreign-
lending policy and, therefore, could not stand up against the strong opposition of the senators. On December 19 the Senate approved the conference report. Belatedly, on that day, the State Department spokesman denounced the Stevenson amendment as "most unwise and unfortunate" because it "greatly reduces the administration's flexibility in utilizing the bank."

The puzzling question is why the administration allowed the matter to develop in such a way that it triggered the powerful Soviet reaction. Kissinger could have alerted public opinion to the issues at stake in the Stevenson amendment, but he did not. He could have advised Jewish organizations what the Soviet response to the legislation might be, but he did not. The striking fact is that the Jewish organizations, which had fought so determinedly for the Jackson amendment, were completely unaware that the Stevenson amendment would, in effect, nullify what they had been striving to realize.

Kissinger was reported to have admitted to his aides that he failed to focus on the Eximbank bill and the Stevenson amendment when he should have done so. The leak of this item to the press raises the question how it had been possible for the secretary of state to overlook an issue involving a vital element in his détente policy. There may have been good reason. State Department lobbying in the Senate-House conference, and later in the Senate, was primarily directed at removing the reference to congressional approval for above-ceiling credits. This suggests that Kissinger may not have had an overriding objection to the ceiling itself, provided the President had the authority to raise it if he thought it to be in the national interest. Presidential authority would have given Kissinger an additional lever in urging Soviet support for certain of his foreign-policy objectives. He probably thought that the congressional approval provision could be easily eliminated from the amendment and, therefore, no public outcry was warranted. In any event, he had clearly lost control over the matter by the time the bill moved toward final passage.

The loss of control was predictable, given the new and growing mood in Congress to exert crucial influence on foreign policy-making. The concept of the "imperial presidency" rapidly eroded in the post-Watergate atmosphere, even as the backlash to the Vietnam involvement through executive action escalated. The new mood was evident in almost all foreign-relations issues, the question of aid to South Korea, Chile, South Vietnam, and Turkey being among the more dramatic illustrations of the executive-legislative confrontation. Insistence upon congressional approval of beyond-ceiling credits to the USSR was merely one symptom.

The failure of the Kremlin warning to alter the congressional drive on credit ceilings inevitably produced a hostile reaction in Moscow. An attack would now be mounted not only against the credit ceiling, but against the entire Jackson amendment to which the ceiling was perceived as being linked. The Kremlin, as Kissinger later noted, had drawn a "balance sheet" of gains and losses to be derived from earlier understandings on the Jackson amendment. With the imposition of the credit ceiling, the losses were seen as outweighing the gains. Kissinger put the matter into perspective when he said, "I think what may have happened is that the Soviet Union looked at the totality of what it could gain in this trading relationship as against
the intrusions in its domestic affairs." The entire set of trade arrangements with the United States was now opened to public bludgeoning.

**New Soviet Propaganda Offensive**

On December 21, one day after the conference report on the Trade Reform Act was approved by the Senate and the House, Tass unleashed a new propaganda offensive. Reiterating the December 18 denial of any understandings, it called both the Trade Reform Act and the Export-Import Bank legislation "attempts at interference in the internal affairs of the USSR." Izvestiia carried the dispatch, while Pravda featured a political cartoon depicting a fat capitalist writing "interference in internal affairs" on a large ball and chain that was attached to a truck labeled "international trade."

The next day, Pravda carried a commentary charging that "advocates of tension" in Congress were trying to "undermine the very foundations of détente" by adding to the trade agreement "far-fetched reservations and conditions running counter to the aims of détente," conditions constituting "an attempt at interference in the internal affairs of the USSR." In a popular radio program that night, three leading Soviet commentators expressed the view that the Gromyko letter should have prepared Washington for the Tass disclaimer of December 18.

On December 25 Literaturnaia Gazeta printed a long dispatch from the New York correspondent of Novosti news agency, contending that the Soviet Union had made no concessions on emigration; that the notion of concessions was concocted by "knights of the cold war" in Congress. They "invented the version" about Soviet concessions, he said, to justify their support of a trade bill that was essential for American business because the economy "is presently in an extremely difficult situation."

Far more serious was an article written by Leonid Zamyatin, the Kremlin's chief spokesman and director-general of Tass. Here, for the first time, a high Soviet official hinted that Soviet adherence to the trade agreement of October 1972 may be cancelled. Though he did not specifically refer to the agreement, the allusion was clear: "In the present situation, the failure of one of the parties to honor its commitments cannot help but affect the commitments assumed by the other party under a series of commercial and financial agreements."

The American commitment to which Zamyatin alluded was granting the USSR most-favored-nation status. In his view, linking trade legislation to emigration was "an absurd and hopeless position" that contravened the American commitment. He also repeated Gromyko's contention that "the question of emigration of citizens from any country is entirely within the competence of the state concerned." He erroneously maintained that the United States, too, places limits on emigration. As for the "assurances" presumably given by the USSR to the United States, they could only be a figment "of the loss of a sense of reality." That Moscow allegedly made "some sort of agreement" on emigration was dismissed outright.

The article appeared on December 28 in Sovetskaia Rossiia, the organ of the
Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The fact that it was carried not in a national publication, but in this provincial, though fairly important one, suggested that the Kremlin had not yet decided to take any definite action. Indeed, the article avoided any indication that such a course of action was projected, or even contemplated. However, the warning of Soviet irritation was severe enough to evoke a United States Administration response designed to diminish Soviet anger. When President Ford finally signed the Trade Reform Act on January 3, 1975, he made the following comment which was in part aimed at a Soviet audience: “I will, of course, abide by the terms of the act, but I must express my reservations about the wisdom of legislative language that can only be seen as objectionable and discriminatory by other sovereign states.”

Implications of New Law

Ford’s comments could not, and did not, appease the Kremlin. On January 10 it informed Secretary of State Kissinger that it had decided to scrap the October 1972 trade agreement with the United States. Kissinger announced the Soviet decision at a press conference four days later. The cancellation of the trade agreement meant that the USSR would not be granted most-favored-nation tariff status (and Eximbank credits). It meant, too, that, for the time being, the leverage provided by the Jackson amendment to ease Soviet emigration practices no longer existed.

Still the Trade Act, as amended, had become law. Besides being the first piece of American legislation to have drawn its inspiration directly from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which specifies in Article 13/2 that “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country,” it formally committed United States policy to the principle of free emigration. The policy’s operational effectiveness vis-à-vis the USSR, however, will be determined by other considerations, notably the progress of détente arrangements between the two countries, including the question of the level of credits.

William Korey
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY RESPONDS TO ISSUES OF THE DAY: A COMPRENDIUM*

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Institutional Concerns

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council discussed annual agenda for Jewish community problems and procedures for assigning Israel-related projects to member agencies (January 13).

Hadassah held mid-winter conference in Jerusalem to express solidarity with Israel and consider means of rapidly increasing its health and social welfare programs there (January 14).

Hadassah presented Henrietta Szold award to Netherlands government and people for choosing "moral position over expediency" (January 17).

Agudath Israel of America accused "Reform and Conservative Jewish leaders of playing a suicidal numbers game" in attempting to dissuade Israel government from changing Law of Return as Orthodox groups demand (January 21). Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America resolved to suspend participation in Synagogue Council of America because of Reform and Conservative campaign against amendment of Law of Return (February 7); announced Orthodox communal leaders Solidarity Mission to Israel for May (February 12).

* Compiled mainly from press releases supplied by organizations. References to items may be found in Index under the various agencies.
clothing, toys, and educational materials to children's institutions and army installations in Israel (April 3); approved $50,000 gift for nursery school to be run by its Research Institute for Innovation in Education at Hebrew University (October 9).

National Jewish Welfare Board biennial convention discussed future and quality of Jewish life in America and ties between Israel and America, and their implications for JWB community and armed-services programs (April 24).

Rabbinical Assembly annual convention examined possible stand of Judaism on problems arising from such scientific considerations as biomedical ethics, behavior modification, genetic engineering, hallucinogens, and euthanasia (May 5–9).

National Conference of Jewish Communal Service annual meeting discussed agenda for communal workers: action on public issues by American Jews, enrichment of American Jewish community life, and strengthening Jewish communities throughout world (June 2).

National Jewish Welfare Board announced details of arrangements for High Holy Day services at all military and naval installations (August 26).

Synagogue Council of America convened National Religious Leadership Conference to examine strategies for American Jewish survival through the synagogue and Israel-Diaspora relations (September 5).

Hadassah national convention dealt with dangers to American Jewish community life from declining birth rate, intermarriage, and "devaluation of our spiritual coinage," and with the need of larger financial quotas for health, educational, rehabilitation and land-reclamation services in Israel (September 11).

Women's American ORT was praised by education and government leaders for "striving to meet society's needs for manpower" with increased vocational training programs (October 22).

National Jewish Welfare Board announced scholarship winners selected from graduate students preparing for careers in Jewish community centers (November 21).

American Jewish Congress issued 46-page study of The Structure and Functioning of the American Jewish Community, (December 13).

Family and Women

Hadassah announced new vocational programs for women, preparing them for roles in technological society (January 18).

National Jewish Welfare Board examined problems of growing single-parent families in Jewish community (March 4).

American Jewish Congress conference on women's changing life styles considered need for "personal recognition" of women in politics, and problems of young widowed fathers (March 31).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New York region, annual assembly discussed ways to restore more intensive Jewish living to family and congregation (April 3).

American Jewish Congress, New York Metropolitan Council, urged change in state law granting exemption from jury service to women upon request, on grounds that exemption is discriminatory (April 12).

North American Jewish Students' Network national conference dealt with
changing sex roles in interpersonal relations and Jewish communal life (April 26–28).

Hadassah asked that Mothers Day programs stress nutritional needs of family and support of day-care centers to replace extended families (May 9).

American Jewish Committee annual meeting held panel discussion on “The Women’s Movement and the Jewish Community” (May 18).

National Conference of Jewish Communal Service at session on role of women in Jewish communal service, called for more women in decision-making echelons of organizations (June 4).

Hadassah (June 10) and American Jewish Congress Women’s Division (July 3) criticized National Organization of Women (NOW) denunciation of volunteerism as “new kind of thought control on women.”

American Jewish Committee, in cooperation with Church Women United and National Coalition of American Nuns, announced nationwide series of self-awareness seminars for women of all religious groups (October 24).

Lubavitcher movement’s Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson called on women to strengthen observance of traditional Sabbath and holiday candlelighting as one means of “illuminating world with Torah” (October 29).

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion initiated course for rabbis on problems of older people in relation to their families (October 29).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America biennial convention featured a debate on “Orthodox Jewish Women and new Feminism,” which stressed woman’s important role in family and community life, and asked for more educational opportunities for women (November 8).

**Culture**

Union of American Hebrew Congregations announced completion of Volume I of first commentary on Torah produced by American Reform movement (January 15).

American Jewish Committee, cosponsor with Haifa university, announced formation of Academy for Jewish Studies Without Walls, a program for home-study college-credit courses in Judaica (January 22).

Jewish Theological Seminary’s Cantors Institute was subject of American Broadcasting Company film documentary on training of cantors and their changing role in the Jewish community (January 27).

American Zionist Youth Foundation sponsored 23rd annual Israel folk dance festival in which hundreds of American students participated (February 10).

National Jewish Welfare Board and American Zionist Youth Foundation announced schedule of Israeli programs integrating music, dance, and crafts to tour United States from October through December (February 27).

Central Conference of American Rabbis published new Haggadah, illustrated by Leonard Baskin, with text reflecting “traditions of past with modern . . . interpretations” (March 5).

National Jewish Welfare Board Jewish Music Council devoted month-long celebration to Yiddish musical heritage (March 8-April 6).

Jewish Book Council awarded annual national honors to six books in catego-
eries of Jewish history, fiction, poetry, thought, juvenile literature, and Israeli nonfiction (May 5).

Yeshivah Torah Vodaath announced the formation of a Holocaust library on its national campus in Brooklyn, N.Y. (September 3).

Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith issued anthology of essays by leading Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox authorities interpreting rabbinic Judaism for modern readers (September 6).


Youth

Yavneh National Religious Jewish Students Association conducted seminar for 70 college-student leaders on cooperation with Conservative youth movements and ways to strengthen halakhic life on campus (March 18).

World Zionist Organization-American Section Department of Education and Culture sponsored 15th annual Bible contest in which 100 teenagers from 44 districts in the United States participated (May 12).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America established a national “College Youth for Torah” program to promote Jewish identity on campus (April 1); announced plans to set up training institute for synagogue youth leaders (June 13).

Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith made available to high schools, colleges, and youth groups a color film on lives and concerns of young American-Jewish settlers in Israel (June 28).

North American Jewish Youth Council held youth service to commemorate anniversary of Yom Kippur war, to honor the dead, and to reaffirm commitment to Israel (October 6).

Jewish High School Student Alliance opened new Jewish Free High School for students in New York region, offering courses in such subjects as Holocaust, contemporary antisemitism, and civil rights in Israel (November 3).

Lubavitch Youth Organization extended open invitation to Jewish university students to attend December weekend seminars on Chabad-Lubavitch philosophy (November 28).

Education

Union of American Hebrew Congregations launched $2.3 million campaign to expand educational programs for greater Jewish knowledge and identity (February 4).

National Conference of Jewish Communal Service called for intercongregational community sponsorship of all types of Jewish schools (June 4).

Jewish Theological Seminary of America announced pilot project to train Judaica librarians to relieve acute shortage of professionally trained staff for Judaica collections (June 20).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations biennial convention considered comprehensive review of new Jewish educational institutions and techniques (August 12).

National Federation of Temple Youth sponsored new summer academy for intensive study in Judaism, including rabbinic literature, Mishnah, and biblical exegesis (August 18).

Lubavitcher Movement sent 200 senior rabbinical students on Torah-teaching mission to Jewish communities in
United States, Canada, Mexico, and Central and South America (August 25).


Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations called for renewed financial and enrollment efforts on behalf of Torah Umesorah day-school movement (September 4).

World Zionist Organization-American Section asked Jewish educational institutions to participate in Chaim Weizmann Year by teaching accomplishments of one of "greatest figures in Jewish history" (October 25).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations released progress report on series of Torah retreats and lectures for adults being conducted in various regions of the country (November 15).

American Zionist Youth Foundation and American Zionist Federation cosponsored "Scholars-in-Residence" program enabling Israeli intellectuals to spend time on American campuses to discuss with students and other members of the community problems common to Israelis and American Jews (November 15).

Jewish Theological Seminary of America and Columbia University Teachers College entered into agreement enabling education students of both institutions to enroll at either institution in designated courses (December 10).

Lubavitcher Movement, concerned with education of alienated Jews, opened five new regional education offices in the United States and Canada, bringing their number in North America to about 40 (December 12).

**Sephardim**

American Sephardi Federation sponsored Sabbath service of combined Sephardi and Ashkenazi liturgy as part of Jewish Music Festival (February 22).

American Sephardi Federation and United Jewish Appeal Sephardic Leadership Council sponsored a two-week visit in the United States of Israeli Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yossef, who met with government and Jewish community leaders (April 29).

American Sephardi Federation Youth Commission sent more than 40 young American Sephardim to a Summer Leadership Seminar in Israel (August 12); sent a delegation to World Sephardi Federation meeting in Geneva to discuss help to Israel and Jews in Arab lands (June 10); participated in international enclave of Sephardim which endorsed educational and social projects for Israel (October 30-November 14).

**Interfaith Relations**

American Zionist Federation Commission for Interreligious Affairs announced ten-day study mission to Israel for Christian clergy media editors (January 14).

American Jewish Committee cosponsored *Compendia on the Jewish Background to the New Testament*, a "most comprehensive analysis . . . of interrelationships between Christian and Jewish communities of the first two centuries of the present era" (January 17); with Jewish Studies Program of University of Pittsburgh and Duquesne University theology department, orga-
nized symposium of noted Christian and Jewish scholars on "Social Justice, Interreligious Cooperation, and Jewish-Christian Dialogue" (January 24); welcomed establishment of new Office on Jewish-Christian Relations by National Council of Churches to promote better relations among Jews, Christians, and Moslems (February 28).

American Zionist Federation held series of meetings with Christian leaders of all denominations to determine attitudes toward Israel following Yom Kippur war (February-March).

American Jewish Committee Christian Visitors to Israel Program sponsored trips to Israel of ten Christian students at Moravian College of Pennsylvania (February 6), 30 leaders of American Baptist Churches (March 2), 24 Connecticut Christian and Jewish leaders (March 14); announced interreligious study mission of several hundred Catholics and Jews to Rome and Israel to "probe Jewish roots of Catholic Holy Year" (October 11).

Synagogue Council of America heard representative of Pope in United States declare "spiritual renewal of Judaic and Christian traditions may be key factor in preserving Western civilization" (March 26).

American Jewish Committee presented award to Sister Rose Thering, noted Catholic figure in Jewish-Christian relations, for contributions to religious understanding (April 21); honored Catholic magazine, Commonweal, on its 50th anniversary (May 18); released study indicating Christian concern for Israel was more widespread in United States during and after Yom Kippur war than during 1967 fighting (May 19); announced program to strengthen relationship between Lutherans and Jews (June 13); welcomed proposed Declaration of Faith by Presbyterian Church in the United States as a symbol of greater understanding between Jews and Christians (June 27).

Jewish Theological Seminary of America Institute for Religious and Social Studies opened 37th year with "Hope for Mankind" session based on insights from varied religious traditions and attended by clergymen and students from many religious and racial backgrounds (November 8).

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Government Aid to Education

American Jewish Congress asked New York City Board of Education to supply speech correction services to children in sectarian schools as "health and welfare benefit which does not entail any improper entanglement of state and religion" (February 13); learned New York City agreed to provide such services (April 29).

American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, National Council of Jewish Women, Jewish Labor Committee, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, United Synagogue of America, Workmen's Circle, and 28 other New York-based groups, through Committee for Public Action and Religious Liberty (PEARL), called on New York State Governor Malcolm Wilson to veto parochial bill providing $8.2 million to nonpublic schools (April 15); warned recently passed New York State law providing tuition aid to private-school students is not applicable to students in sectarian colleges and universities (June 19); called on New York City Board of Education to reject proposals for using federal funds to pay public-school teachers to work in parochial schools (August 13).
Humane Slaughter Act

American Jewish Congress Commission on Law, Social Action and Urban Affairs issued summary of decision of Federal District Court in New York, upholding constitutionality of 1958 Federal Humane Slaughter Act provisions in support of right to slaughter livestock in accordance with Jewish ritual law (shehitah) (April 26); Synagogue Council of America and National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council hailed decision as "victory for religious freedom" (April 29), urged U.S. Supreme Court to reject, without hearing argument, appeal seeking to overturn ruling (July 23).

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES

National Morale

Union of American Hebrew Congregations urged religious, civic, and citizen groups to "fill vacuum of moral leadership, created by Watergate disaster," and help find legislative solutions for "neglected social problems in American life" (February 24).

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council plenary session resolved to give high priority to consideration of moral and constitutional problems growing out of Watergate revelations (June 25).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America pledged support to President Gerald Ford, and urged return to the "great moral and ethical values" of American nation (August 14).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations stated majority of Jews had favored impeachment proceedings against President Richard M. Nixon (September 9); American Jewish Congress criticized as "unwise and unwarranted" President Ford's pardon of Nixon (September 14).

Human Rights, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith voiced disappointment over failure of Senate to break filibuster against vote on Genocide Convention (February 6).

American Jewish Committee sponsored three-day colloquium which urged universal acceptance of principles of UN Declaration of Human Rights, while recognizing many world changes since document promulgated 25 years ago (April 23).

National Council of Jewish Women deplored trend to nullify Supreme Court decisions through constitutional amendments, thus weakening role of court and affecting adversely guaranteed rights of individual; expressed concern over erosion of "right to privacy," evidenced by illegal wiretappings and surveillance by government agencies (June 10).

American Jewish Congress National Women's Division commended President Ford for endorsement of equal rights amendment, and urged ratification by state legislatures (September 5).

American Jewish Committee legal division issued quarterly report depicting its pro-minority role in court cases involving civil rights of blacks and other minorities (September 20).

American Jewish Congress released analysis of Supreme Court civil-rights and civil-liberties decisions during previous term, stating these reaffirmed libertarian rulings of earlier Warren court (October 13).

Preferential Treatment and Discrimination

DEFUNIS CASE

American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee (January 9), Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
(January 29) submitted "friend of the court" briefs challenging right of University of Washington Law School to use race as admission criterion, as charged by white applicant Marco De Funis.

National Council of Jewish Women, Union of American Hebrew Congregations asserted Washington University failure to admit DeFunis neither discrimination nor quota case against Jews (February 27).

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council took no position on DeFunis case, pointing out lack of consensus among constituent agencies (April 1).

American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith expressed regret at U.S. Supreme Court refusal to rule on constitutionality of DeFunis case (April 23); Union of American Hebrew Congregations, calling DeFunis case "ambiguous and mixed," said Supreme Court decision was no "disappointment" (April 24); American Jewish Committee maintained Supreme Court decision declining to rule on issue of quotas made it "imperative to search for new ways to resolve critical issues raised by suit" (April 24).

SCHOOL ADMISSIONS AND EMPLOYMENT

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith condemned as "unlawful, undemocratic and racist" new constitution and bylaws of National Education Association which mandate quotas for certain minorities in selection of officers and lay leadership, and in NEA staff employment (January 26); demanded New York City Colleges Center for Biomedical Education admit "highly qualified" applicants excluded from its September 1974 class because they are white (August 12); issued report documenting "reemergence of racial and ethnic discrimination" in colleges and universities (August 17); testified before House of Representatives Special Subcommittee on Education of HEW "allowing reverse discrimination to continue spreading unchecked, in violation of its obligations under law" (September 19); filed amicus curiae brief challenging U.S. District Court ruling which orders New York State Department of Correctional Services to institute preferential quota system in appointment of correction officers (October 4).

American Jewish Congress announced program to protect rights of observant Jews against discrimination by private employers and governmental action (February 17); Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America Commission on Law and Public Affairs released report detailing recent advances in rights of Orthodox Jews to practice religion without fear of discrimination in employment (November 23).

American Jewish Congress assailed New York City Bar Association committee on civil rights for supporting voluntary adoption of racial quotas by employers, college admissions officers, and housing developers (March 13).

American Jewish Congress called on State Division of Human Rights to investigate Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) for refusing to employ Jews, in violation of 1962 order to "cease and desist" from religious discrimination (March 28).

American Jewish Committee expressed gratification to Federal Communications Commission for refusing to renew license of Alabama Educational Television Commission which had discriminated against blacks in hiring and
programming practices (October 18); joined with A Better Chance Inc. and American Council on Education to develop "guidelines for fair and rational admissions policies" in institutions of higher learning (October 28).

American Jewish Committee held consultations with American Telephone and Telegraph Company in effort to stimulate recruitment of qualified Jewish personnel for management positions (October 28).

Agudath Israel, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, Jewish Labor Committee, and Jewish War Veterans of U.S. joined in statement endorsing new federal guidelines on college employment aimed at eliminating reverse discrimination (December 23).

**Antisemitism**

Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith praised Vatican guidelines on Catholic-Jewish relations for their clear condemnation of antisemitism (January 3); charged Children of God, ultra-fundamentalist religious sect, with distributing anti-Jewish and anti-Israel pamphlets (January 31); made public its study of "new worldwide antisemitism" based on insensitivity and indifference to Jewish concerns and compounded by anti-Jewish hostility from pro-Arab elements (March 5); deplored American Broadcasting Company telecast of Merchant of Venice, calling it "classic antisemitic drama which has caused incalculable harm to Jewish people over centuries" (March 17); revealed Friends of Germany, an American group, has been active in helping pro-Nazis and has contributed funds to antisemitic publications (May 13); reported that, as result of its disclosures regarding antisemitic campaign of right-wing Liberty Lobby, Mutual Broadcasting System would discontinue Lobby’s daily program on 600 affiliated stations (December 10).

Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith reported its efforts resulted in revision of nationally distributed textbook that blamed Jews for crucifixion of Jesus (January 31); issued children’s book aimed at sixth-grade through high-school levels, which examines root causes of prejudice and warns against it (August 15); sponsored publication of Jews in American History: A Teacher’s Guide, designed to overcome deficiencies and stereotypes in treatment of Jews in American history textbooks (October 22).

American Jewish Committee charged Arab League had launched "vicious, sophisticated, heavily financed propaganda campaign," using antisemitic stereotypes, but cautioned American Jews against labeling as "antisemities” all who disagreed with them (May 16); reported American Nazi Party was unsuccessful in attempt to scapegoat minority groups and discredited for using racist and antisemitic materials (October 26).

American Council for Judaism questioned ADL contention that antisemitism is on the rise, quoting Reconstructionist editorial, calling it "too general and unwarranted assumption" (May 25).

American Jewish Congress attacked plans for film festival to honor Nazi propagandist Leni Riefenstahl (August 21).

Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, American Jewish Congress protested remarks about Jews by chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff, General George
S. Brown, and questioned his right to continue in post (November 13).

**Economy-Related Problems**

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations announced five-point energy conservation plan as weapon in fight against Arab oil blackmail (January 7); American Jewish Committee issued pamphlet, *Questions and Answers About the Energy Crisis* (January 8); Workmen's Circle convention urged U.S. self-sufficiency in energy and fuel, tax on excess profits of oil companies, and development of new sources of energy on nonprofit, cooperative basis (May 2).

American Jewish Congress called for coalition of blacks and Jews to demand solutions to "problems of recession and inflation" (January 15); launched activities to provide poor and aged Jews with information on rights and benefits of old and poverty-bound, offering services of volunteer lawyers where needed (February 17).

Hadassah convention heard specialist in poverty programs warn that "zero economic growth" is greatest threat to "advance of social justice and domestic peace" (September 9).

American Jewish Committee urged White House Summit Conference on Inflation to "protect those groups in our society which are now threatened with particular hardship" (September 19); National Council of Jewish Women warned conference not to reduce education budget, since lack of education or training increases number of unemployed (October 2).

American Jewish Committee report revealed revenue sharing being used by federal government as way of "avoiding responsibilities to poor and to minority groups" (October 26); called on Ford administration and Congress to give urgent attention to problem of rising unemployment (November 17).

**Humane Concerns**

**WORLD FAMINE**

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council recommended Jewish community agencies support official United States contributions to famine relief and economic development of poor nations (June 28); American Jewish Committee urged all Americans to support National Week of Concern for World Hunger by contributing to famine-relief efforts (September 12); Union of American Hebrew Congregations launched drive for American Jews to assist in alleviation of world hunger (December 18).

**AMNESTY**

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council recommended local communities and national organizations discuss amnesty issue to determine whether or not to include it in NJCRAC 1974 agenda (February 27).

Synagogue Council of America issued policy statement in favor of amnesty "for those who on moral grounds refused to participate in the Vietnamese war" (April 25). National Council of Jewish Women declared amnesty "only alternative to restore to useful citizenship those now barred by legal restrictions," and urged Congress to enact appropriate legislation (June 10).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations asked President Ford to involve religious leaders and "include teachings of great faiths" in process of granting partial amnesty for young men who refused to fight in Vietnam war; American Jewish Congress praised President's call for leniency and said he had moved
from "whether" to "what kind" of amnesty (August 22).

OTHER ISSUES
National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council advised communities to put capital punishment on agendas for discussion (March 20); Union of American Hebrew Congregations introduced subject of euthanasia in publication for teenagers, in move to encourage thoughtful discussion of complex moral and religious problem (March 26); American Jewish Congress asked U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service to permit several hundred Haitians who fled their country to "escape oppression" to be employed pending court decision on their status (December 23); National Council of Jewish Women released report of three-year study of juvenile delinquency, urging community rather than court solutions to the problem (December 27).

Social Welfare
Jewish Theological Seminary of America reported Pastoral Psychiatry Center, counseling facility consisting of teams of rabbis, social workers, and psychiatrists, conducted over 300 interviews related to personal or familial crises during past year (January 3).

American Jewish Committee urged broad-based coalition of racial, religious, ethnic, and economic groups to secure national health policy to meet health-care crisis (March 18); announced creation of National Project on Group Identity and Mental Health as part of its program to help meet needs of varied ethnic groups in United States (May 5); emphasized importance of neighborhood preservation and expansion of mental health facilities in serving New York ethnic communities (June 11).

Workmen's Circle annual convention urged initiation of government housing programs to achieve goal of 26 million new units set by Housing Act of 1968; recommended adoption of national health programs of Kennedy-Griffiths bill; asked Congress to amend Social Security Act to provide that benefits not be reduced because of post-retirement earnings; called for extensive search for techniques and changes to preserve dignity of prisoner and inculcate in him desire to be contributing member of community (May 2).

American Jewish Congress prepared translation into Yiddish of HEW brochure describing eligibility and benefits under new Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for the aged, blind, and disabled (September 24); Congress and Union of American Hebrew Congregations urged New York State Governor-elect Hugh Carey to impanel commission to probe "corruption and mismanagement of nursing homes and resulting degradation of aged and infirm patients" (December 17).

American Jewish Committee cosponsored with Columbia University Graduate School of Business conference on corporate participation in public issues, at which need for intelligent social planning was stressed (October 3); announced publication of Are New Towns for Lower Income Americans, Too?, which calls for more efficient matching of population and jobs through job-linked housing programs (October 25).

Urban Issues
American Jewish Congress convention heard New York City Mayor Abraham Beame and Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson call for end to intergroup confrontation and renewal of black-Jewish
cooperation in obtaining federal assistance for the nation's ailing cities (February 17); Congress New York Metropolitan Council held conference and workshops on crime, housing, and education (March 12).

American Jewish Committee published *Our Housing Mess—And What Can Be Done About It*, calling on all types of organizations to mobilize for the fight against the nation's worsening housing problem and resulting social and racial conflicts (June 4). Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith published *The Community and the Police: Conflict or Cooperation?*, recommending community-serving, democratic police force (June 27).

American Jewish Committee issued 80-page booklet, *The Schools and Group Identity: Educating for a New Pluralism*, which advocates school responsibility to reflect multiple group identities of students as means of reducing intergroup conflicts (November 7); spokesman called on New York Governor-elect Hugh Carey to maintain City University as free tuition institution (November 9); Committee's New York Chapter and American Jewish Congress called for passage of senior citizens rent-increase exemption bill to provide relief for thousands of elderly with incomes of $6,500, or less (December 1).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations called on member congregations to set up programs for stabilizing neighborhoods and ameliorating plight of Jewish poor in urban centers throughout United States (November 28).

**SOVIET JEWRY**

**Emigration**

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith announced 1,000 families in Soviet Union to be "adopted" by American Jews as means of support during pre-emigration period (January 28).

Hadassah held vigil at UN on behalf of Silva Zalmanson, who was imprisoned because she tried to leave Soviet Union for Israel (March 15).

National Conference on Soviet Jewry designated June 2 national Solidarity Sunday for reaffirmation of American Jewish support of the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate; National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council sent program recommendations for Solidarity Day observance to all communities (April 15).

National Council of Jewish Women volunteers worked with United HIAS and local Jewish social service agencies in metropolitan centers to help Soviet Jewish immigrants adjust and get settled (December 27).

**Jackson-Vanik Bill**

National Jewish Welfare Board heard prominent Jewish leaders urge "unswerving support of Jackson-Vanik Bill in Congress" and of administration negotiations with Soviet leaders (April 25).

National Council of Jewish Women asked intensified efforts by government to persuade USSR to grant its citizens basic cultural, religious and human freedoms, including right to emigrate (June 10).

American Jewish Committee endorsed President Ford's decision to intervene personally with Soviet Union for removal of restrictions on Jewish emigration in hope of ending deadlock on Jackson-Vanik bill (September 1); hailed reported agreement between U.S. and USSR over trade and emigration of Russian Jews (October 18).

American Jewish Committee (October 27), National Conference on Soviet
Jewry (November 8) welcomed administration’s assurances that Soviet Union would cease harassment of Jews and permit them to emigrate in return for trade concessions outlined in Jackson-Vanik amendments (November 8).

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council planned December 10 observances in 40 communities to focus on Soviet Jewish prisoners of conscience (November 7).

**Freedom of Expression**

Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith made public *Jewishness Rediscovered: Jewish Identity in the Soviet Union*, a collection of samizdat (underground) articles expressing hope of Soviet Jews to practice their religion and to emigrate to Israel (June 10); issued year’s survey of continuing antisemitic and anti-Israel propaganda in Soviet media (September 24).

Rabbinical Council of America appealed to UN General Assembly to ask USSR to grant religious freedom to its Jews (September 30).

**ISRAEL AND MIDDLE EAST**

**Education and Public Information**

World Zionist Organization-American Section conducted the following programs for Americans in Israel: two-week educational workshop in Jerusalem for 36 leading Jewish educators (January 1); semester of study for 85 yeshivah high-school seniors and 20 prospective teachers (February 2); one year of study in Israeli high schools for some 70 students, one year of intensive courses at the Hayyim Greenberg College for 20 college students (August 1); study and work in the Negev for 90 teen-age aliyah candidates (September 1); one year of intensive Judaic studies for some 300 American and Canadian college students and graduates of yeshivah high schools (September 2).

American Sephardi Federation asked its members to adopt Israel program, including aliyah and volunteerism, financial contributions, tourism, and public affairs aid; called for emigration right and other aid to Jews in Soviet Union and Arab countries (January 14).

American Zionist Federation arranged study and mission groups to Israel including: members who visited soldiers; 27 university professors for purpose of assessing goals of Zionism and America-Israel relations (January 21); 25 media specialists to enhance sensitivity of American media to Israel’s needs (February 17).

American Jewish Congress leaders from all parts of U.S. went on 8-day mission to Israel (February 19).

Central Conference of American Rabbis promised to aid and support Israel with new programs of education, fund raising, and political action (March 13).

American Zionist Youth Foundation sent 30 American high-school students to Israel and brought 60 Israeli students to the U.S. in educational exchange program (March 20).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations announced 50 Reform Jewish high-school and college youths would participate in educational and self-identification programs, several in Israel, including establishment of first Reform kibbutz (June 9).

National Jewish Welfare Board planned two training seminars in Israel, one for professional personnel of Jewish community centers and Ys and one for camp directors and staffs (June 26).

American Zionist Youth Foundation sent 25 young adult volunteers to work
on kibbutzim and moshavim (July 17).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith leaders from 13 states went to Israel to confer with top officials and gain first-hand information of current Israeli concerns (August 1).

Hadassah announced 150 high-school graduate members of Young Judea would begin year of work and study in Israel (September 11).

National Jewish Welfare Board assigned seven community-center workers to work in Israeli community centers to learn conditions of Israeli life (September 30).

American Jewish Committee issued 35-page pamphlet, *Experiencing Israel*, the impressions of five young academicians who participated in AJC-sponsored seminar in Israel (November 4).

**Aliyah**

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations announced formation of an Orthodox *aliyah* department (January 25); American Zionist Federation launched National Aliyah Month to encourage American Jews to settle in Israel (February 10); Central Conference of American Rabbis called on members to promote Aliyah Month through educational programs, seminars, and special religious service (March 1).

Hadassah national convention marked 40-year Youth Aliyah which had rescued and rehabilitated over 150,000 children from all parts of the world, including the needy in Israel, in children's villages and day centers in Israel (September 9).

**Diaspora-Israel Relations**

American Jewish Committee proposed to its membership 10-point program of cooperation in effort to extend partnership between Israel and American Jewry (January 10); released Jerusalem office study of Israeli press, indicating scant coverage of American Jewish community (January 17).

American Zionist Federation heard academics discuss indifference toward Israel on part of American youth and intellectuals (January 25).

Central Conference of American Rabbis president called for end to debate on centrality between Israeli and diaspora communities and urged all Jews consider themselves as belonging to one family (March 14); issued proclamation of solidarity with state and people of Israel (March 19); American Council for Judaism called CCAR proclamation "deferential tribute to classic Zionist dream" and repudiation of Reform concept of Jews as a "religious entity" (March 30).

Rabbinical Council of America asked all synagogues to hold special memorial services for Yom Kippur war dead (September 24).

American Sephardi Foundation appealed to Israeli government for special measures to help low-income Sephardim and Orientals cope with financial hardships (November 21).

Agudath Israel of America urged Israel leadership to return to "eternal Jewish values" and pledged aid and encouragement (December 3).

**Law of Return**

Central Conference of American Rabbis, Rabbinical Assembly, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, United Synagogue of America, World Council of Synagogues, and World Union for Progressive Judaism voiced strong opposition to Premier Golda Meir forming new coalition government.
which would accede to National Religious party demands to change Law of Return and invalidate conversions by non-Orthodox rabbis (January 11); Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America condemned statement and urged Israeli government to "move toward coalition" (January 21).

Agudath Israel of America said its counterpart in Israel refused to join coalition cabinet unless Law of Return was amended to "state unequivocally that only conversions performed in accordance with halakha can be recognized" (February 11).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations cautioned Israel's Prime Minister against accepting compromise with Orthodox and political parties which would "cast aspersions on legitimacy of non-Orthodox Judaism" (June 12); condemned reported "political deal" by Prime Minister Rabin with National Religious party regarding accommodation on Law of Return (September 12).

**Peace Efforts**

Hadassah heard Mayor Teddy Kolleck praise its "special relationship with Jerusalem" and define the Jewish-ruled city as model of tolerance to guide Geneva sessions (January 16).

American Jewish Committee called on conference of Moslem leaders in Pakistan to repudiate antisemitic statements of some Islamic leaders and advance peace in Middle East (February 21); commended Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's efforts to achieve peace but cautioned against weakening support for Israel (May 20).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations applauded Kissinger's peace efforts in Middle East and stated its preference for "peaceful negotiations" with "flexibility and reason," rather than "reliance on force and arms" (June 7).

World Zionist Organization-American Section president cautioned that Syrian signing of the disengagement agreement, while it implied recognition of Israel, did not necessarily mean sincere desire for peace (June 15).

Hadassah annual national convention heard Senator Henry M. Jackson support Israel's refusal to withdraw from defensive positions without secure guarantee of peace; other speakers stressed need for Arabs to articulate in detail their concept of peace (September 9).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith heard Likud Kneset leader warn Kissinger's negotiations might lead to Arab military advantage for another attack on Israel (October 14).

American Jewish Committee applauded Kissinger's efforts to resume process of military disengagement, welcomed UN Security Council extension of UN Emergency Force for six months, expressed confidence in United States commitment to Israel's survival (October 27).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America leaders and those of other major Jewish groups met with President Ford to discuss problems of Middle East and solicit continued support for Israel (December 26).

**Arab Economic Pressure**

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith national executive committee heard then Vice-President Ford say Arab oil embargo was ill-advised and threatened the world's economic stability (January 29); sponsored meeting of American Jews and Italians who were warned Communist victory in Italy would undermine American efforts to encourage
resistance of oil-consuming countries to Arab price-gouging (October 14).

American Jewish Committee warned huge Arab investments in United States might give Arab states "power to manipulate our economy, our diplomacy, and our politics" (October 25).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith urged Congress "to prohibit foreign investments in American industry which are used to subvert principles of United States Constitution" (November 21).

American Jewish Congress issued *Fact and Fiction About the Oil Crisis*, which stressed that "economic greed of oil sheikdoms was at root of current oil shortage" (November 4).

American Jewish Committee published annotated bibliography, *Oil, Politics and the Energy Problem* (November 9).

Palestine Liberation Organization

American Jewish Committee charged UN General Assembly invitation to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) "a setback for peace and dangerous precedent that threatens to undermine United Nations Charter and fabric of international society"; Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith accused UN of "legitimizing terror and murder" by permitting PLO leader to address General Assembly (October 15); Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, denouncing UN action, said General Assembly "should be debating cruel exploitation of Arab refugees by Arab oil tyrants" (October 18); American Jewish Congress denounced UN vote and called on Americans to voice outrage and indignation (October 20); National Council of Jewish Women executive committee endorsed United States vote against UN motion to invite PLO leader to General Assembly (October 28).

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations announced plans for massive demonstration against Arab terror on eve of UN debate on Palestine (October 25); National Jewish Welfare Board reported community-center members from many states joined more than 100,000 demonstrators at UN headquarters (November 4).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith asked for federal court order to show cause to bar PLO leaders from entry into United States on ground that group's terrorist activities put them into "precluded from entry" category (October 31); as a result State Department issued restrictive travel visas to them (November 4).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations sponsored series of open educational forums at UN Church Center for consultation by Jewish and Christian leaders on controversial issues of Middle East (November 11).

American Jewish Committee Institute of Human Relations inserted statement in New York *Times*, in which 24 major Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, and black church leaders accused PLO of "shattering hopes for peace" (November 13).

American Jewish Congress published *The Palestinians: What is Real and What is Politics?*, advocating "fulfillment of Palestinian rights," but charging PLO has disqualified itself as spokesman for Palestinians (November 12); distributed study to all permanent UN delegations (November 16).

American Zionist Federation president condemned Yasir Arafat address in UN General Assembly as "diabolically con-
trived montage of lies . masking his true purpose , the destruction of Israel as a sovereign state" (November 14).

Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith sent petitions signed by over 125,000 Americans of all races, creeds, and religions to Secretary Kissinger urging government not to enter into negotiations with PLO (December 4).

**UNESCO**

American Jewish Committee European office called UNESCO vote to impose sanctions on Israel "pregnant with danger" for Jerusalem and an "instrument to stir up perilous passions" (November 8).

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion president denounced UNESCO criticism of Israel’s excavations in Jerusalem and said his school would continue to encourage archeological digs (November 20).

American Jewish Congress called on Vatican to withhold award of annual Pope John XXIII International Peace Prize to UNESCO (November 22).

National Council of Jewish Women president condemned as travesty UN General Assembly resolutions granting permanent observer status to PLO and approving halt of UNESCO aid to Israel (November 25).

American Jewish Committee, in conjunction with Ad Hoc Protest Committee, published N.Y. Times statement by 62 intellectuals and leading figures in the arts who declared they would not cooperate with UNESCO as long as it withholds aid from Israel and excludes it from membership on regional groupings (November 25).

Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith urged support for U.S. Senator Clifford Case’s amendment barring U.S. appropriation to UNESCO unless it repealed its pro-PLO, anti-Israel resolutions (December 3).

**Other Issues**

American Jewish Committee urged congressional hearings under Joint Committee on Atomic Energy auspices to consider U.S. offer of nuclear assistance to Egypt and Israel (June 21).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America called on France to give Israel first priority on new weapons purchases to balance Arab acquisition of French-made jets (September 3).

American Jewish Committee Paris office study found people of East European countries overwhelmingly sympathize with Israel, despite governments’ pro-Arab position (September 15).

**Propaganda**

American Jewish Committee issued background report on Lebanese propagandist Clovis Maksoud sent by Arab League to propose “democratic-secular” Palestine to replace State of Israel (January 10); National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council notified Jewish communities of Maksoud’s propaganda appearances and recommended countermeasures (February 13).

American Jewish Congress survey of black newspapers in United States indicated overwhelming majority either favorable to Israel or evenhanded in treatment of news (January 20).

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council suggested ways to counteract effect of British-produced pro-Palestine film To Live in Freedom which, though not widely distributed, had several screenings in the United States (October 14).
American Jewish Committee reported "flood of anti-Jewish propaganda," including vast number of Arabic translations of Protocols of the Elders of Zion, was being introduced into Africa, Asia, and Latin America by Moslem countries (October 28).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith study found Arab propaganda currently "doubled anti-Zionist effort" in the United States, and antisemitic activities becoming "more widespread" in Europe and Latin America (November 3).

Terrorism

National Jewish Community Relations Council (April 11), Hadassah, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith expressed shock and revulsion at Arab slaughter of 18 persons at Kiryat-Shemona (April 15).

American Jewish Congress, Hadassah, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Committee (May 15), Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations condemned terrorist murder of school children in Ma'alot (May 16); National Jewish Welfare Board reported numerous community-center memorial observances for victims of terrorism (May 15–24).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith called upon United States to "cease extending financial assistance to United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) as long as refugee camps are used as terrorist hideouts and training centers" (June 5).

National Council of Jewish Women condemned attacks on Kiryat-Shemona and Ma'alot (June 6). American Jewish Committee called terrorist attack on Beit She'an result of "green light" to extremists symbolized by UN reception of Yasir Arafat (November 19).

American Jewish Committee called on United States and United Nations to warn PLO that such acts as guerrilla attack on Israeli bus carrying American Christian tourists "will no longer be tolerated" (December 23).

Jews in Arab Countries

Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations delegation met with UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to plead case of Israeli prisoners of war in Syria (January 16); Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith asked UN Human Rights Commission to "take appropriate action" to end Syria's violation of Geneva Convention (February 11).

American Jewish Committee issued report on unexplained death of four Syrian Jewish women in Damascus, stressing intolerable conditions for Jews in Syria (March 14); American Sephardi Federation condemned Syrian Government for murdering women (March 15); Committee for Rescue of Syrian Jewry, cooperating with Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, American Sephardi Federation, American Jewish Committee, and Committee of Concern sponsored memorial service for murdered women at emergency rally in front of Syrian Mission to UN (April 17).

Committee for Rescue of Syrian Jewry urged President Nixon to press Syrian government for release of imprisoned Jews (June 6).

Hadassah appealed to Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to open up to world press trial of two Syrian Jews accused of helping murdered women to escape illegally (July 23).

American Jewish Congress picketed offices of National Geographic in Wash-
JEWISH COMMUNITY RESPONDS TO ISSUES / 189

ington, D.C., to protest article "whitewashing" maltreatment of Jewish citizens by Syria (June 20); released statement by National Geographic admitting article failed to reflect true situation of Syrian Jews (October 21).

American Jewish Congress released statement by leading Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergymen calling on State Department to use new U.S. diplomatic ties with Syria to urge free emigration for country's Jews (October 17).

American Jewish Committee sponsored tape recordings of sampling of 25,000-member Moroccan Jewish community religious and folk music to preserve cultural tradition (February 14).

Union of American Hebrew Congregation leaders, upon return from trip to Egypt, reported remnant of 400 elderly Jews there live in comparative freedom (December 1).

LATIN AMERICAN JEWRY

Antisemitism

American Jewish Committee released reports from Buenos Aires and Mexico City offices indicating communities troubled by alienation of youth and by Arab antisemitic propaganda (March 12); director of South American office stated antisemitic behavior stimulated by Arab League efforts cropped up in Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, and Bolivia (May 15).

American Jewish Committee made public letter to Argentine Ambassador to United States protesting Argentine Minister of Social Welfare Rega Lopez' statement that "religious factors" linked to Jews in Argentine government aggravated relations with Arabs and urged Argentine government to reassure its Jewish citizens (March 18).

OTHER COUNTRIES

Antisemitism

American Jewish Committee European office reported sharp upsurge in antisemitic harassment of Italian Jews by anti-Zionist groups (February 14); Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith heard two Italian Senators warn of pro-Arab, anti-Israel line of Italian Communist party (October 4).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith expressed alarm over "what seems to be developing pattern of harassment against Bulgarian Jews," citing instances of imprisonment of Jews for "political" reasons (October 18). American Jewish Committee reported medieval blood libel charges still appear in ceremony or art of West European countries despite denunciations by Church authorities (October 27).

Reparations

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith asked United States to withhold "diplomatic recognition and formal relations" from East Germany unless commitment is made to pay victims of Nazi era (June 20); American Jewish Congress welcomed report of agreement by East Germany to discuss compensation for Jewish victims of Nazism (September 4).

Culture

American Jewish Committee European Office assisted preparation of documentary film on life in Budapest Jewish ghetto (March 5); reported new developments in integration of secular Spanish and Jewish education of Jewish children in Madrid and Barcelona (September 15).

GERALDINE ROSENFIELD
Selections From the Literature of Jewish Public Affairs, 1972–74

The events of Yom Kippur 5734 and their aftermath had a shocking and sobering effect on the Jewish world. The immediate response of the American Jewish community, as of Jews elsewhere, was one of unprecedented mobilization in support of Israel. The spurt of activity gave way to a strong sense of unease in the face of protracted diplomatic maneuvering and the increasing isolation of Israel. American Jews were aware that Israel's security depended on the United States, and they hoped that continued strong support by their government would lead to an acceptable peace settlement. In this situation, the community has been cognizant of its crucial responsibility to give Israel maximum assistance.

At the same time, the threat to Israel engendered a feeling of insecurity among American Jews. The notion that a Jewish state would really solve the Jewish problem seemed chimerical. Many voices in the community called for a reexamination of its internal life—its pressing problems and how to cope with them. They also stressed the urgency to intensify efforts on behalf of those Jews in the Soviet Union who have been denied the right to emigrate and were being persecuted only because they wished to leave the country.

All these concerns and the probing are reflected in the literature of Jewish public affairs, 1972–1974,* with the expected emphasis on the Yom Kippur war and the conditions of Israeli life in the face of the threat to the state. A survey of the outpouring of writings in that period must necessarily limit itself to representative works.

YOM KIPPUR WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

The war, itself, was described and analyzed by the Sunday Times of London Insight Team in Insight on the Middle East War (an expanded American edition was published later under the title, The Yom Kippur War). It is a gripping account of the political and military aspects, with good explanations of tactics and key decisions, and sharp criticism of errors on both sides.

The longer-range causes of the Yom Kippur war and the role of the UN are the subjects of two strong articles by Theodore Draper, “From 1967 to 1973: The Arab-Israeli Wars” and “The Road to Geneva.” Draper found the roots of 1973

*Full bibliographical notations of the books and articles mentioned here will be found in a separate section at the end of this essay.
events in the 1967 war and earlier, arguing that the Arabs regard Israel's very existence as a humiliation. He also analyzed UN resolutions on Israel, with special emphasis on Numbers 242 and 338, as well as on UN behavior during the war. A discussion and critique of two conflicting versions (one by Marvin and Bernard Kalb, the other, the anti-Kissinger version, by Tad Szulc) of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's alleged role in withholding aid from Israel during the first week of the war are presented in Edward N. Luttwak and Walter Laqueur, "Kissinger and the Yom Kippur War."

Much has also been written since October 1973 about prospects for peace in the Middle East. More often than not, the authors were pessimistic, though they usually pointed to the advantages of a settlement for both Israel and the Arabs. Hans J. Morgenthau's assessment, "An Intricate Web: The Geopolitics of Israel's Survival," received wide attention for its clear and sober statement of facts. In his view, the conflict had nothing to do with Israel's boundaries, but with the fact of its very existence. Given the indefensibility of Israel's 1967 boundaries, the "proven worthlessness" of international guarantees, and unanimous Arab insistence on the "restoration of the legitimate rights of Palestinians," he stated, Israel's fate may, in the end, "hinge upon the credibility of Sadat's commitment to the Jewish state's peaceful existence."

Morgenthau's chilling forecast of the ultimate fate of Israel brought a response from Irving Howe in "Thinking the Unthinkable About Israel." The only way to counteract the possibility of the United States sacrificing Israel to "a hope or delusion" of détente with the Soviet Union, he cautions, is for Americans to involve themselves in "the work of politics, pressure, persuasion," and, if necessary, to resort to more militant action. The difficult choices American foreign policy faces are outlined by Steven Spiegel in "The Fate of the Patron: American Trials in the Arab-Israeli Dispute." A moving and eloquent commentary on the contemporary Jewish condition is Cynthia Ozick's "All the World Wants the Jews Dead."

Gil Carl AlRoy agreed with the precariousness of Israel's position. To the question, "Do Arabs Want Peace?", he was forced to give a negative reply, after documenting the unchanging nature of Arab aspirations. Nadav Safran, on the other hand, in "The War and the Future of the Arab-Israeli Conflict" found that settlement now was a very real possibility. A special section of Commentary, "Israel After the War," contains articles on the prospects of peace with Egypt, the need for political change in Israel, and Israel's effort to return to normalcy. Another symposium, "Israel After the War and Before the Peace," in Response covers a wide range of topics including the Palestinians, the Left, and reactions of immigrants.

Israel, itself, has felt the effects of the war keenly. In a series of four articles in the New York Review of Books, Bernard Avishai assessed the impact of the war on the state, and the newly emerging political situation, domestic and foreign. The actual responsibility for the initial setbacks in the October war was to be determined by the official Agranat Commission. Its interim report, discussed by S. Z. Abramov in "The Agranat Report and Its Aftermath," states that the Supreme Command of
Israel's Defense Forces and the political leadership "failed to evaluate that total war was about to commence," and that responsibility for this should be placed primarily on the director of military intelligence and his principal assistant in charge of research. Abramov hailed the shakeup in government and the military command as a watershed in the affairs of Israel—a break in "successful resistance to change that has been so characteristic of Israeli life."

As always in a crisis situation, Jews were concerned about Christian attitudes. Judith H. Banki analyzed the *Christian Responses to the Yom Kippur War*, those of institutions, individual leaders, and the general public. She found that the response was greater than after the 1967 war, most of it from local, regional, and community groups in every part of the country. Generally, Mrs. Banki said, statements issued by the local and regional leadership for a variety of reasons "identified more directly with Israel than those issued by their national or denominational headquarters."

The impact of the war on diaspora Jews was reported and assessed by scholars and representative personalities throughout the world attending a seminar in Jerusalem in December 1973, at the invitation of Israel's President Ephraim Katzir. *The Yom Kippur War: Israel and the Jewish People*, edited by Moshe Davis, is the result of the deliberations. It records the views of various participants, as well as of key figures in Israel and abroad who were interviewed during and after the cease-fire. A major lesson of the war is the strong interdependence between Israel and diaspora Jewry, and the volume contributes much to our understanding of that condition. However, the book's considerable emphasis on intellectual response may distract the Jewish communities from concentrating on very essential work required in the United States and other countries to counter the mammoth Arab political and propaganda offensive. American Jews may find themselves increasingly on the defensive in their efforts to maintain strong commitment to Israel's survival, especially as arguments that United States interests may diverge from those of Israel gain in prominence. Still, the thinking of Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals adds another dimension. Valuable contributions were made by Marie Syrkin for the United States, Emil Fackenheim for Canada, and Maurice Freedman for Great Britain. In a recapitulation of the materials in the volume, Davis emphasized certain themes: the survival of Israel as a moral yardstick for the civilized world; antisemitism in the guise of anti-Zionism; ambiguity in the Christian response to Israel's tribulations; intensification of diaspora-community solidarity with Israel, and Israel's image in the perspective of Jewish history. His concluding paragraphs focus attention on the tasks for the future, taking into account the reality of the Jewish condition throughout the world.

Efraim Shmueli reevaluated Zionist philosophy in "Israel, Galut, and Zionism: The Changed Scene." The most serious consequence of the war, he holds, is the "galutization" of Israel—the increased anxiety that the very survival of the state is threatened by Arab hostility. This anxiety is reinforced by threatening changes in the "emotional and intellectual climate which helped to establish the State." There-
fore, Shmueli insisted, the task of Zionism is not complete as long as negative galut thinking endangers the existence of Israel.

The central position in Jewish thinking of the war's import for Israel was evident. The political aftermath—implications for reshaping American Middle East policy and for Soviet influence in the Arab world—and Egypt's psychological and political objectives in launching the attack on Israel are discussed in the *Midstream* symposium, "The Yom Kippur War."

**ISSUES IN ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT**

A number of publications dealt with aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict not directly related to the Yom Kippur war. Anne and I. Robert Sinai provided reasonably objective background material in *Israel and the Arabs*, which depicts the encounter between two competing nationalist movements emerging in Palestine after 1917 in a manner reflecting understanding of both Arab and Jewish rights and interests. Howard Sachar's *Europe Leaves the Middle East, 1936–1954* is a scholarly presentation of the decolonization of the area. It, too, discusses the competition between these movements and how they were manipulated by the Great Powers, as well as the establishment of the state of Israel in the context of related events in the Middle East.

A much broader canvas, extending over more than a century, was drawn by Hayyim J. Cohen in *The Jews of the Middle East, 1860–1972*. It outlines the significant economic and cultural changes in the area long before statehood made Jewish existence in Arab countries tenuous, and aliyah a necessity.

Yonah Alexander does not believe that Arab-Israeli competition is inevitable or must continue indefinitely. In *The Role of Communications in the Middle East Conflict* he calls for the use of religion and "peace communications" by private groups to reduce tension.

The Arab goal of the destruction of Israel is documented by Y. Harkabi in *Arab Attitudes to Israel*. He draws attention to the inconsistencies in Arab statements for domestic consumption and those issued for foreign audiences, especially during diplomatic negotiations. Harkabi is pessimistic, though still hopeful, about prospects for Arab-Israeli understanding.

Jon Kimche, on the other hand, contends in *There Could Have Been Peace* that the Israelis and the Arabs failed to take advantage of two opportunities for peace: one after the six-day war, and the other between the Balfour Declaration and 1923 when the Mufti foreclosed an amicable settlement. Kimche regrets that the 1967 conflict, which he regards as essentially a local dispute, has become a superpower confrontation with the added complication of oil. He is quite critical of Israel's failure to encourage the development of an indigenous political leadership on the West Bank.

Concern over the impact of protracted conflict on Israel and the Jewish people
was voiced by several writers. Yaacov Talmon calls attention to the dilemmas that Jews now face with respect to *raison d'État* in “Is Force Indeed an Answer to Everything?” Israel, he points out, must sometimes confront opposing values—ends and means, right and force, morality and expediency—in its pursuit of security. Hans Habe evaluates and defends Israeli attitudes following the 1967 war in *Proud Zion*. He strongly takes issue with the Western powers for their failure to back Israel adequately and exposes the nature of anti-Zionism.

Considerable criticism of the Israeli leadership is central to Walter Laqueur’s *Confrontation: The Middle East War and World Politics*. He blames both sides and mediator Gunnar V. Jarring for missed opportunities after the 1967 six-day war. While he acknowledges Arab rebuffs to Israeli initiatives, he also finds rigidity, poor assessment, and weakness in military doctrine on Israel’s side. He strongly attacks the manner in which the General Staff conducted the 1973 war.

As a viewpoint of a dissident member of the Kneset (Labor Alignment) opposing the Establishment position, Arie Lova Eliav’s *Land of the Hart* created quite a stir. However, on closer scrutiny, his advocacy of the need to recognize the fact of Palestinian Arab nationalism is no more radical than the conclusions reached by many Israelis much earlier. He believes in the possibility of breaking down barriers between Arab and Jew, but notes realistically that “the path of dialogue is strewn with disappointments.” There will be no peace, he is convinced, until “both sides waive the implementation of part of their respective national and historical rights.”

In “The Passion of the Jews,” David Horowitz attempts to formulate a leftist position that is not hostile to Israel by showing some understanding of the Jewish experience and the meaning of the Holocaust. Ultimately, however, he reasserts his belief in revolutionary universalism as the principle for Jews to follow. Another leftist position, that of the Israeli Socialist Organization, is presented by Arie Bober in *The Other Israel: The Radical Case Against Zionism*. It calls for a revolutionary transformation of Israeli society to eliminate reaction, imperialism, and racism, and its ultimate “de-Zionization,” which, he believes, will remove the inherent contradictions of the current situation.

**ISRAEL’S INTERNAL CONDITION**

Despite the overriding concern with the Israeli-Arab conflict, the last three years witnessed increased attention to domestic aspects of Israeli life. In *Who Rules Israel?*, Eliahu Salpeter and Yuval Elizur speak at length about the Establishment, but not very much about the dynamics of the political process. They describe the various political institutions and identify key people. Some of the academic studies focused on the ordinary citizen rather than the elite. Aaron Antonovsky and Alan Arian, reporting on a national survey in *Hopes and Fears of Israelis*, are primarily concerned with the high level of national consensus among Israelis, in which groups, collectivities, and the state were found to be powerful motivators. Arian’s *The Choosing People* is an empirical study of the electoral process in Israel. Using the
data of a 1969 survey, of which he was one of the directors, he analyzes the modernization process, participation, mass-elite linkages, the role of religion, and others. His exposition on how Labor accommodates to change while perpetuating its power is especially useful. The need for reform is also stressed. Arian’s section on the unique character of modernization in Israel shows that high levels of participation can accompany high levels of hierarchy and centralization. Another volume on *The Elections in Israel—1969*, edited by Arian, includes articles on the political system and general voting patterns, as well as an analysis of the 1969 elections.

Students of Israeli politics will find in *Mapai in Israel*, by Peter Y. Medding, a detailed examination of Mapai from 1948–69. Rather than a history, it is an analysis of the party’s organization, its functional role in the system, competition with other parties, and policy development. Medding demonstrates that, despite its normal identification as a workers’ party, Mapai successfully transcended strict class differences, enabling it to organize diverse social forces.

The process of formulating and conducting foreign policy is the subject of two outstanding works by Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel* and *Decisions in Israel’s Foreign Policy*. In the first book, Brecher discusses political structure, interest groups, competing elites, and, especially, the psychological environment of decision-makers. In a critical evaluation of the substance of foreign policy, he maintains that over the years the Israeli government has missed opportunities for progress toward peace because of its unwillingness to take initiatives. The second volume contains detailed analyses of the decision-making process in seven major cases, including the six-day war and the Rogers Plan. Another author who deals with foreign policy is Samuel Roberts. In *Survival or Hegemony? Foundation of Israeli Foreign Policy*, he makes a novel attempt to find parallels in foreign policy between ancient and modern Israel, but is not altogether convincing. He also argues that Israeli statehood made the achievement of peace impossible.

Sylvia Kowitt Crosbie’s *A Tacit Alliance* traces Franco-Israeli amity, its international and regional implications, and its impact on the domestic politics of the two countries. Although there had been no formal agreement, the author states, French and Israeli interests had run along identical lines for many years. Indeed, the French people’s support for Israel remained strong, even after President Charles de Gaulle broke the alliance in 1967. Israel’s relationship with Muslim Turkey, according to George E. Gruen in *Turkey, Israel, and the Palestine Question, 1948–1960*, was able to persist because of an interplay of economic and political interests.

Various works on specific periods of Zionist history should be noted. Isaiah Friedman, in *The Question of Palestine: 1914–1918*, and N. A. Rose, in *The Gentile Zionists*, investigate British policy. Friedman argues that, although the Balfour Declaration was not issued half-heartedly, the motivation behind it was to prevent a possible Turco-German protectorate. He further maintains that the land was not at the same time also promised to the Arabs. Rose’s volume deals with British public personalities who supported the Zionists between 1929 and 1939, a difficult diplomatic period illustrative of the problems faced by the Zionist leadership.

Several new books deal with the period around 1948. In *B’riha: Flight to the
Homeland, Ephraim Dekel recounts the story of rescue efforts for Holocaust survivors by an underground network operating in many countries despite determined British opposition. Various aspects of the 1948 war are covered by A. Joseph Heckelman in American Volunteers and Israel's War of Independence, including allegedly false Arab allegations regarding Deir Yassin, which the author calls "the massacre that never was." O Jerusalem, by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, attracted a great deal of attention as a reasonably objective account of the struggle for Jerusalem, especially its effect on the common people. The authors destroy many Arab myths, but their account of Deir Yassin is sharply at odds with Heckelman's.

Religion and the state in contemporary Israel continues to be one of the major issues. In The Coming Crisis in Israel: Private Faith and Public Policy, Norman L. and Naomi F. Zucker present an informed, balanced, and comprehensive account of "theopolitics," providing basic information on such matters as non-Orthodox Judaism, Jewish law and the legal system, and family law. The role of religion in Israel's public policy, the authors contend, is regrettable because of its divisive effect and the inherent problems associated with the resolution of issues involving fundamental beliefs. This argument is also made by Moshe Amon in Israel and the Jewish Identity Crisis. In his view, the government's policy of cooperation with the religious establishment has had a disintegrating effect on the nation.

Elizer Schweid, in Israel at the Crossroads, holds that as Israel's dependence on American military, financial, and political support grows, so does the dependence of American Jewry on Israel. He calls for a more perceptive view of the place of religion in the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora during the soul-searching period after the 1967 war, which, he maintains, cannot be separated from the relationship between the religious and nonreligious in Israel.

In "Conversion 'According to Halakhah'—What Is It?", Eliezer Berkovits discusses the bitterness over the issue of conversion in Israel to show the need "to return to the original halakhah, to rediscover it, and... to restore it to its original function" of solving all problems that may be raised for Judaism. Halakhah, "in its present strait-jacketed state," he holds, cannot fulfill that function.

Israel's 25th anniversary provided the occasion for an assessment of development in all spheres of Israeli life. "A Salute to Israel on Its 25th Anniversary" is a comprehensive review of the state of religion, war and peace, the Jewishness of youth, the status of women, and the ingathering of the exiles, among others. Israel: Social Structure and Change, edited by Michael Curtis and Mordecai Chertoff, offers insights into urban development, economic and labor policy, ethnic relations, and education. Another commentary on Israeli society over 25 years is To Build the Promised Land, by Gerald Kaufman. The Israelis are the subject of The New Israelis, by David Schoenbrun and Robert and Lucy Szekely, who examine the sabra generation born after 1948, and of The Israelis: Portrait of a People, by Harry Golden.

Since the emergence of the Black Panthers in Israel, relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim have been in the limelight. Shlomo Avineri, in "Israel: Two
Nations?”, describes the process of the Sephardim moving toward integration by gradually taking over local politics in many areas. Some material on the economics of inequality is found in Ronald Segal, Whose Jerusalem? The Conflicts of Israel, which examines the development of Israeli society and perceptions on both ends of the economic scale.

The economic order is scrutinized by Eli Ginzberg in “Israel: Erosion of the Socialist Ideal.” Histadrut, he believes, must reformulate its ideology to appeal to younger workers, hasten the advancement of younger leaders, and restructure its organization to give more autonomy to the unions.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: CONTEMPORARY AND HISTORICAL

Historical works on the social life of the Jewish community abounded during the last three years. At the head of the list is the 15th volume of A Social and Religious History of the Jews, by Salo W. Baron, covering Holland, France, and Iberia in the 15th and 16th centuries. Another major contribution, Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770–1870, by Jacob Katz, analyzes the crucial transformation of Jewish life in that era. For the first time, assimilation became an option for the Jew, and this made for tension between his identity as a human being and as a Jew, often seen as conflicting. Opposition to emancipation, Katz points out, existed among non-Jews as well as Jews, many of whom believed that the traditional Jewish identity could not be maintained in that situation. But, says Katz, as assimilation occurs, “Jews also create the instruments that continue to hold them together and help them to maintain a separate social identity.”

Developments in the relationship between Jews and Russian socialism are the subject of the two-volume Jews, Wars, and Communism, by Zosa Szajkowski. Using a wealth of material, he portrays the political currents in the American Jewish community between the First and Second World Wars. In his discussion of the relationship between Jews and Marxism, the author carefully documents all facets of Jewish political participation, both for and against Communism. Dealing with the “Red scare” after World War I and its impact on American Jewish life, he gives special attention to the development of myths about the connection between Jews as a group and Bolshevism. His contention is that “the Red scare was not an isolated phenomenon but a manifestation of many aspects of American life.”

A fascinating glimpse into early 20th-century Jewish social history is found in Poor Cousins, by Ande Manners. When the Russian Jewish immigrants arrived, the author narrates, Jews who had come to this country earlier were worried lest the newcomers cause them embarrassment. The ambivalent feelings spilled over into the religious sphere, resulting in competition and antagonism between Reform and Orthodox. This generally anecdotal book depicts the difficult problems encountered by the poor Jews as they strove for economic, political, and social advancement. The
relationship between "The Yahudi and the Immigrant" is reappraised by Zosa Szajkowski in an account of efforts by the established German Jews to help new immigrants.

The large Jewish organizations have become increasingly important as a barometer of Jewish concern and, often, as the sole expression of their members' Jewish commitment. Agency studies, therefore, add a useful dimension to an understanding of the community. A history of the American Jewish Committee, Not Free to Desist, was prepared by Naomi W. Cohen. It is a carefully researched and documented account of the Committee's evolution, the development of its own concept of role, and the expansion of its base, as it moved from a defense posture to concern with Jewish rights, to sustained social action. Professor Cohen maintains that, "although the Committee was grounded philosophically in Talmudic precepts of communal responsibility and patterned directly on European Jewish models, its ideals flourished because they were nurtured in an American matrix." And this explains to a large extent the emphasis in its activities.

The successes and failures of the Joint Distribution Committee's attempt to rescue Jews during the decade before the Germans invaded Poland are evaluated by Yehuda Bauer in My Brother's Keeper, an often heartbreaking account. Another exceptional enterprise is that of Hadassah, whose history is closely tied to Israel's. In Balm in Gilead, Marlin Levin recounts the dedication, valor, determination, and vision of Hadassah's activities, especially during the pre-state period.

James Yaffe's So Sue Me! The Story of a Community Court deals with the Jewish Conciliation Board of America, an extra-legal court established by a lawyer and a rabbi in 1920 to adjudicate mainly family and business disputes. Yaffe culled stories from the Board's records, which poignantly mirror the social conditions of plaintiffs and defendants. Both come before the court voluntarily, and are morally bound to abide by its decisions.

More generally, Daniel J. Elazar's "Kinship and Consent in the Jewish Community" identifies the organizational and theoretical bases of Jewish communal life and discusses their importance today. In a second article, "Building Citizenship in the Emerging Jewish Community," he emphasizes the political character of the contemporary Jewish community.

JEWISH PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

Among the important interpreters of Jewish thought and experience is Emil L. Fackenheim, whose writings cover a wide range of general and specifically Jewish issues. In God's Presence in History: Jewish Affirmations and Philosophical Reflections, he analyzes the structure of Jewish experience, contrasting classical and modern attempts to answer basic questions. He points out that whereas midrashic thought could only express, not resolve, contradictions, the modern approaches face
similar difficulties. Noting that secularism and faith are mutually irrefutable, he considers the challenge of modern secularity, especially in light of the Holocaust experience. Fackenheim finds that even after Auschwitz secularism does not suffice. Although faith must be modified, there continues to be religious meaning in Jewish history. Moreover, the Jewish responsibility of being witness unto the nations is still valid.

Fackenheim deals with similar themes in *Encounters Between Judaism and Modern Philosophy*, which indicts modern philosophy for its inattention to Jewish thought. In order to overcome its parochialism, he argues, philosophy must “do justice to Jerusalem no less than Athens.” Fackenheim also criticizes Jewish thinkers for being subservient to modern philosophy, even though Western civilization has been on trial since the Holocaust. By contrasting these with the great Western philosophers, Fackenheim compels the reader to look at modern philosophy in a new light.

Eliezer Berkovits, who examines basic questions in *Faith After the Holocaust*, holds that Jews must continue to bear witness to God’s presence in history, despite provocations; for he who asks for God’s love and mercy beyond justice must accept suffering as part of life. He contrasts world attitudes toward Jews during the Nazi period with attitudes toward Israel after 1967. Although he believes that “the world is sicker today than it was during the Nazi era,” he also believes that Israel has a future because “faith history” will ultimately prevail over “power history.” Israel, he declares, must be seen as a moral test for the world, a particularly relevant argument after the Yom Kippur war of 1973.

In *Jewish Influences on European Thought*, Charles C. Lehrmann examines the fate of the Jewish people in the context of world history and the impact of Jewish ideas on European culture.

The application of Jewish ideas and principles to the problems of modern life is the subject of *The Good Society: Ethics in Action*, edited by Norman Lamm. His emphasis is on man’s relationship to his fellow man on three levels: the individual, family, and society.

A relatively new issue for theologians, prompted by developments in society at large, is the place of women in Jewish life. Two attempts to deal with the question are “The Jewish Woman: An Anthology,” a special issue of *Response*, and “Women and the Jewish Tradition,” a special section of *Conservative Judaism*. Rosemary Radford Ruether’s *Religion and Sexism* also contains some provocative and thoughtful material.

The relationship between theology and history is the subject of *Ideas of Jewish History*, edited by Michael A. Meyer, and *Understanding Jewish Theology*, edited by Jacob Neusner. Meyer presents an anthology of Jewish writings throughout the ages on dealing with the enigma of Jewish continuity. To put the selections, some of which appear in English for the first time, into context, he prefaced them with a history of Jewish ideas, such as causality in Jewish history, divine providence and intervention, teleology, and messianism. Neusner’s compendium is a reader for
university students, emphasizing the traditional and contemporary views of the nature of God, the character of Torah, and the significance of Jewish peoplehood.

Another work on Jewish faith in the modern world is *Judaism and Tragic Theology*, by Frederick S. Plotkin. In his search for the essence of Jewish faith in a scientific age, he tried to formulate a modernist basis for Judaism, one that lies beyond the range of scientific evaluation.

Significant contributions to our understanding of rabbinic Judaism and its origins have been made by Jacob Neusner in *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism*. Neusner describes the "movement [of the Pharisees] from politics to piety and back into politics," which, in his view, "represents a sage, functional, and highly adaptive policy." The comparison between Yockanan ben Zakkai, the exponent of Torah and piety, and the Zealots, who typified power and politics, is especially illuminating.

*There We Sat Down: Talmudic Judaism in the Making*, a condensation of Neusner's five-volume history of the Babylonian Jews, deals with their religious institutions and ideas, and how they produced social and religious change in the community.

**RELIIGIOUS AND SECULAR IDEOLOGIES**

Ideological trends within the American Jewish community have been somewhat unclear. One of the primary factors contributing to this situation has been Israel, which commands the support of all Jews in a way tending to blur the usual distinctions. Another factor was the instability within Conservative Judaism, a part of which seemed to be moving closer to Reform and farther away from Orthodoxy. Concurrently, Reform was reassessing some of its principles in a manner that also tended to narrow the gap between it and the Conservatives. Orthodoxy, enjoying a resurgence in recent years, was trying to consolidate its position even though survey analyses indicated traditional religious observance was at a disturbingly low level among American Jews. At the same time, religious movements had to face a growing trend to define Jewish life in nonreligious terms.

In *Tradition and Reality*, Nathan Rotenstreich holds that "secularization is an attempt to detach the reality of everyday life from its integration in the determined and determining meaning of tradition by the creation of a new meaning." By contrast, he sees tradition as the totality of life and as historical consciousness. After evaluating six early attempts to cope with the problem of modernizing tradition, Rotenstreich criticizes the religious and nonreligious movements for seeking to find contemporary meaning in the tradition. He is particularly critical of modern interpretations of halakhah which he considers petrified or partly outdated. While he values religion, he wants it to confront real problems, which would, however, require a reformulation of some basic concepts.

Gilbert S. Rosenthal's *Four Paths to One God* is a lucid description of the move-
ments in American Judaism, of the history, ideology, and the major thinkers within each group. Rosenthal notes the activity and dynamism of Orthodoxy, but regrets its refusal to grapple with certain complex and important problems. He finds a certain ambivalence in Conservatism's current position, partly resulting from the "chasm between the observant clergy and the nonobservant laity." In this context, he points to the confusion in the law committee of the Rabbinical Assembly with regard to the movement's approach to changes in halakhah and inconsistencies of observance.

Many of the philosophical problems of modern Orthodoxy are discussed by Norman Lamm in Faith and Doubt. He admits the validity of doubt, at least on the cognitive level, but at the same time affirms his faith. A single, highly relevant problem is analyzed by Saul Berman in "The Status of Women in Halakhic Judaism." In "Voices of Orthodoxy," David Singer identifies two main competing groups in American Orthodoxy, the modernists, who are oriented toward Yeshiva University, and the more right-wing "sectarians," who have less unity and are tied to a variety of yeshivot. "Jewish Orthodoxy in America" is discussed by Egon Mayer in light of the expectations of certain Jewish sociologists that as Jews move upwards, their religious practices and general community patterns "will increasingly resemble the patterns of upwardly mobile middle-class America." Orthodox Jews, to whom this theory does not apply, are therefore relegated to a "residual category." Mayer rejects this approach, and calls for more extensive study of what he sees as the "renaissance of American Orthodoxy."

One small segment of the Orthodox community is described in Israel Rubin's Satmar: An Island in the City. In this first major investigation of the cultural, religious, and communal life of the Satmarer Hasidim, emphasis is placed on the strict social control within the group to counteract the possibility of external influences. Here the manner of confronting problems of assimilation and intermarriage is especially characteristic. The Satmarer schools play a key role in the socialization process. Rubin feels that the sympathetic understanding of a group that is severely criticized for its anti-Zionist stance may have implications for other Jews searching for the meaning of cultural pluralism in America and their relationship to it.

A sober evaluation of the Conservative movement is found in Marshall Sklare's new edition of Conservative Judaism. Like Rosenthal, he regards the lack of observance by the laity as a central problem. He notes a lack of morale among the leadership as well as confusion regarding the status of halakhah, since the movement's approach to observance has failed despite attempts at liberalization. Sklare argues that the movement will have continuity problems, for, "In addition to pessimism about whether the battle against intermarriage could be won, Conservatism in recent years has lost its older confidence of being in possession of a formula that can win the support of younger Jews."

This problem could be resolved, Rabbi Phillip Sigal forcefully argues in New Dimensions in Judaism, if changes were introduced in the halakhah. A viable halakhah, he argues, is essential to the survival of Judaism. Therefore Judaism must
respond to the contemporary climate by continuously reevaluating its legal system, a practice which, Sigal contends, is in accord with historical practice. A similar position is taken by Elliot Dorff who, in "Towards a Legal Theory of the Conservative Movement," stresses the extent to which the talmudic rabbis had been responsive to change. If Not Now, When? Toward a Reconstitution of the Jewish People is the transcript of conversations between Mordecai M. Kaplan, founder of Reconstructionism, and Arthur A. Cohen, whom Kaplan regards as the "keenest critic of the Reconstructionist version of Judaism." They agree on the need to reconstitute the Jewish people because of a decline in the belief in supernaturalism. While Cohen explores the meaning of peoplehood, Kaplan describes his model of a self-governing, self-educating, and self-perpetuating Jewish people, with Israel at its center. Kaplan deplores the "nonexistence of a collective Jewish consciousness," which he ascribes to the "miseducation of our spiritual leaders and the endless ignorance of our lay leaders."

As indicated in Theodore I. Lenn's penetrating sociological study of Rabbi and Synagogue in Reform Judaism, this movement, too, has some very serious problems. Lenn found, among other things, a trend away from rabbis with Orthodox backgrounds, wide tolerance of intermarriage, and crisis of belief. Responses further indicate that 14 per cent of the rabbis and 43 per cent of the rabbinical students are atheists or agnostics. He anticipates that "Reform is in for more change before it achieves more equilibrium within the movement." Joshua O. Haberman notes a striking change in "The Place of Israel in Reform Jewish Theology," and lauds the new-found compatibility of a sovereign Jewish state with Reform's view of the mission of Judaism. Other changes in Reform are discussed in Reform Is a Verb, by Leonard J. Fein et al.

The centennial of American Reform Judaism was the occasion for a historical survey of the movement by Sefton Temkin in "A Century of Reform Judaism in America." The article deals with the ideological as well as institutional problems of the Reformers; it concludes with a critical current evaluation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Items of historical interest abound in "The Centennial of Reform Judaism in America," a special issue of the American Jewish Historical Quarterly.

The most controversial aspect of Jewish identification in America involves intermarriage, an issue that has become especially troubling for the Reform rabbinate. Several statements made at the 1972 convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis by leading rabbis and other authorities appeared in CCAR Journal under the heading, "Mixed Marriage: A Mixture of Ideas." They discussed such questions as the legal and practical aspects of mixed marriage, the halakhic perspective, implications for the relationship with Orthodox and Conservative rabbis, and the participation of Christian clergymen in marriage ceremonies.

The felt need among many young people who reject conventional institutional religion but wish to live as Jews was reflected in the growth in the last decade of havurot, Jewish fellowship communities. A theoretical introduction to the phenomenon is found in Contemporary Judaic Fellowship in Theory and Practice, edited
by Jacob Neusner. Although some enthusiastic backers see the movement as leading to a renascence of Jewish life, many of the writers represented in the collection are skeptical.

A good expression of the havurah ethos is found in The Jewish Catalog, compiled by Richard Siegel et al. It features a variety of do-it-yourself activities, such as making religious articles, observing Jewish practices, Hebrew calligraphy, and cultural participation, thus opening up new dimensions in Jewish living and religious participation to the average reader. Its assessment of Jewish organizations is anti-Establishment: "Jewish life is not synonomous with the Jewish organizations which have objectified and subdivided it for piecemeal appropriation. The eternal sources of Jewish meaning are the inalienable possessions of every Jew."

Marshal Sklare's "The Greening of Judaism" is strongly critical of the Catalog. After some speculation on the relationship between Camp Ramah alumni and the havurot, Sklare points to the Catalog's emphasis on the aesthetic aspects of Jewish life to the exclusion of most others, which he attributes to its frequent "subordination to the youth culture." He further finds the Catalog wanting as a religious document because the editors exempt themselves from the central feature of Jewish religious law—its normativeness. Yet he finds that, within its own limits, the Catalog has had a positive impact.

Israel has become an important element in all contemporary Jewish ideologies. A cogent exposition of the relationship between religion, people, and land can be found in Ben Zion Bokser, Jews, Judaism, and the State of Israel. Allon Gal, in Socialist-Zionism: Theory and Issues in Contemporary Jewish Nationalism, predicated his statement of the Zionist position on a Marxist analysis of the economic role of Jews in the Diaspora. On the basis of examples from the United States and Argentina he concluded that Jews are not even secure in the industrial countries.

A much different orientation toward Zionism is found in Our Challenge: The Chosen Land, by Meir Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League. In it he advocates a radical territorial and population position for Israel and Jews throughout the world, the "planned and well-funded emigration of Arabs from Israel."

PUBLIC LAW

Jewish interest in the field of public law is directed mainly toward the applicability of Jewish law to modern life and the law of the state affecting or regulating some aspect of Jewish life. A comprehensive study by Daniel J. Elazar and Stephen R. Goldstein analyzes "The Legal Status of the American Jewish Community," as it is reflected in "statutory and case law 'on the record' in the federal and state codes and courts of the United States." Court decisions on Sunday closing laws, Sabbath observance, kashrut violations, charitable contributions, and others constitute the legal status of the Jewish community. It is the product of the interaction of religious needs and American tradition.

In Talmudic Law and the Modern State, Moshe Silberg is concerned with halak-
hah and religious law in modern Israel. Primarily an introduction to talmudic legal thought, the book presents in its final chapter arguments for greater use of religious law in Israeli legislation.

THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Despite the fact that Israel has been a critical issue in American politics for years, it was not until recently that the vital importance of the political process for Jewish life has been widely recognized. The emergence of black power has made it easier for Jews to participate in politics qua Jews, but the salience of the Middle East situation since the Yom Kippur war has blunted the effectiveness of the Jewish thrust precisely at the point when it was needed most.

Jews and American Politics, by Stephen D. Isaacs, is an attempt to describe the many facets of Jewish participation in the political process, based mainly on information derived from interviews with prominent politically connected Jews. A major theme is that Jews participate in politics and exercise power out of proportion with their numbers. Among the more revealing sections are those on behind-the-scenes activities, such as congressional staff work and campaign financing. The sections on the Jews in The Ethnic Factor, by Mark R. Levy and Michael S. Kramer, discusses their political behavior: party preference, voting patterns, and ideology. The account of the shift of Jewish support from one party to another over the years is important for an understanding of what has come to be called the "Jewish vote." The authors also deal with the tendency among suburban voters to move toward the Republican party.

Most of the critical issues for American Jews were brought to a head in the 1972 election. A common perception that George S. McGovern held positions inimical to Jewish interests resulted in a much higher percentage of the Jewish vote for Richard M. Nixon than Republican candidates usually receive. Nathan Glazer and Milton Himmelfarb succinctly deal with questions of specific Jewish interest in "McGovern and the Jews: A Debate." Glazer perceives the balance between the two candidates on domestic issues to have been closer than on foreign policy. For him, the fact that McGovern acknowledged the moral and practical tragedy of Vietnam, while Nixon did not, was "decisive," dictating support of McGovern. Himmelfarb, on the other hand, stresses domestic matters, arguing that "McGovern and the McGovernities define equality and justice in a way that is bad for the Jews—and bad for America as well."

An underlying theme during the campaign was whether Jewish support for liberalism should continue, or whether liberalism had not changed so much that Jews, whose views have remained constant, are left without a practical ideology. These questions transcend elections, as the Judaism symposium "Judaism and Liberalism—Marriage, Separation, or Divorce" clearly indicates. Participants differ sharply on the proper articulation of Jewish political interests. Richard Rubenstein,
for one, sees the interests of middle-class Jews as "not very different from those of other middle-class ethnic." The question, therefore, is whether the Democratic party furthers those interests. Arthur Lelyveld, on the other hand, contends that the term liberalism is being misused, that genuine liberalism is "an ideal that lies deep within the nature of normative Judaism."

An area of the political process that has been receiving much attention is the influence of the American Jewish community on the formulation of Middle East policy. According to John Snetsinger in *Truman, the Jewish Vote, and the Creation of Israel*, organized political action in Washington by American Jews was instrumental in achieving President Truman's support for Israel. It is the author's contention that Truman was guided by short-term electoral considerations, rather than any fidelity to higher principles; that he had no firm convictions regarding Zionist aspirations. The workings of the pro-Israel lobby in the crucial years for the establishment of the state are thoroughly examined by Alan R. Balboni in *A Study of the Efforts of American Zionists to Influence the Formulation and Conduct of United States Foreign Policy During the Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower Administrations*. The author stresses the high degree of organization and internal cohesion of the pro-Israel groups. The success of the Zionist lobby, he says, demonstrates that any ethnic group so organized, and "whose goals are not in conflict with the basic American belief system," may well exert substantial influence on United States foreign policy.

The dimension of alliance-building and coalition politics is the subject of *American Jewish Interest Groups* by Steven F. Windmueller. A related case study is *Ethnic Interest Groups and Foreign Policy*, in which Marshall Amnon Hershberg examines the activities of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and allied organizations in connection with the 1968 decision to sell Phantom jets to Israel.

In an analysis of how *American Religious Groups View Foreign Policy*, Alfred O. Hero cites a wealth of survey data compiled over a 30-year period. The evidence demonstrates that Jews are better informed and more internationalist than their fellow Americans. Data on Christian attitudes toward Israel indicate that of the 87 per cent of Catholics and Protestants who had heard or read about the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1970, as many as 60 per cent of the Catholics and 53 per cent of the Protestants sympathized with neither side, or had no opinion.

**RADICALISM**

Jewish participation in radical politics has been a feature of the American scene for decades. It is evident from *SDS: A Profile*, by Alan Adelson, that Jews were involved in that movement in disproportionately large numbers. Ideologically, the Students for a Democratic Society were opposed to Israel as an "imperialist" nation in conflict with the Arab world, and this anti-Israel position was fully supported by their Jewish members. But, as Adelson points out, the irony was that these interna-
tionalists encountered antisemitism in the SDS. In “Left-Wing Intellectuals and the Jewish Problem in the Thirties and in the Sixties,” George L. Mosse discusses what he calls the “astonishing similarity of outlook” on Jews and Zionism between the radical German intelligentsia at the onset of the Hitler era and the New Left.

An excellent response to the hostile, often vicious, position of the Left toward Israel is a collection of articles edited by Irving Howe and Carl Gershman, *Israel, the Arabs, and the Middle East*. It emphasizes the social-democratic nature of Israeli society, and refutes Arab and Communist propaganda about the 1967 war and the Israeli occupied Arab territories. It is critical of those whose rhetoric may contribute ideologically to an Arab victory.

One of the most outspoken critics of contemporary Jewish life is Arthur I. Waskow, whose *The Bush Is Burning!* is the account of a personal, intellectual, and emotional odyssey that brought him to a Jewish commitment tinged with New-Left radicalism. Filled with self-righteousness, Waskow sees all Establishment as the enemy and all revolutionary movements as good. More sober radical ideology is sampled in *Jewish Radicalism*, an anthology edited by Jack Nusan Porter and Peter Dreier. Like Waskow, many of the contributors lack a background in authentic Judaism. But this volume makes a positive contribution in that it conveys what bothers Jewish radicals and what they would do about it. Predictably, most of the contributors would like to reorient the community away from establishment goals and practices.

**THE COURSE OF JEWISH PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

The period under review was one of much reflection about the state of the American Jewish community and its future direction. One of the best efforts along these lines is *The Future of the Jewish Community in America*, edited by David Sidorsky, a compilation of position papers prepared by specialists in the various areas of Jewish endeavor for discussions of a new agenda for the community. The contributors concentrated on four crucial areas: the influence of the historical processes and ideological movements on the character of the American Jewish community; major demographic trends and social patterns; the primary community institutions, and issues of current concern and future significance, such as the direction of Jewish education, the character of the youth culture, and the process of determining priorities and making decisions for communal action.

An important contribution to communal planning are the findings of the National Jewish Population Study, which were summarized and analyzed by Fred Massarik and Alvin Chenkin in “United States National Jewish Population Study: A First Report.” The task of tabulation and interpretation continues, but the implications of some of the data thus far released are alarming: a relatively low birthrate, a disproportionately high percentage of older people, low synagogue attendance, and a high rate of intermarriage.
Community planners must also consider occupational trends and their significance for community affairs. Herbert Bienstock identifies the conditions that influence younger Jews to turn away from business and seek less remunerative professional and technical careers. His projections, reported in "Professional and Job Prospects for Jews in the Seventies," raise serious questions about the Jewish community's ability to continue financing its institutions and communal services at present levels. Some of Bienstock's data are reinforced by a B'nai B'rith survey, conducted in 1961, of 1125 Jewish college youths who had been members of Jewish organizations in high school, and a follow-up survey of the same group eight years later. Among the findings, reported by Sol Swerdlow and Howard Rosen in Eight Years Later: Education and Careers of Young Jewish Adults, were a continuing strong belief in education for upward mobility; a shift from business to professional and technical careers for the males; declining stability in family life; an intermarriage rate over 20 per cent, and sharply decreased participation in Jewish organizations, which had already dropped by 75 per cent during college attendance.

One aspect of career orientation receives more detailed treatment in Stephen Steinberg's The Academic Melting Pot, which uses National Survey of Higher Education data to compare Jews and Catholics in academia. Jews were found to have gravitated in larger numbers toward certain fields, such as social science and the professions, and to be more heavily represented in the top universities. He ascribes the differences in academic achievement to cultural factors and social class.

A long-neglected aspect of Jewish life is the plight of the urban, mostly elderly, poor who constitute a significant portion of the Jewish population. An excellent volume on the subject is Poor Jews: An American Awakening, edited by Naomi Levine and Martin Hochbaum, which contains articles on who the Jewish poor are, the nature of their poverty, and the Jewish response; their situation in the light of the war on poverty, and what must be done to end Jewish poverty. Paul Cowan's description of his meetings and interviews with the poor on the Lower East Side is particularly compelling and disturbing. He illustrates, in human terms, the daily struggle of poor elderly Jews to survive, offering reasons for the failure of Jews to obtain a fair share of the benefits of government anti-poverty programs. Other articles provide insights into the special problems of the Haskidim, whose religious requirements often interfere with opportunities for economic advancement.

For quite opposite reasons, there has been disquiet about the future of the Sephardi community in this country. Rabbi Marc D. Angel, who recently conducted a survey of the largest Sephardi communities, published his findings in "The Sephardim of the United States: An Exploratory Study." They were dramatic in view of the history and rich cultural heritage of the group. While their economic position was found to be generally good and their secular education superior, a low birthrate, declining religious observance, and, particularly, a strong tendency to drop Sephardi customs may very well lead to the disappearance of the community.
Much broader in scope are the assessments of the general condition of Jewish life in America, often strongly critical of personal values and the direction in which the community is moving. Among the most alarmist is *American Jews: Community in Crisis*, whose author, Gerald S. Strober, sees the Jewish community as being under siege, with external pressures and internal weaknesses undermining its integrity. He anticipates a shift in American public opinion toward the Jews and possible attempts to use them as scapegoats. Criticizing the Jewish leadership for its alleged failure to perceive correctly the situation of the American Jews, he calls for a reassessment of policy, with emphasis on Jewish concerns and interests.

A more theoretical approach to the problem is found in Charles S. Liebman's *The Ambivalent American Jew*. According to Liebman, the major dynamic element in Jewish life is the attempt to reconcile two sets of values: integration leading to acceptance into American society and Jewish group survival. Since these values are incompatible, attempts to reduce tension between them has led to inconsistencies and contradictions. Therefore, Liebman holds, the requisites of survival in America are adherence to classical Jewish values and repudiation of an American value system that undermines Jewish authority.

Some of these views are shared by Jacob Neusner in *American Judaism: Adventure in Modernity*, which voices concern over the fate of religion in a modern secular environment and questions whether there is a future for American Jews as a religious community. Milton Himmelfarb, too, expresses skepticism about the value of modernity in *The Jews of Modernity*, a collection of his essays. The book is highlighted by his informed, often biting comments on the events, personalities, and issues that define contemporary Jewish life, among them politics and equality, demography, religion, intergroup and interfaith relations, and Israel. Himmelfarb raises the question whether the enthusiastic embrace of modernity by Jews has really been such a good thing after all. He sees a need to rethink just what a modern world view should be.

Eugene Borowitz's *The Masks Jews Wear: The Self-Deceptions of American Jewry* is a psychological analysis of the behavior of American Jews. Arguing that, on the whole, American Jews are fundamentally more Jewish than they care to admit or to demonstrate—a new species of Marranos who have repressed their inner identity—Borowitz calls for an end to the split between self and Jew. The attitudes of Jewish intellectuals on issues affecting the community are recorded by *Judaism* in "Where Do I Stand Now?", one of the periodic symposia of this kind containing 26 brief personal statements on religious outlook, view of Israel, the future of Arab-Jewish relations, and the future of Jewish life in America.

Sociological inventories of the state of American Jewry are *The Jew in American Society*, edited by Marshall Sklare, and a revised edition of Nathan Glazer's *American Judaism*. The first, a representative selection of articles on the social history and social characteristics of American Jews, is prefaced with an essay in which Sklare discusses the sociology of contemporary Jewish studies. Glazer incorporated in his book a new final chapter on changes in Jewish life since 1956. His emphasis is on
the impact of political and cultural radicalism, the black-Jewish conflict, and the 1967 six-day war. Glazer sees the last as an "overwhelming event," that led Jews to "a new intensity of self-consciousness and a new level of concern for Jewish issues." Its chief significance, however, may be that it brought liberalism and ethnic loyalty into sharp collision, that "ethnic content became ever more paramount as the significant content of Judaism."

Another approach to the Israel factor in shaping attitudes of Jews is found in Israeli Ecstasies/Jewish Agonies, a collection of Irving Louis Horowitz's essays, many written in the wake of the six-day war. His ideas on the implications of the constant military threat against Israel are especially relevant after the Yom Kippur war. An attempt by experts in various fields to forecast possible future concerns of American Jews, and, indeed, Jews everywhere, has produced World Politics and the Jewish Condition, edited by Louis Henkin. Its well-balanced appraisals of the status and viability of the larger Jewish communities abroad become more significant when seen in the context of international relations.

SOVIET JEWS

A by-product of the worldwide effort to draw attention to the plight and heroism of Soviet Jews has been the publication of several excellent works. Zvi Y. Gitelman's Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics is an account of the Jewish sections of the Communist party before 1930, which were used by the party as a device to modernize and secularize the Jewish minority—a task aided by dissension and factionalism among the Jews. A fine analysis of the current situation is William Korey's The Soviet Cage: Anti-Semitism in Russia, which documents the historical background of antisemitism and its contemporary manifestation, and discusses the disabilities imposed on Jews, trials of activists, and the difficulties encountered by those wishing to leave the Soviet Union. Korey uses official figures in "The Soviet Jewish Future: Some Observations on the Recent Census" to demonstrate the general deterioration of Jewish life in the USSR. The data show a decrease in the number and proportion of the Jewish population, a decline in the use of Yiddish, a low birth rate, and a high rate of assimilation, and give concrete evidence of discrimination and quotas in higher education and employment.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Inevitably when Jewish interests become visible, Jews begin to show concern over the possibility of antisemitism, a concern that was reflected in the extensive writings on the subject. One of the more controversial of these is The New Anti-Semitism, by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein. Its major thesis is that Jews are no longer protected by the sympathy engendered by the Holocaust and that, consequently, an
insensitivity to Jewish interests has become common and acceptable in the area of public affairs. This condition is seen by the authors as “the new antisemitism” which is potentially as dangerous as the more manifest kind. Supporting evidence is found in a background study of Christian attitudes toward Israel by Hertzel Fishman, *American Protestantism and the Jewish State*. He is strongly critical of what can, at best, be called the ambivalence of many Protestant leaders and theologians toward Israel, as well as of their earlier opposition to asylum for refugees in the United States or Palestine. Fishman’s conclusion is based on an examination of two key journals, *Christianity and Crisis* and *Christian Century*.

Michael Selzer, in “Kike!” *A Documentary History of Anti-Semitism in America*, quotes a wealth of material from a wide variety of sources documenting the existence of what he calls “the authentic antisemitism” since the colonial period. Though current manifestations are relatively rare, Selzer cautions, anti-Jewish attitudes still persist and may bring new overt expression. Meir Kahane, who in *Time to Go Home* hysterically predicts the outbreak in the United States of an antisemitism of holocaust dimensions, urges American Jews to go to Israel before it is too late.

Despite the Vatican declaration absolving Jews of responsibility for the crucifixion, educational materials in Catholic countries did not eliminate references blaming the Jews for the crucifixion of Christ. This is well documented by Claire Bishop in *How Catholics Look at Jews*, which points to anti-Jewish prejudice, indifference to the Holocaust, disinterest in the fate of Israel among Catholics, and the propagation of traditional canards. Further support for her position is provided by A. Roy Eckardt in *Your People, My People*, a study of the historical bases of antisemitism and the current movement for dialogue to improve relations between Christians and Jews as a moral obligation in light of the Holocaust. In an article called, “The Devil and Yom Kippur,” Eckardt forcefully argues that no distinction should be made between anti-Zionism and antisemitism; he is particularly critical of Father Daniel Berrigan and other Christian clergymen who attempt to make such a distinction. Based on an analysis of how Christians are conditioned to view Israel and the Jews, he concludes that much of contemporary Christian anti-Zionism is simply a new form of theological antisemitism.

A perceptive analysis of the impact of external factors on the lives of American Jews is found in “Jews in the Changing Urban Environment,” by Eli Ginzberg. He uses survey data to pinpoint some major trends, such as the erosion of religious observance and of the influence of the synagogue; centrality of Israel in Jewish identity; weakening of community ties; secularization; intermarriage, and changing neighborhoods, and makes several proposals for revitalizing urban Jewish life.

One urban development, the introduction in recent years of a quota system in education, employment, government, and party politics, has evoked disquiet among Jews. Strong opposition is voiced by Earl Raab in “Quotas by Any Other
Name," which describes some of the absurdities of affirmative action. He suggests guidelines for improvement, so that "the line between affirmative action and ascriptive action be firmly drawn." An ascriptive society, he contends, is not one "in which Jews can find justice or can easily or comfortably live." The subject has been widely debated; Ben Halpern, in "The 'Quota' Issue," and Leonard J. Fein, in "Thinking about Quotas," take issue with arguments on both sides. Fein's analysis of the merit principle argument is provocative. The implications of the De Funis case are discussed by Nina Totenberg in "Discriminating to End Discrimination," and by Alexander Bickel et al, in "Defunis Is Moot—the Issue Is Not."

The formulation of policy on a wide variety of issues vital to the Jews has been aided by the appearance of Analysis, a regular publication of the Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research of the Synagogue Council of America. Its short, well-researched pieces have covered such subjects as Soviet Jews in the United States, changing pressures on Jewish hospitals, quotas, the energy crisis, and American policy toward Israel.

THE HOLOCAUST

Some thirty years after the end of World War II, new materials on the Holocaust continue to appear. Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe Under Nazi Occupation is the product of an exhaustive investigation by Isaiah Trunk of all aspects of life in the ghettos where Judenräte had been established. Trunk does not avoid the searing dilemma of the council members who were forced to cooperate with the Nazis. Today there is little doubt, as Jacob Robinson asserts in the introduction to the volume, that Jewish cooperation in the deportations had no substantial effect on the final outcome. Related works are The Pavement of Hell, by Leonard Tushnet, an examination of the heads of the Lodz, Warsaw, and Vilna councils, and The Riga Ghetto, 1941–1943, by Gertrude Schneider.

Several writers have examined the government policy on Jewish refugees in the Western nations, especially the United States. Saul S. Friedman, in No Haven for the Oppressed, chronicles the American government's failure to adapt its immigration laws to refugee needs, and examines motives. He is equally harsh in assessing the failure of Jewish leaders and organizations to push hard enough for immigration exceptions because they feared an antisemitic backlash. Rescue operations by Palestinian Jews are described by Ruth Klüger and Peggy Mann in The Last Escape, an unusually moving story. Their success was limited, the authors hold, because of Jewish indifference and complacency, lack of funds, British opposition, and, ultimately, the refusal of all countries to admit substantial numbers of refugees at a time they could have been saved. The last point is brought home with force by Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan Witts in Voyage of the Damned, the story of the ill-fated 1939 crossing of the St. Louis and of the callousness of Cuban and American immigration authorities.
United States

A major focus of area studies during the past three years was the American South, a region with a small proportion of the nation's Jews, but a long and rich Jewish history. The American Jewish Historical Quarterly devoted a special issue to "The Jews in the South." One article, on desegregation, asserts that Jews in the South "were more circumspect in their allegiance to equal rights for all citizens," and generally more guarded in their public posture than Jews elsewhere. Specific communities discussed are those of Atlanta, Richmond, and Texas. Jews in the South, edited by Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Palsson, also contains a section on Jews and desegregation, with interview data on attitudes that reflect the distress of Southern Jews over the civil rights struggle, as they were torn between their desire to be an integral part of the white community and their sense of justice.

In a memoir, The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South, Eli N. Evans tells what it was like to grow up in the South. Many of his vignettes about the social, cultural, and political aspects of Jewish life, especially in the small communities, are revealing. Evans was sensitive to the pressure to conform and always felt that he did not really fit in. Harry Golden's Our Southern Landsmen is a fine anecdotal contribution to the history of Southern Jews.

Other Countries

Australia

Jews in Australian Society, a compendium of articles edited by Peter Y. Medding, is based primarily on a 1967 Jewish community study. Besides demographic data, it discusses religious observance, degree of identification as Jews, and political behavior. According to the findings, the Orthodox group is relatively more important in Australia than in the United States. Jewish identification is generally strong, partly because formal religious identification is an accepted custom in the country. Differences in attitude within the community relate to "divergent approaches to the question of Jewish continuity and group distinctiveness in a pluralistic non-Jewish environment."

Canada

Many Jews in Montreal perceive Quebec nationalism as a threat to the vitality, even safety, of the community. Stuart Rosenberg examines the situation in "French Separatism: Its Implications for Canadian Jewry." Although he concludes on an optimistic note, he correctly identifies the dangers of etatism in Quebec, with the attendant danger of excessive homogeneity.
GERMANY

Herman Pollack describes with painstaking care and thoroughness *Jewish Folkways in Germanic Lands* (1648-1806) in the areas of religion, education, medicine, clothing, and diet; how they originated, and what caused local variation in these customs. In "Deutschum and Judentum in the Ideology of the Centralverein Deutscher Staatsbürger Jüdischen Glaubens 1893–1914," Jehuda Reinharz investigates the search of one segment of German Jews for an identity which would reconcile German nationalism and Jewish religion, giving priority to neither.

GREAT BRITAIN

Two historical studies of British Jewish life are *A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life, 1870–1970*, edited by Salmond S. Levin, and "Religious Change in Native Orthodoxy in London, 1870–1914," by Stephen Sharot. Levin's book is concerned mainly with the United Synagogue and its various conflicts. Sharot describes the efforts of United Synagogue leaders to transform immigrants into English Jews, which, in their view, was necessary to protect the position of the Jewish community. However, the newcomers evidently left their mark on the community by introducing changes in religious observance.

ITALY

One of the more controversial works is Sam Waagenaar's *The Pope's Jews*, a history of Roman Jewry from the inception of Christianity to the present. The author compiled much information about the deportation of Rome's Jews. His view of the Vatican's failure to take steps to protect Jews during the Nazi occupation is strongly critical.

LATIN AMERICA

Jews in the Latin American countries face an uncertain future. The fast pace of political and social changes and their possible effects on Jewish communities are the subject of *Experts Conference on Latin America and the Future of Its Jewish Communities, 1972*.

POLAND

Bernard Weinryb's *The Jews of Poland* presents the social and economic life of East European Jews from the 10th century to the beginning of the 19th century. It discusses legal and political developments, religious trends, and the influence of messianism.
RUSSIA

*The Jewish Bund in Russia. From Its Origins to 1905*, by Henry J. Tobias, focuses on the structure and tactics of this important mass organization, particularly its relations with various Marxist groups during a period of significant debate on political theory. The Bund strongly influenced Russian Jewish life, despite the rivalry and antagonism between it and Zionists and other Jewish groups.

PUBLIC PERSONALITIES

Given the substantial continuing interest in Israel, it is not surprising that much of Jewish biography for 1972–74 is devoted to Israeli statesmen and Zionist leaders. Israel's former defense minister is the subject of *Moshe Dayan: The Soldier, The Man. The Legend*, by Shabtai Teveth, and *Or Did I Dream? The Story of Ruth Dayan*, written by Mrs. Dayan in collaboration with Helga Dudman. Teveth, who emphasized Dayan's early development and Haganah experience, speaks of the complete trust the nation placed in him, especially after 1967. He portrays Dayan as a cautious man who, contrary to the popular image, was reluctant to make decisions. In 1967 he was a restraining influence, partly because of fear of Soviet intervention. Ruth Dayan's biographical volume is a personal view of Israeli events from the vantage point of her marriage to Dayan, until it—and what she calls "living with a legend"—ended in divorce in 1971.

Of special interest in Avraham Avi-Hai's *Ben-Gurion, State Builder* is his treatment of Ben-Gurion's impact on defense and foreign policies, and on relations with the Arabs. Golda Meir has contributed *A Land of Our Own: An Oral Biography*, edited by Marie Syrkin, with comments on all major events in Israel's history. In *Eban*, an adulatory account of Abba Eban the diplomat, Robert St. John attempts to explain his actions in May 1967, which drew some criticism. According to St. John, "the prime object of his diplomacy... was to try to achieve Israel's objectives without war." Failing this, he wanted to gain international political support for Israel's war aims. The author attributes to Eban "the loftier and more positive vision of Israel and the Jewish people" held by millions around the world.

A number of works dealt with the pre-1948 period. Volume 3 of *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann*, edited by Barnet Litvinoff, covers the crucial years of 1903 and 1904 when the Uganda plan was under discussion. At that time, too, Weizmann began to cultivate members of the British political elite. An intimate picture of a key figure in early 20th-century Zionism emerges from *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*, edited by Alex Bein. The inspirational story of Hannah Senesh is told in a fine biography by Anthony Masters, *The Summer That Bled*, and by Senesh herself, in *Her Life and Diary*. The indifference and inaction she so frequently encountered in her efforts to save Hungarian Jews in many ways characterize the tragedy of that period.

Among American Jewish biography are the second and third volumes of *Letters*
of Louis D. Brandeis, edited by Melvin I. Urofsky and David W. Levy, and subtitled People’s Attorney and Progressive and Zionist, respectively. Aaron Rothkoff tells the story of Bernard Revel: Builder of American Jewish Orthodoxy, who organized and helped transform Yeshiva University from an East European yeshivah into an American university. His efforts to encourage modern scholarship frequently encountered criticism within the Orthodox community. Ronald Sanders, former editor of Midstream, recounts his intellectual, spiritual, and cultural development in Reflections on a Teapot: The History of a Time.

In Trotsky and the Jews, Joseph Nedava maintains that Trotsky, who foresaw the fate of the Jews of Europe, rejected Jewish nationalism as a solution because he believed that socialist internationalism would ultimately triumph and put an end to the Jewish problem.

The volume of the literature of Jewish public affairs for the three-year period, 1972–1974, reflects ever-growing interest in the field. Prospects for the development of Jewish social science and public-policy scholarship are bright and promising, especially since groups like the Association for the Sociological Study of Jewry and the Center for Jewish Community Studies encourage many young scholars to specialize in these areas. Funds are now available for graduate work, and numerous dissertations have already been produced. All this is occurring at a time when Jewish issues are becoming public issues, as never before. The need for people who are trained to understand and interpret the course of Jewish public affairs is crucial for the Jewish community.

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Alaska

Alaska, which became the 49th state of the United States in January 1959, is located in the far northwest of the North American continent. Its territory of 586,400 square miles embraces the most western area of the United States; Little Diomede Island is located only three miles from the international date line and Russia's Big Diomede Island. Alaska is more than twice the size of Texas, and as big as the next three largest states combined. Superimposed on a map of the United States, Alaska reaches from California to Florida, and from the Canadian to the Mexican borders. Among the state's great mountains is Mt. McKinley, the tallest peak in North America at 20,320 feet. Point Barrow is North America's northernmost part, only 800 miles from the North Pole. By contrast, Ketchikan, the gateway city to southeastern Alaska, has the same latitude as Copenhagen and Moscow. Above the Arctic Circle, the sun does not rise on December 21; and does not set on June 21. Because of the length of the summer days, cabbages weighing more than 75 pounds are grown in the Matanuska Valley, Alaska's agricultural area near Anchorage. The temperatures vary in different parts of the state due to its immense size. Winter temperatures range from 45° above zero to 75° below zero; summer temperatures in interior Alaska sometimes rise above 100°.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Early Settlers

In the 1850s and 1860s Jews from San Francisco developed commercial ties with the Russian-American Company in Alaska, and Jewish fur traders visited the state on a regular basis. After the purchase of Alaska by the United States from Russia in 1867, Jewish fur dealers, merchants, miners, and traders went to Alaska more frequently. The 1897 gold rush prompted a number of Jews to come to the territory. In 1904 they established a congregation, which existed only for some two-and-one-half years.

The first permanent Jewish settlers, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goldstein, came to Juneau, Alaska's capital, in 1885. Others followed. Solomon Ripinski established a government school at Chilkat in the 1880s, and owned the general store around which the town of Haines grew up. The 3,400 foot Mount Ripinski became his memorial. Dr. Joseph Silverman founded and directed the hospital in Valdez; he practiced medicine in Alaska from 1902 to 1922. William Gross opened the Alaskan territory's first movie houses in the early 1900s. Samuel Applebaum operated mines
and lived in a town he named Beth El. Mount Applebaum was named in his honor. Alaska's Gerstle River was named for Lewis Gerstle, who popularized the use of sealskins and, with the help of his associates, developed steamboat transportation. He also financed some of Alaska's first mining ventures. Zachary Loussac, who settled in Alaska in 1907, served as mayor of Anchorage and was voted Alaska's outstanding citizen in 1946. When Alaska entered statehood, he presented the city with its public library building which was named for him.

A most illustrious Jewish couple was Jessie and Robert Bloom. Bloom came to Dawson, Yukon Territory, in 1898 but, like many others in that town, moved to Fairbanks in 1904 after the discovery of gold there. He and other Jews of the community established a congregation. He opened a general store, which was in operation from 1906 to 1941 and became the gathering place of many homesteaders when they came to town. Bloom met and married his wife Jessie in Ireland in 1912, and returned to Alaska with her. Both were traditional Jews who observed the Sabbath and festivals. He became one of Alaska's distinguished residents. In the early 1920s he was appointed to the University of Alaska's board of regents, and was made an honorary alumnus of the university in 1961.

Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Bloom became chairman of the Jewish Welfare Board in Alaska and he and his wife assisted many Jewish servicemen among the military personnel stationed there. During World War II, the Blooms in Fairbanks and Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Gottstein in Anchorage made their homes headquarters for all Jewish military and civilian personnel. The Blooms hosted the first public Seder at the Fairbanks Masonic Hall in 1942, with supplies flown in by the National Jewish Welfare Board. Among her many humanitarian contributions, Jessie Bloom organized the first kindergarten in 1918; it operated successfully until the establishment of a public kindergarten in 1922. She also established a Girl Scout troop in 1925.

Quite a few other Alaskan Jews achieved prominence. Leopold David was the first elected mayor of Anchorage after its incorporation on November 2, 1920; he was reelected for a second term. A native of Brooklyn, N.Y., he was appointed United States recorded at Knik, Alaska, in 1911 after serving in the Spanish-American war. In 1915 he and his family moved to the tent city of Ship Creek, as Anchorage was then known, where he practiced corporate and mining law, and later served as a judge. Isador Bayles, a merchant, served on the Anchorage city council and school board. He was the first president of the company that published the Anchorage Times, Alaska's largest and most prestigious newspaper.

Other public figures included Edward Seidenverg, mayor of Nome in the 1930s; Herbert Greenberg, builder of Alaska's first radio station in 1922; Nathan J. Gerson, a prominent Fairbanks businessman and Rex Swartz, pre-World War II mayor of Nome.

Jews were also successful fur trappers and furriers. Charles Goldstein's establishment in Juneau was famous in the early 1920s. And David Green, who arrived in Anchorage from Seattle in 1922, built up a business that remained prominent to the
present time. He also served as city councilman, was a close advisor to Governor William Egan, and host to many distinguished visitors including Golda Meir.

Pre-World War II

In 1939 there were only about 100 Jews in Alaska. It was not an organized community and provided no religious life for the merchants, fishermen, government employees, and engineers living in the territory. The Jewish population grew only when discharged servicemen, homesteaders, and government employees began to arrive. Anchorage and Fairbanks, the centers of military activity, became the communities in which the majority of Alaska’s Jews settled.

Present Communities

According to a census taken by the Office of the Jewish Chaplain, Alaska, the 1974 Jewish population of Alaska was 876. More than half (447) lived in Anchorage, 208 in Fairbanks, and 63 in Juneau. The rest were scattered throughout the state, with populations ranging from one in such towns as Kotzebue and Tatalina, to 30 in College.

When Alaska was proclaimed a state, Ernest Gruening, a former territorial governor, was elected United States senator. In 1964 Jay A. Rabinowitz was named to Alaska’s Supreme Court, of which he now is chief justice. Avrum Gross of Juneau was recently appointed attorney general by Governor Jay Hammond. There are many lawyers among Alaska’s Jews.

Religious Life

The Jewish military chaplains who arrived in Alaska during World War II became the first rabbis to officiate in the state. The United States Air Force has continued to provide Jewish chaplain coverage for more than 25 years. The National Jewish Welfare Board has been providing prayerbooks, educational materials, kosher food packages, and publications to the Jewish military personnel. Rabbi Israel Haber, a U.S. Air Force Chaplain and Alaska’s only rabbi, served both the civilian and military communities of the state. He and his wife have been living in Anchorage, but have traveled extensively through Alaska, meeting and serving Jews throughout the state.

Sabbath services were held on Friday evenings and Saturday mornings at the Jewish Chapel on Elmendorf Air Force Base in the Anchorage area. Once each month, the rabbi traveled 400 miles north to Fairbanks to conduct Sabbath services there. On those occasions, services in the Anchorage area were conducted by lay persons at Congregation Beth Sholom, which was founded in 1958 and whose building was constructed under the direction of Burton Goldberg of Anchorage. Sabbath services in the Fairbanks area were conducted at the University of Alaska when the rabbi was not in town.
Religious education was provided for Jewish children every Sunday morning at Congregation Beth Sholom, with instruction for teenagers being given at the Jewish Chapel on Elmendorf. Weekly adult education classes in Bible, Jewish philosophy, history, and modern Hebrew also were conducted on the base.

The first permanent mikveh (ritual bath) in the history of Alaska was constructed in March 1974 by the Civil Engineer Squadron of Elmendorf AFB, under the direction of Rabbi Sholom Gershon Grossbaum of St. Paul, Minn., in cooperation with Chaplain Luther T. Gabrielsen. Located in the Elmendorf chapel, it may be used by the military and civilian Jewish population. It is the only permanent mikveh constructed on any United States military installation in the world. It was inspected and certified halakhically by Rabbi Isaac Hendel of Montreal, Canada. Upon completion, the mikveh was widely publicized in Anchorage newspapers and in Alaska Magazine.

Eleven Jewish families purchased kosher meat from Seattle, some 1,800 miles from Anchorage. A tefillin club has been established, with all boys purchasing and wearing phylacteries upon their bar-mitzvah. With the extremes in sunrise and sunset between winter and summer, the Sabbath begins as early as 1:30 p.m. in Fairbanks in the winter, and ends as late as after midnight in the summer. The extremes in the Anchorage area are not as great: Sabbath starts and ends approximately two hours before or after it does in the New York area. Recently a b'rit took place in Anchorage, and another in Bethel. The closest mohel, Rabbi Solomon Maimon of Seattle, travelled 1,800 miles to perform the ceremony. In Bethel, he and the chaplains were greeted at the airport by many political and native leaders of the village as the first rabbis ever to visit Bethel.

During the Yom Kippur war, large sums of money were raised by Jewish and non-Jewish Alaskans and sent to the United Jewish Appeal.

The Anchorage Jewish Youth Group, a teenage club, met weekly for Jewish activities. The membership recently voted to join the National Council of Synagogue Youth. Laurie Green was the group’s president; Alan Levy, its vice president, had a leading role in Anchorage West High School’s dramatic performance of I Never Saw Another Butterfly, the story of Jewish youth in Nazi concentration camps.

During the spring of 1974, several officers of the Israel Defense Forces toured Alaska to learn techniques used in cold weather combat. They spent Passover in Anchorage.

Cultural Life

The Judaic Culture Seminar, led by Rabbi Abraham Radzik of Kansas City, Mo. with the assistance of Rabbi Haber, was held in December 1973 and again in June 1975. It concentrated on the State of Israel’s heroic struggle to survive and develop in the Middle East. Another seminar in Anchorage and Fairbanks traced the development of Jewish music throughout the ages, from early cantorial works to contemporary liturgical music, with the aid of audio-visual materials.

“Chanukah: The Festival of Lights, in Story and Song” was heard throughout
Alaska and in Greenland over the Alaskan Military Forces radio network during the week of Hanukkah. Chaplain Haber was the guest narrator of the thirty-minute program; Staff Sergeant Mike Siegel was host. In October 1974 the Anchorage Jewish Youth Group participated in the United Nations Day festivities; it represented Israel by performing dances at the Anchorage Sydney Laurence Auditorium. More than 100 people in Anchorage and Fairbanks viewed the Israeli film comedy Lupo, shown during Hanukkah.

The first annual Alaskan study tour of Israel was being planned for May 1975.

A Jewish Teenage and Adult Encounter was led by Rabbi Grossbaum while he was in Alaska planning the construction of the mikveh. He also traveled to Fairbanks to conduct Purim services and to meet with Jewish students at the university.

The Alaska chapter of Hadassah met in Anchorage every month. Its president was Enid Green. The organization held a Jewish food sale each fall and had a special Jewish food booth at the Winter Fur Rendezvous Festival in Anchorage. Reta Kahn of Bellingham, Wash., president of the Northern Pacific Coast Region of Hadassah, came to Alaska during the Hanukkah festival to meet with the local members.

A four-credit course on “The History of the Modern State of Israel” was given by Rabbi Haber at Alaska Methodist University, the state’s largest private university. It had a large enrollment.

In March 1975 Reuven Surkis, director of the Historical Society of Israel, addressed a large audience at Alaska Methodist University on the impact of Jewish history on the State of Israel.

Arthur Goldberg, former U.S. Supreme Court Justice and ambassador to the UN, who has been a regular visitor to Anchorage where his son practices law, has also been invited on several occasions to speak at the Alaska Methodist University. The late Richard Tucker enthralled his audience at a concert in Anchorage in October 1974, his only visit to Alaska.

Publications

The statewide Jewish monthly newspaper, the Alaskan Jewish Bulletin, published by the Office of the Jewish Chaplain, had a readership of over 1,000. Three local publications were: Congregation Beth Sholom Bulletin, published by Bernice Bloomfield; Fairbanks Newsletter, written by Dr. and Mrs. Richard Karpay, and the Juneau Jewish Journal under the editorship of Sam Corwin. The Office of the Jewish Chaplain also issued holiday anthologies. Anchorage’s two daily newspapers, the Anchorage Times and the Anchorage News, frequently covered Jewish activities and holiday programs.

Personalia

Among prominent communal figures who have received statewide recognition for their professional contributions to Alaska were: Dr. Mickey Eisenberg, Alaska's only epidemiologist; Dr. and Mrs. Quentin Fisher, employees of the Public Health Service, who have worked in Alaskan hospitals for natives in Barrow, Ketchikan,
and Bethel; Leonard Kamerling, director of the Alaska Native Heritage Film Project and ethnographic filmmaker; Dr. Michael Krauss, chairman of the Alaska Native Languages Center for Northern Educational Research and professor of linguistics; Dr. Paul Liebman, director of the Emergency Medical Technician Program at Elmendorf Hospital and innovator of several medical instruments; Dave Rose, Anchorage city councilman; Carol Schatz, administrator at Alaska Methodist University and director of the Office of Institutional Grants; Bernard Schecter, Alaska's only forensic chemist and expert in spectroscopy.

Israel Haber.
Jewish Population in the United States, 1974

The estimate of the United States "Jewish population" for 1974 is 5,732,000, the same as reported in the previous year (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 295). This estimate is essentially a composite of individual community estimates, with only minor changes from the year before. The method of compilation is consistent with that of previous years. The difference between this estimate (and last year's) and previous estimates which exceeded 6,000,000 is largely due to the change in the New York City estimate, which had remained the same from 1962 to 1973. The figures for New York City and its suburbs are derived from the National Jewish Population Study conducted in 1970–71. For details, see the accompanying article by Dr. Fred Massarik.

Alvin Chenkin

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1 State estimates (Appendix, Table 1) are based on estimates for each community, after known duplications were eliminated and adjustments made for "unlisted" Jews. Individual community estimates (Appendix, Table 3) were generally obtained from member federations of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds and from the files of the National United Jewish Appeal (NUJA). However, the latter agency no longer updates its population estimates on a consistent basis, and this may be a source of bias on a cumulative basis. Communities with fewer than 100 Jews were omitted from the listing in Appendix, Table 3; they were included in the state totals and are the base for estimating unknowns (generally three times the number of Jews in communities with fewer than 100).

2 The NJPS was a national survey conducted under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.
## TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Estimated Jewish Population</th>
<th>Total Population*</th>
<th>Estimated Jewish Per Cent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>9,140</td>
<td>3,551,000</td>
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<td>Alaska</td>
<td>630</td>
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<td>Arizona</td>
<td>21,240</td>
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U.S. TOTAL 5,731,685 209,689,000 2.7

*July 1, 1974 civilian population; total U.S. population including Armed Forces overseas was 211,909,000. (Source: U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 533.)
### TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1974

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**RHODE ISLAND**
- Providence (incl. rest of state) .22,000

**SOUTH CAROLINA**
- Charleston .3,000
- Columbia .2,000
- Florence .370
- Greenville .600
- Orangeburg county .105
- Spartanburg .210
- Sumter .190

**SOUTH DAKOTA**
- Sioux Falls .280

**TENNESSEE**
- Chattanooga .2,250
- Jackson .120
- Johnson City .210
- Knoxville .950
- Memphis .9,000
- Nashville .3,700
- Oak Ridge .240

**TEXAS**
- Amarillo .245
- Austin .1,900
- Baytown .300
- Beaumont .800
- Brownsville .160
- Corpus Christi .1,030
- Corsicana .200
- De Witt county .150
- El Paso .4,500
- Ft. Worth .2,850
- Galveston .610
- Houston .22,000
- Kilgore .110
- Laredo .160
- Longview .160
- Lubbock .230
- McAllen .280
- North Texas Zone .175
- Odessa .150
- Port Arthur .260
- San Antonio .6,500
- Texarkana .100
- Tyler .480
- Waco .800
- Wharton .270

**UTAH**
- Ogden .100
- Salt Lake City .1,800

**VERMONT**
- Bennington .120
- Burlington .1,225
- Rutland .280
- St. Johnsbury .100

**WISCONSIN**
- Appleton .665
- Beloit .105
- Eau Claire .120
- Fond du Lac .125
- Green Bay .440
- Kenosha .600
- Madison .2,900
- Manitowoc .175
- Marinette .170
- Milwaukee .23,900
- Oshkosh .120
- Racine .800
- Sheboygan .300
- Superior .265
- Waukesha .135
- Wausau .265

**WEST VIRGINIA**
- Beckley .1,200
- Bluefield-Princeton .240
- Charleston .1,125
- Clarksburg .225
- Fairmont .100
- Huntington .350
- Morgantown .125
- Parkersburg .170
- Weirton .150
- Wheeling .775

**WASHINGTON**
- Bellingham .120
- Bremerton (incl. in Seattle) .130
- Seattle .13,000
- Spokane .800
- Tacoma .700

**WEST VIRGINIA**
- Beckley .1,200
- Bluefield-Princeton .240
- Charleston .1,125
- Clarksburg .225
- Fairmont .100
- Huntington .350
- Morgantown .125
- Parkersburg .170
- Weirton .150
- Wheeling .775

**WISCONSIN**
- Appleton .665
- Beloit .105
- Eau Claire .120
- Fond du Lac .125
- Green Bay .440
- Kenosha .600
- Madison .2,900
- Manitowoc .175
- Marinette .170
- Milwaukee .23,900
- Oshkosh .120
- Racine .800
- Sheboygan .300
- Superior .265
- Waukesha .135
- Wausau .265

**WYOMING**
- Cheyenne .280
*Estimate received in 1973 or 1974.
*Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia.
*Towns in Chicot, Desha, Drew counties.
*Centerbrook, Chester, Clinton, Deep River, Essex, Killingworth, Old Lyme, Old Saybrook, Seabrook, Westbrook.
*Ansonia, Derby-Shelton, Seymour.
*Greater Washington includes urbanized portions of Montgomery and Prince Georges counties, Maryland, Arlington County, Fairfax county (organized portion); Falls Church; Alexandria, Virginia.
*Rock Island, Moline (Illinois); Davenport, Bettendorf (Iowa).
*Includes East Chicago, Hammond, Whiting.
*Towns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, Talbot counties.
*Includes Bellingham, Franklin, Norfolk, Maynard.
*Allendale, Elmwood Park, Fair Lawn, Franklin Lakes, Oakland, Midland Park, Rochelle Park, Saddle Brook, Wykoff also included in North Jersey estimate.
*Includes Camden and Burlington counties.
*Includes western part of Hudson county; Hillside (part), Springfield, Summit in Union county. Also Chatham, Florham Park, Madison in Morris county.
*Includes Clayton, Paulsboro, Woodbury. Excludes Newfield, see Vineland.
*Includes Belmar, Deal, Long Branch, Neptune.
*Excludes Chatham, Florham Park, Madison which are included in Essex county.
*Includes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, Woodcliff.
*Includes Paterson, Wayne, Hawthorne in Passaic county, and nine towns in Bergen county.
See footnote (k).
*Includes Perth Amboy, Metuchen, Edison Township (part), Woodbridge.
*Includes in Middlesex county, Cranbury, Dunellen, East Brunswick, Edison Township (part), Jamesburg, Matawan, Middlesex, Monmouth Junction, Old Bridge, Parlin, Piscataway, South River, Spotswood; in Somerset county, Kendall Park, Somerset; in Mercer county, Hightstown.
*Excludes Kendall Park and Somerset which are included in Raritan Valley.
*Includes in Cumberland county, Norma, Rosenheim, Vineland; in Salem county, Elmer; in Gloucester county, Newfield; in Cape May county, Woodbine.
*Greensboro, High Point, Winston-Salem.
*Burgaw, Clinton, Dunn, Elizabethtown, Fairmont, Jacksonville, Lumberton, Tabor City, Wallace, Warsaw; and Dillon, Loris, Marion, Mullins, S.C.
*Towns in Alfalfa, Beckham, Cadelo, Canadian, Cleveland, Custer, Jackson, Kingfisher, Kiowa, Lincoln, Logan, Oklahoma, Payne, Roger Mills, Tillman, Washita counties.
*Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warrington, Yardley.
*Includes Kingsport and Bristol (including the portion of Bristol in Virginia).
*Includes communities also in Colorado, Fayette, Gonzales and La Vaca counties.
Basic Characteristics of the Greater New York Jewish Population

The Jewish population of the New York area for the period 1970–71 is estimated at 1,998,000, consisting of 720,000 households considered to be Jewish in accordance with the definition of the National Jewish Population Study (NJPS). The average size of the Jewish household is just below 2.8. These figures are based principally on National Jewish Population Study survey data, and materially corroborated by supplementary current research estimates. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1. ESTIMATE OF NEW YORK JEWISH POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
<th>Average Household Size</th>
<th>Relative Distribution of Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan..........</td>
<td>99,300</td>
<td>171,000</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>13.8 8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn...........</td>
<td>196,000</td>
<td>514,000</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>27.2 25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx .............</td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>143,000</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>9.4 7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens ............</td>
<td>133,000</td>
<td>379,000</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>18.5 19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staten Island .....</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>1.0 1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westchester ......</td>
<td>50,200</td>
<td>165,000</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>7.0 8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nassau-Suffolk</td>
<td>166,200</td>
<td>605,000</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>23.1 30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong>.........</td>
<td><strong>719,700</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,998,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.76</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0 100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Population in households including one or more Jewish persons, taking account of estimated smaller household sizes, for households refusing to respond and/or not reachable by survey procedures.

The largest numbers of persons in Jewish households reside in Nassau-Suffolk: 605,000 in 166,200 households. While survey data do not permit a full statistical separation of Nassau from Suffolk, they suggest that of the combined Nassau-Suffolk

1Any household including one or more Jewish or part-Jewish persons, by household respondent’s self-definition, is considered Jewish for NJPS purposes.

2It may be noted that, while the total Jewish population (or, more precisely, the population in households defined as “Jewish”—not adjusting for possible non-Jewish household members) is estimated at nearly two million, it may be somewhat above or below this figure due to small variations in average household size or minor technical fluctuations in statistical variability. Since the figures are derived from sample survey data, they must be understood as representing “acceptable estimates” within ranges of variation.
Jewish population some 75 to 80 per cent reside in Nassau.

The greatest number of Jewish households (196,000) is found in Brooklyn. However, in view of the smaller average household size here (2.62 in Brooklyn; 3.64 in Nassau-Suffolk), the total Jewish population of Brooklyn is below that of the combined Nassau-Suffolk area (514,000, compared with 605,000).

Estimates for Manhattan are complicated by the initial high refusal rate ("persons declining to be interviewed," largely overcome by follow-ups) and by the generally greater difficulty encountered in reaching persons in this unique urban area. Here, NJPS findings reveal a very small average Jewish household: about 1.7 persons. Thus, with some 99,300 Jewish households in the area, the total Jewish population for Manhattan is estimated at 171,000. (It may be noted that among these households are numerous one-person units, at lower economic and at transient locations, which are difficult to locate for purposes of interviews.)

The Jewish population of the Bronx is estimated at 143,000 persons in 68,000 households, while that of Queens at 379,000 persons in 133,000 households.

Westchester, with 165,000 persons in some 50,200 Jewish households, is characterized by an average Jewish household size of 3.28, a figure larger than that found in the urban boroughs, but slightly below that for Nassau-Suffolk (3.64).

The relative distribution of Jewish households and persons in the New York area appears in the final two columns of Table 1. If the households in the area, as defined, are regarded as constituting 100.0 per cent, 27.2 per cent of them are found in Brooklyn and 23.1 per cent in Nassau-Suffolk. Due to the differential effect of average household size, 25.7 and 30.3 per cent of Jewish persons, respectively, are found in Brooklyn and in Nassau-Suffolk.

Manhattan accounts for 13.8 per cent of the households but for only 8.6 per cent of Jewish persons, as result of the exceptionally small average household size in this borough. Westchester accounts for 7.0 per cent of households and 8.2 per cent of persons, while the comparable figures for the Bronx are 9.4 and 7.1 per cent.

Table 2 shows the proportion of households with a specified number of members, and the average number of persons per household. In some instances these figures vary slightly from those appearing in Table 1, because the latter makes minor adjustments for the smaller average size of households that could not be reached directly by the survey.

Nearly half (47 per cent) of Manhattan households consist of only one individual. An additional 35 per cent are composed of two persons. On the other hand, in suburban areas such as Nassau-Suffolk and Westchester, four- and five-person households are the prevailing pattern. In the Bronx and in Brooklyn, the two-person household is most typical.

---

3 The number of interviews conducted in Staten Island was too small to provide detailed data of the kind reported in subsequent tables for the other boroughs/counties.

4 The term "Jewish persons" is used for the sake of simplicity; technically, it denotes "persons in households defined as Jewish" by NJPS.
### TABLE 2. AVERAGE JEWISH HOUSEHOLD SIZE\(^2\) BY BOROUGHS/COUNTIES, NEW YORK

*(Per Cent)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6, up</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average Persons per Household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westchester</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nassau-Suffolk</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

\(^2\)Jewish households responding in survey.
AGE DISTRIBUTIONS

The tables below show the percentage distributions by age categories for the several boroughs/counties of New York. In interpreting these data (and, indeed, other findings reducing the totals to a substantial number of subcategories), results are to be viewed as basic tendencies rather than precise numbers. Detailed findings are presented for the sake of completeness. Table 3 presents, in descending order, the three areas with the highest proportion of young children, children, older teenagers, young adults, and aged in the several boroughs and counties of New York. Each of the areas is considered as a unit (100.0 per cent).

Throughout, with declining birth rates, the relative proportions of young children under five years of age have declined in recent years. However, in Westchester this proportion is high: some 14 per cent of all Jewish residents. In Brooklyn the percentage is 8, followed by Queens with about 5 per cent.

### Table 3. Boroughs/Counties with Highest Percentages of Specified Age Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Young Children (0-4)</th>
<th>Children 5-14</th>
<th>Older Teenagers 15-19</th>
<th>Young Adults 20-29</th>
<th>Aged 65 and Up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Westchester (13.5)</td>
<td>Nassau-Suffolk (24.7)</td>
<td>Nassau-Suffolk (10.8)</td>
<td>Queens (17.9)</td>
<td>Bronx (33.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn (8.1)</td>
<td>Westchester (11.2)</td>
<td>Westchester (10.1)</td>
<td>Manhattan (17.2)</td>
<td>Manhattan (27.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens (5.4)</td>
<td>Queens (11.1)</td>
<td>Queens (10.1)</td>
<td>Brooklyn (16.9)</td>
<td>Brooklyn (18.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Each figure shown is based on the particular borough/county’s Jewish population with the specified age category taken as a per cent of that area’s total population.

Children between the ages of five and 14 constitute a very significant proportion, nearly 25 per cent, of the Nassau-Suffolk Jewish population. It is high also in Westchester and Queens—some 11 per cent each. As for the older teenagers, 15 to 19, they constitute somewhat more than 10 per cent of the Jewish populations in Nassau-Suffolk, Westchester, and Queens.

For Jewish aged, the proportions are by far highest in the Bronx (near 34 per cent) and in Manhattan (slightly over 27 per cent); Brooklyn follows with 19 per cent.

In summary, it is evident that young children under five years of age and children between five and 14 constitute particularly large components of the total Jewish populations in the suburban areas, notably Westchester. In Nassau-Suffolk, where the proportion of the very young is not exceptionally high, children in the five-to-14 age category are a major segment of the total population.
TABLE 4. MANHATTAN: AGE DISTRIBUTION
(Per Cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male &amp; Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-14</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-up</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>41.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>58.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

TABLE 5. BROOKLYN: AGE DISTRIBUTION
(Per Cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male &amp; Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-14</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-up</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>47.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>52.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.
### TABLE 6. BRONX: AGE DISTRIBUTION
(Per Cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male &amp; Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-14</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-50</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-up</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**  
46.8 53.1 100.0

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

# Less than .05 of 1 per cent.

### TABLE 7. QUEENS: AGE DISTRIBUTION
(Per Cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male &amp; Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-14</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-up</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**  
47.8 52.1 100.0

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.
### TABLE 8. WESTCHESTER: AGE DISTRIBUTION
*(Per Cent)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male &amp; Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-14</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-up</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 49.0 51.0 100.0

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

### TABLE 9. NASSAU-SUFFOLK: AGE DISTRIBUTION
*(Per Cent)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male &amp; Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-14</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-up</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 46.1 53.8 100.0

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.
At the other extreme, the presence of Jewish aged primarily in the Bronx, but also in Manhattan, clearly exceeds that in all other boroughs/counties. More detailed age distributions appear in Tables 4–9.

**OCCUPATION**

*Employment Status*

The proportion of gainfully employed Jewish men and women (those 16 years old and over, in accordance with U.S. Census definition) is highest in Nassau-Suffolk and Westchester, followed in order by Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. The percentages range from a high of approximately 55 per cent to a low of 38 per cent (Table 10).

**TABLE 10. EMPLOYMENT STATUS, NEW YORK**

(Per Cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough/County</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Not Employed</td>
<td>Employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westchester</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nassau-Suffolk</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Some slight differences in proportions reported elsewhere may be accounted for by response inconsistencies; *viz.*, by persons temporarily unemployed reporting their regular employment, by retired reporting their erstwhile employment, and the like.

Under each category—Males, 16 and up; Females, 16 and up; Total—Employed plus Not Employed = 100 per cent.

*Including student, housewife, retired, unemployed, layoff, temporarily away from job.

These figures constitute the total of both men and women. The proportion of gainfully employed males is, of course, significantly higher than that of women; among the latter (as a subsequent table indicates) the largest number is in the housewife category. If we examine only the figures for men, the proportion of employed is some 82 per cent in Westchester, and 76 per cent in Nassau-Suffolk. Next in order are Manhattan, with some 72 per cent; Brooklyn, with 66 per cent, and the Bronx, with 52 per cent employed.

The percentage of women in the labor force follows a somewhat different pattern. It is of interest that, in spite of the suburban character of Nassau-Suffolk, it has the
highest proportion of gainfully employed Jewish women. However, breaking the previously established order, it is Manhattan (not Westchester) that follows, with 37 per cent of Jewish women in regular employment. In turn follow Queens (36 per cent), Westchester (31 per cent), the Bronx (26 per cent), and Brooklyn (25 per cent). The findings suggest, therefore, that Nassau-Suffolk has proportionately the highest percentage of wage earners of both sexes. The conventional pattern, with the male wage earner as the sole contributor to the family income, is most prevalent in Westchester. The Bronx shows the lowest proportion of gainfully employed, if both men and women are considered. Employment of women is lowest, by a slight margin, in Brooklyn.

For Jewish household heads (Table 11), the highest proportions of employed are found in Nassau-Suffolk, Westchester, and Queens, and the lowest in the Bronx. About 80 per cent of New York Area Jewish household heads are in the labor force.

**TABLE 11. LABOR FORCE STATUS, NEW YORK**

(Per Cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough/County</th>
<th>In Labor Force</th>
<th>Not In Labor Force</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan . . .</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn . . .</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx . . .</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens . . .</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westchester . . .</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nassau-Suffolk</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL . . .</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

Selected Nonemployed Populations

As one examines the reasons for nonemployment, significantly different conditions emerge in the several boroughs/counties (Table 12). For males, school attendance accounts for the most significant proportion of nonemployment in Nassau-Suffolk (17 per cent). This means, of course, that particularly students between the ages of 16 and 22 are a significant segment of the total Jewish population, and an important component of the nonemployed in Nassau-Suffolk. The male student percentage is also high in Westchester (11 per cent), and fairly high in Queens (10 per cent). Especially in Nassau-Suffolk and Westchester, the proportion of retired men is low—some 4 per cent. In Queens, the corresponding figure is 8 per cent. By far the highest proportion of retired males appears in the Bronx—close to 30 per cent.
TABLE 12. SELECTED NONEMPLOYED POPULATIONS, NEW YORK
(Per Cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough/County</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>16 Years of Age and Over</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westchester</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nassau-Suffolk</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For each borough/county total males, 16 years old and over = 100 per cent; total females, 16 years old and over = 100 per cent.

Female student percentages are substantial in the suburban counties, Westchester and Nassau-Suffolk, (14 and 11 per cent, respectively), and almost as high in the Bronx (10 per cent). The significance of proportions of the retired among Jewish women is not the same as that for men. In the Bronx, some 15 per cent fall into this category. The percentage of Jewish women who are housewives varies within a relatively narrow range, between some 40 and 50 per cent, falling just below the range (39 per cent) in Nassau-Suffolk and slightly above it (51 per cent) in Brooklyn. Thus on balance, four to five out of every ten Jewish women (16 years of age and older) are housewives.

Fred Massarik
Economic conditions in Canada during the year closely paralleled those in the United States. Inflation reached a peak of 12 per cent and seasonally adjusted unemployment rose to 5.5. The prime bank lending rate rose to the historic level of 11.4. The country was plagued by an increasing number of strikes as workers sought to keep pace with inflation.

The federal election held in July resulted in a smashing Liberal victory, which provided the party with an over-all majority. For the first time since 1926 a Liberal prime minister had returned with a majority, after suffering both reversal at the polls and defeat in the House of Commons. The party representations after the election stood at: Liberal 141; Progressive Conservative 95; New Democratic party 16; Social Credit 11.

The New Democratic party, which had held the balance of power, finally decided to end an 18-month alliance with the government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. It was caught between sharing power with an opposition government or being true to its Socialist principles. The federal budget became the issue over which the 29th parliament was dissolved.

The one-note anti-inflation campaign of the Progressive Conservative party on wage and price controls was rejected by the Canadian electorate, which more than anything else seemed to crave stability.

After 19 years of involvement in Vietnam as part of the International Control Commission, and then as a member of the International Commission of Control and Supervision, Canada withdrew. However, at the request of UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, Canada doubled its peace-keeping contingent on Cyprus to 950. There has been a Canadian force on Cyprus since 1964.

Trudeau became the first Canadian prime minister to be officially received in Paris in ten years. After his visit he stated, "It is probably too early to talk of a contractual relationship" between Canada and the European Economic Community.

There was consternation and anger among Canadians when India detonated a Hiroshima-size underground nuclear device. The plutonium for the bomb came from a small research reactor that Canada had given India in the late 1950s. In addition to the research reactor near Bombay, Canada had, in recent years, provided India with two major nuclear plants. As a result of India's action, all nuclear assistance to India was terminated, and Indian scientists working in Canada were asked to leave. Canada feared that India's action would create difficulties in its foreign relations with Pakistan, and possibly China.

At the World Food Conference in Rome, Canada pledged a million tons of food
grains annually for each of the following three years. However, in a not unexpected move the government announced that it was reconsidering its immigration policy which, in recent years, had brought an annual influx of over 200,000 immigrants. A Green Paper on immigration was issued in 1975 for public consideration.

The government of Quebec passed Bill 22, which fulfilled a long-standing promise to establish the primacy of French as the language of education and work in the province. At the heart of the measure was the determination of Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa to force the children of immigrants into French schools. In the past such children, with an eye to the wider opportunities that a knowledge of English afforded, had overwhelmingly opted for English-language education. Troubled by the fact that the birthrate among Quebeckers is now the lowest in Canada and by the constant cultural attrition, Quebec was anxious to preserve both the French language and culture. The ambiguities in the bill which, in its final version, contained a guarantee for English language schooling met with widespread and strident criticism.

An ongoing controversy between the government and the oil-producing provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan concerned rising oil prices. Should the two provinces that together produce 96 per cent of the country's oil be allowed to reap the benefits from higher prices as they are constitutionally entitled to do, or should Ottawa use its overriding powers to distribute part of the increased income to Quebec and the Atlantic provinces? A compromise reached in March on the distribution of revenue from the federal levy on exports of Canadian oil left the problem unsolved, although it did make for higher gasoline prices across Ontario and the western provinces.

During the year the government introduced a bill which would revoke the provisions of the Income Tax Act affecting Canadians who advertise in *Time Canada* and *Reader's Digest*. The present law allows advertisers to deduct from their taxable income as an ordinary business expense the cost of this advertising.

The government passed the Foreign Investment Review Act to regulate the $1.6 billion flowing into Canada each year. The real property currently held by foreign-controlled corporations was estimated at a book value in excess of $10 billion, about one-fourth of the total value of Canadian real-estate investments. In Ontario, a land transfer tax was instituted on property bought by non-Canadians. It was estimated that in Toronto alone, where $1 billion was spent in construction during 1974, up to one half of the city's commercial property development was either financed or developed by foreign capital.

In 1974 Canada was also troubled by increasing militancy from native Indians in quest of greater political and social rights; the problem of where to install gas and oil pipelines to the North; violence in big cities, and the high price of housing. Canadians also had to live with the defeat of their professional hockey team by the Russians in a series that was marked by poor officiating and equally poor sportsmanship.
JEWISH COMMUNITY

For the approximately 300,000 Jews of Canada, 1974 was a year of relative tranquility and progress, though not without anxieties and perturbations. Some noteworthy events were the 17th Triennial Assembly of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC); the International Colloquium on Judaism and Human Rights, held at McGill University; an encouraging start on the problem of national budgeting, and the proposal by the Ontario Minister of Education concerning tax support for private Jewish schools. Ongoing problems included the relationship of CJC to the growing power and assertiveness of Welfare Funds in major Canadian cities and the tensions in the Province of Quebec around the issues of language and education.

In the sweeping victory of the Liberal party in the July federal election, seven Jews were elected. Returned to office were: Herb Gray, Liberal (Windsor West); Barney Danson, Liberal (North York); David Orlikow, New Democratic party (NDP; Winnipeg North); Max Saltsman, NDP (Waterloo-Cambridge); and Jack Marshall, Progressive Conservative (Humber St. George's-St. Barbe), Newfoundland. Returned were, after his defeat in the last election, Robert Kaplan, Liberal (York Centre) and the first Jewish woman M.P., Sima Holt (Vancouver-Kingsway). A surprise defeat was that of David Lewis, NDP national party leader.

The appointment of Justice Bora Laskin as the first Jewish Chief Justice of Canada was widely hailed in the Jewish and general communities. A syndicated column of the Southam News Service referred to Laskin as "a firm believer that the Bill of Rights takes precedence over any other federal law which conflicted with its terms, and has said so in court judgments."

Demography

Much of the data on Canada's Jewish community, the seventh largest in the world, was obtained from the 1971 census and analyzed by Joseph A. Norland for CJC. Some of the information was released only in 1974. In 1971 the community numbered 296,945 Jews by ethnic origin, of whom 276,025, or 93 per cent, said their religion was also Jewish. (Canada is unique in identifying Jews by both religion and ethnicity.) Over 100,000 Jews, representing more than one-third of Canadian Jewry, have been admitted to the country since the end of the Second World War. Jews accounted for 1.28 per cent of the total population, close to the record high of 1.5 per cent in 1931. However, the growth rate of 8.5 per cent between 1961–1971 was considerably lower than the national rate of 18.3 per cent. Consistent increase in terms of actual numbers, but decrease in the rate, has been characteristic of the Jewish population since 1931. It has experienced the sharpest decrease in the proportion of children and the largest increase in the proportion of adults and aged persons. Persons over 65 accounted for 8 per cent of the Canadian population, but 11.5 per cent of the Jewish population. The median age of Jews was 33.8 years, the highest of all major ethnic groups. The national mean was 26.3 years.
Mean age at first marriage for Jewish males was 26.1; for females, 23.4. The national mean was 24.4 and 22, respectively. Ninety-three per cent of Jewish men and 96 per cent of Jewish women—notably more than the rest of the population—can expect to marry at some time in their lives.

As an ethnic group, 69.7 per cent of the Jews said English was their mother-tongue, and 3.8 per cent indicated French. There has been a steady decline of the percentage of Jews specifying Yiddish as their mother-tongue, from some 95 in 1931 to the present 16.8 (about 50,000), with the sharpest drop (39.5 per cent) between 1961–1971. A surprisingly high proportion of Jews were bilingual. Some 23 per cent spoke English and French, which was exceeded only by the French ethnic group of whom one-third spoke both languages. Only 13 per cent of all Canadians were bilingual.

Over 99 per cent of Jewish Canadians made their homes in urban areas; 95.7 per cent lived in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants. Of the total Jewish population, 92.4 per cent were concentrated in three provinces: Ontario had the largest community with 125,000 or 45.4 per cent; Quebec 110,900 (40.2 per cent), and Manitoba 18,800 (6.8 per cent). Almost 84 per cent of all Jews lived in Montreal (109,500), Toronto (103,700), and Winnipeg (18,300).

According to the Census Branch of Statistics Canada, the number of Jews in the Pacific Region, almost all residing in the Vancouver area, has increased by 20 per cent in three years, to some 12,000. This growth was due largely to migrants from other communities in North America, as well as emigrés from all over the world. Ten Russian families arrived in 1974, and many more were expected to settle there.

Michael Sheinert, executive director of the Co-ordinated Services to Jewish Elderly, indicated there were 11,000 Jewish elderly in Toronto—about 7 per cent of the total Jewish population—who were close to the poverty line of about $4,000 annual income.

**Jewish Education**

The newly-formed Reform all-day Leo Baeck School of Toronto, housed on the premises adjacent to Temple Emanu-El, appointed Morris Sorin, founder and head of the Agnon School of Cleveland, Ohio, as its director. The school, according to its executive administrator David Steinhauer, was to be “a model in the formation of liberal day schools.”

In a surprise move, the Council of North York, Toronto, passed a by-law requiring newly established private schools to have a minimum lot size of two acres “to assure proper access and exit areas.” Association of Jewish Day School Parents president Saul Koschitzky warned that, in view of soaring land prices, this requirement would prevent the establishment of new schools and the expansion of old ones—12 overcrowded schools, seven of which were on sites of less than two acres. The first Jewish school to be affected was the Bialik Hebrew Day School, which had spent $150,000 to purchase three adjacent lots only to discover that its future growth was threatened. At year’s end the by-law was under reconsideration.
The trustees of the North York Board of Education unanimously agreed to study the possibility of merging the general studies program in the public schools with that of the Jewish elementary and junior high day schools in the borough. This move would bring general-studies courses in Jewish schools under the jurisdiction of the public school board. The Toronto Board of Jewish Education has been attempting to obtain financial support for the Jewish day schools (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 337) to alleviate the double financial burden of public school taxes and tuition fees. The board hoped that, by September 1976, it would have control over the teachers, salaries, and the cost of books and supplies for the general studies program. Approximately 3,000 students were involved. Rabbi Irwin Witty, the board’s executive director, argued that such problems of integration as admissions policies, certification of staff, classroom size, and length of school day for general studies could be eased if one or two Jewish schools were permitted to create pilot projects that would simulate union between the Board of Jewish Education and the public school system.

Canadian Jewish Congress

The CJC plenary assembly, held in Toronto June 15–18, focused, among other things, on future leadership, the status of Yiddish, religious affairs, new community structures, problems of smaller communities, Jewish education, Israel, Soviet Jewry, and Jews in Arab countries. The assembly elected Sydney M. Harris president of the board of governors and Sol Kanee board chairman. A highlight of the sessions was the banquet tribute to Saul Hayes, who retired as CJC national executive vice president. He was succeeded by Alan Rose. The assembly dinner was addressed by Prime Minister Trudeau.

In 1974 progress was made on two major CJC problems: national budgeting and amalgamation with welfare funds in larger communities across the country. At a national budgeting conference in April, CJC president Sol Kanee advocated the appointment of a committee of experts known for their sense of justice and objectivity, whose function would be to recommend priorities. In his view, “the very nature of its influence should make for good housekeeping and a much more logical and more fair use of community funds.”

During the year the Jewish community of Winnipeg carried out a historic amalgamation of the local welfare fund with the Western Region of Congress, to establish the Winnipeg Community Council. This move presaged similar amalgamations in Toronto, Montreal, and possibly Vancouver. According to Donald Carr, member of CJC’s national executive, such amalgamations would not only benefit the local community, but would also strengthen Congress, regionally and nationally. Equally important, it would eliminate the “present divisiveness, inefficiency and waste—of finances and manpower—which exist in the relationship between the local communal organizations and Congress in the large cities.”

Despite scattered objections, it appeared at year’s end that the Toronto welfare fund and CJC would merge by December 1, 1975. Plans were for a joint committee
representing both organizations to carry out the restructuring program for the formation of the Toronto Jewish Congress, a name which has met with little resistance from welfare fund leaders. The merger would head off an often threatened move by the welfare fund to implement By-law 100, which would give it a structure similar to that of Congress and thus further undermine CJC power.

Quebec

In July CJC representatives appeared before the Commission on Education, Cultural Affairs and Communications of the Quebec National Assembly at a hearing of the Congress brief on Bill 22 (Official Language Act). Stating that the bill did not reflect the sentiments of the predominant majority of Quebec and appeared to deviate from the previously announced policy of the government, the brief recommended that:

a) Bill 22 be amended to state that French and English should be the official languages, but French the preeminent language of work and communication, in the Province of Quebec;

b) All parents should have freedom of choice in the language of instruction for their children;

c) The provisions introducing a francization program as the basis of business competition for government contracts could lead to favoritism, discrimination, and abuse of authority, and should therefore be eliminated;

d) A number of articles should be amended to protect the rights of all Quebec residents to express themselves in either language.

The brief further stated that the Quebec Jewish community did not share the government view that "a bill of this nature and containing the coercive measures that appear in some articles, is appropriate or indeed required at this stage of the history of our province."

A study of the Montreal Jewish community by Harold Waller of McGill University, which was published in the Canadian Jewish News in November, revealed "continuing jurisdictional disputes" of CJC with B'nai Brith, the Canadian Zionist Federation (CZF), and the Allied Jewish Community Services (AJCS). Said Waller: "The existence of these challenges to Congress' hegemony probably indicates a weakening of that organization, and the authority with which it speaks." He further found that AJCS, regarding itself as the most important expression of local community needs, has rejected the role of Congress as the community's dominant organization; that rivalry and competition between the two agencies will continue "until one or the other emerges as clearly dominant."

A perennial source of antagonism among Montreal Jewish groups has been the complex question of Jewish education. Unlike Toronto's Jewish schools, those in Montreal have not been supported by a central Jewish funding agency; each institution has always raised its monies through tuition fees and its own special campaigns. During the past six years, the Quebec government has generously subsidized the general curriculum segment of the program.
Now, however, the provincial government was insisting that Jewish schools become francophone if they desired further subventions (AJYB, 1974-75 [Vol. 75], pp. 321-22). While AJCS has been wary of assuming any financial obligation for Jewish education, which could amount to several million dollars annually, it did seek a greater voice in educational policy. CJC's role in education on the local and national levels has been limited to sponsoring a teachers' seminary.

After prolonged discussion, AJCS and CJC set up a Joint Committee on Education. CZF, claiming involvement in education based on the mandate proclaimed by its world movement, joined the committee, as did the Association of Jewish Day School Parents and the Hebrew Teachers Union. The divergent interests of these groups, which were compounded by jurisdictional disputes and personality clashes, inevitably led to controversy, and several months later AJCS withdrew from the committee.

At year's end, AJCS was striving to create a Central Jewish Education Bureau. Representatives from various sectors of the Jewish community, who met to discuss the idea of a Bureau, approved in principle; but delegates from the day schools feared that such a body, conceived and funded by AJCS, could eventually dictate how schools should be run and what their ideologies should be. They were not convinced that the financial aid received would be worth the risk. They also had reservations about the composition of a proposed steering committee.

In the light of these constant tensions, a merger like that proposed between CJC, Central Region, and the United Jewish Welfare Fund of Toronto was not likely to take place in the near future. Said CJC Eastern Region chairman Leon Teitelbaum: "If we can't resolve our differences on the subject of education, how can we even contemplate taking such a step? I was hopeful when I became chairman that we could work together better, but I must say that it is not going well at all." The advantages of such a merger, according to AJCS president Charles Bronfman, would be avoidance of duplication of efforts; a united, and therefore stronger, voice; elimination of competition; considerable savings in staff and administration costs. A merger, he stressed, would imply a new structure; but "in no way would it be a 'take-over.' "

Jewish-Christian Relations

The first prosecution under Canada's Hate Propaganda Act (AJYB, 1970 [Vol. 71], p. 356; 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 277) resulted in the acquittal of 30-year-old Armand Siksa of Toronto, a member of the Western Guard arrested on charges of having painted racist slogans on construction boarding. The judge of the provincial court found the evidence before him not sufficiently clear for conviction. Under the law, incitement to hatred against an identifiable group in public statements that might result in a breach of the peace was punishable by a maximum of two years in prison. Commenting on the acquittal, Ben Keyfetz, executive director of CJC Central Region, said that it in no way undermined the legislation; that its validity will be upheld in any applicable case.
Pierre Brisson, a Department of Manpower and Immigration official who in November 1973 had written a letter to the Cairo French-language daily *Le Devoir*, maintaining that Jewish capital controlled Canada's foreign policy which favored Israel, was dismissed from the civil service. The official reason was that the letter "contravenes public service regulations concerning the release of information by the public service as regards government communications."

A blatantly antisemitic advertisement was published in the March 1974 issue of the *United Church Observer* under the caption "He as God sitteth in the Temple of God." The paper's editor, Rev. A. C. Forrest, apologized, "We confess we didn't read it carefully or we would have rejected it on the grounds of taste." CJC spokesmen accused him of treating the entire matter "rather casually." The *Globe and Mail* of June 29, 1974, editorialized, "The *United Church Observer* recently published an advertisement over the name of an individual of a certain religious sect which attacked the right of the Jews, on the basis of race, to run Israel and went beyond that to attack Jews throughout the world. This is an ad which any publisher with a proper sense of taste would have rejected instantly. Unfortunately, the *Observer* has not had such a sense of taste for a long time."

In an address on "Israel, Jews and the Canadian Church Establishment," delivered at the CJC plenary session, Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut of Holy Blossom Temple, Toronto, assessed the shortcomings on the part of both Christians and Jews that impair the Christian-Jewish relationship. The churches, he said, failed "to confront their own theology and its implications," to be "alert to the persistence of antisemitism in North America," and to be "fully aware of what Israel means to the Jews." Defects on the part of the Jewish community, he continued, "are primarily traceable to a continued *galut* psychology, which makes us defensive and oversensitive, which tends to make us identify criticism of Israel with antisemitism, and which causes us to lump all Gentiles together as potential or actual enemies of Israel and the Jewish people."

**Human Rights Colloquium**

More than 70 judges, lawyers, academicians, political scientists, and human-rights specialists from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Mexico, and Israel attended the McGill colloquium on "Judaism and Human Rights" in Montreal on April 21-23, commemorating the 25th anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Sponsored by the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, the Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations, and the International Institute for Human Rights, the colloquium was intended to a) examine the significance of human rights in the Jewish tradition and experience; b) analyze the relationship between the development of human rights and major events and movements in Jewish history; c) contribute toward an understanding of the Jewish concern for human rights, both historically and contemporaneously; d) provide a
sound basis for the formulation of Jewish communal policies and programs in the field of human rights, and e) contribute toward an understanding of the nature, interpretation and justification of human rights, and to participate in the search for solutions of major human-rights problems in contemporary society.

Soviet Jewry

On his return home from a trip to Cuba in February, Soviet Communist party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev landed at Gander airport, Newfoundland, where he was met by a small delegation of Newfoundland Jews, which delivered a petition signed by 400 St. John's residents. It urged that exit visas be granted to Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel, and asked Brezhnev to intercede personally on behalf of Sylva Zalmanson. Canadian Minister of Regional Economic Expansion Don Jamieson, who headed the official reception group, supported this request. Following her release from Soviet imprisonment in August, Mrs. Zalmanson spent five days in Canada, speaking before large public meetings in Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, and Ottawa.

On October 6 in Montreal, some 3,000 persons attended a public rally and solidarity march to commemorate the first anniversary of the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war and to express solidarity with the Soviet Jews. Speakers at the rally were Menachem Begin and William Korey, director of the B'nai Brith UN office.

Israel and Zionism

A delegation of the Canada-Israel Committee (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 349) met in Ottawa, October 25, with Secretary of State for External Affairs Allan J. MacEachen on matters affecting Israel and, in particular, on Canada's abstention on the UN vote to extend an invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the debate on the Palestinian issue. The delegation's brief stated that the abstention was "in accord neither with Canada's fundamental policy on the Middle East nor with our general foreign policy objectives." CZF president Philip Givens described the meeting as "a frustrating experience." MacEachen's attitude, he said, was that Canada had not changed its position on the Middle East and was not prepared to prejudge the PLO issue. "We received a very polite hearing," Givens continued, "and the minister was most attentive to what we had to say. But we accomplished nothing." B'nai Brith District #22 president Boris Moroz expressed his organization's dissatisfaction with the meeting, stating that it will mobilize its membership to campaign against the government's abstention decision.

At an open air demonstration at City Hall in Toronto, more than 3,500 persons protested the UN decision to hear Yasir Arafat and to give recognition to the PLO. Toronto led all other major North American cities in per capita sales of Israel Bonds. According to figures released in 1974, its campaign total of $23,420,350 in cash raised represented slightly over 50 per cent of the total for Canada. The fifth annual UJA 22-mile walkathon held in May raised approximately $100,000.
At a Brotherhood Week dinner at the Beth Sholom synagogue, Archbishop Philip Pocock of Toronto advocated that Jerusalem remain the capital city of Israel.

Saul Hayes spoke about the relationship of the Canadian Jewish community with Israel to the 500 delegates assembled in Toronto in June at the CJC Triennial Convention. "We must not," he said, "be deterred from planning for the continuity of Canadian Jewish life. We must not be termed anti-Zionists if we criticize certain trends and policies of the State of Israel. I think it will be a bad day for Israel and for Jews in Canada if freedom of speech means only freedom to praise, the freedom to extol, but not freedom to condemn and freedom to criticize. In this sense, the aftermath of the Yom Kippur war has been a good, if terribly costly, catharsis."

In a synagogue lecture, Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut suggested that Canadian Jews were just beginning to emerge into political self-awareness. Until recently, he said, Jews had rejected year-long efforts to develop a lobbying office in Ottawa to counteract Arab propaganda as a dangerous move that might antagonize the government.

**Religion and Culture**

Ground was broken in Toronto for Canada's first Sephardi Center for the city's approximately 6,000 largely Spanish-speaking Sephardim.

Rabbi Benjamin Friedberg, 46, a native of Toronto who had been spiritual head of Ottawa's Agudath Israel synagogue, was selected to succeed Rabbi Stuart E. Rosenberg as senior rabbi of Toronto's Beth Tzedec Congregation. Rabbi Rosenberg was dismissed in January 1973, and subsequently brought damage suits totalling $4.5 million against the synagogue and some of its individual members, but, at the end of 1974, the case remained unresolved. The Rabbinical Assembly had, on several occasions, forbidden any rabbi to preach or teach from the Beth Tzedec pulpit until the dispute with Rabbi Rosenberg had been settled. Therefore, it voted at its annual convention in 1974 to expel Rabbi Friedman from its membership.

The Canadian Jewish Congress received a grant of $25,000 from the Department of the Secretary of State under its multicultural program for the purchase from Soviet libraries of an old Hebrew and Yiddish manuscript and book collection, which it presented to the National Library in Ottawa in August. It consisted of 100 items, among them rare works of liturgy, Bible and Kabbala; anthologies and selections from the Bible and the Talmud; biblical commentaries; prayer books; Haggadas, and a number of volumes of Hebrew and Yiddish literature. The National Library is the depository of microfilms of rare books and manuscripts from Russian sources, making its Judaica section an important source of materials for scholars, researchers, and students. The library, it was announced, established a permanent Saul Hayes Collection of Hebraic Microfilm.

The Canadian Foundation for Jewish Culture in Toronto awarded 15 graduate fellowships to pre-doctoral students and one grant-in-aid to a scholar in Jewish
studies, totaling $40,000, upon the recommendation of the foundation's academic review committee headed by Professor Lou Levine of the University of Toronto.

A collection of rare Sephardi manuscripts and texts from the 14th to the 19th centuries was presented to the University of Alberta library by the Harry R. Cohen Memorial Foundation. Rabbi Saul Aranov of Edmonton called it "a major contribution to the fields of Sephardic and Moroccan studies." York University library of Toronto received a grant of $25,000 from the Charles E. Merrill Trust for the establishment of a Judaica collection.

The William J. Shroder award for 1973 was presented to Winnipeg by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds at its general assembly, held in New Orleans in November, in recognition of "the special significance of the establishment of the Jewish Museum of Western Canada and its first exhibit, 'Journey into Our Heritage.' "

The Canadian Jewish Museum, funded by the family of the late Samuel Bronfman and housed in CJC's Bronfman House in Montreal, made progress in planning and organization. It will portray Canadian Jewish life from its earliest beginnings in the late 18th century to the present.

Publications

Multiculturalism program grants to CJC Central Region were for Dr. David Eisen's The Diary of a Medical Student, recording his years at the University of Toronto (1916-1922) and containing valuable information on Jewish life and activities at the time, and for Morley Torgov's A Good Place to Come From (Lester & Orpen), a volume of reminiscences about his youth in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, a small Jewish community.

Rabbi Plaut, in a project sponsored by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, published a volume on Genesis, containing the Hebrew text, a new translation, a brief commentary on the text, a discussion of the theme in a given section, and an anthology of "gleanings." Rabbi Gedalia Felder of Shomrai Shabbos Congregation of Toronto wrote Pri Yeshurun (Yesodei Yeshurun Publication Committee of Toronto), a commentary on the Tanya Rabati.

In Religion: Love or Hate (Balshon Printing and Offset Co.), Rabbi David Kirshenbaum eloquently wrote of antisemitism and Jewish-Christian relations throughout the ages. Life in a Religious Community by William Shaffir (Holt, Rinehart & Winston) is a provocative analysis of the Lubavitcher Hasidim in Montreal.

Leib Braverman's In Captivity, translated from the Yiddish by Isaac Halper, Musze Halper, and Carla Wolfe (Jewish Dialog, Summer 1974 issue) is a perceptive account of suffering in Nazi Europe. Chava Kwintz in I'm Still Living (Simon and Pierre) tells of her experiences as an adolescent under the Nazis in Poland and Germany.

Adele Weisman, in her novel Crackpot (McClelland and Stewart), related the adventures of a Jewish prostitute in Winnipeg a generation ago. In Orphans of the
Storm (Pitt), Harry Henig wrote his life story, a struggle to attain success over great adversity.


**Personalia**

The 1974 Stephen S. Wise award of the American Jewish Congress was presented in December to Charles R. Bronfman, “for inspiring leadership and dedication in improving the fabric of life for his fellow Canadians and his fellow Jews,” and to Edgar M. Bronfman “for distinguished achievement in fostering and enhancing human rights and the quality of life.” Judge Harold Lande received an award of recognition and appreciation from the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards for “distinguished service rendered to public education in the Province of Quebec.”

Lorry Greenberg was elected the first Jewish mayor of Ottawa, and Frank Dolcort became the first Jewish mayor of Orillia, Ontario. In Toronto, Melvin Lastman and Philip White were returned as mayors of North York and York, respectively. Barney Danson was appointed Canadian Minister of Urban Affairs.

Saul Hayes was reappointed Quebec regional chairman of the National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism. Maxwell Cohen, former dean of McGill University’s Law Faculty, was appointed chairman of the Canadian section of the International Joint Commission, which is concerned with water boundary problems involving the United States and Canada.

The Order of Canada, established by the Canadian government in 1967 as “an official method of bestowing recognition on worthy citizens,” was awarded to John Weinzweig, one of Canada’s leading composers who has been especially interested in Jewish music; Fred Mendel, a businessman of Saskatoon who has helped promote artistic endeavor; Alan Mills, a Montreal folksinger and actor; Harvey Harnick, a Toronto motion-picture executive; Harry Cohen, a Calgary businessman and civic leader, and Leon Katz, a physicist on the faculty of Saskatchewan university.

After 67 years of existence, the Toronto Zionist Council elected its first woman president, Helen Smolack, a long-time worker for many Jewish causes. Henrietta Chesnie was elected president of Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto, the first woman to hold this position in the temple’s history. Dorothy Reitman of Montreal was elected the new president of the National Council of Jewish Women of Canada.
Leonard Warner, 14, a ninth-grade student at the Associated Hebrew Day School of Toronto who participated in the World Jewish Bible Contest held in Jerusalem, became the new Bible champion of the world.

Rabbi M. Celniker was appointed director of the Jewish Public Library of Toronto, succeeding Rabbi Israel Frankel who retired. Stephen E. Berger was honored as The Man of the Quarter Century at a dinner sponsored by the United Jewish Appeal-Israel Special Fund. F. Gordon Brown was presented with the 1974 Man of the Year award at a testimonial dinner sponsored by the State of Israel Bonds Organization. Murray B. Koffler, well-known philanthropist and community leader, received the Human Relations award from the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews. Abe Silver, Toronto Hebraist and well-known collector of Judaica, was honored at the annual meeting of the Toronto chapter of the Canadian Friends of the Hebrew University, and was made an honorary fellow of the university.

During 1974 Canadian Jewry mourned the loss of Harry Wolfson (64), distinguished Toronto community leader; Julius Benjamin Jaffe (84) of Vancouver, who in 1958 received the Centennial Award as the “best Jewish citizen of Vancouver”; Ben Sadowski (80), well-known Toronto philanthropist; Meyer W. Gassner (67), Orthodox spokesman and community worker; Dr. Harry Stein (71), Vancouver educator; Bernard Geldsaler (83), movie executive; Dr. Otto Schneid (74), noted art historian, painter, and sculptor; Bernard Laufer (63), long-time president of Toronto branch of World Federation of Bergen-Belsen Associations and member of CJC national executive committee.

BERNARD BASKIN
Latin America

Argentina

Domestic Affairs

Most serious analysts agreed that Argentina was on the brink of a civil war in 1974. How terrorism and guerrilla activity affected the American community in Argentina, for example, was evidenced by the fact that whereas in mid-1973 there had been 1,000 students in the Lincoln School (under the auspices of the American Embassy), by the end of 1974 there were barely 300. The number of Americans living in Buenos Aires decreased from approximately 6,000 to some 1,500 in the same period.

The first major terrorist attack was a bloody raid on the army garrison in Azul (Province of Buenos Aires) on January 19. President Juan Domingo Perón could no longer dominate Argentine politics during the last months of his life, and since his death on the first day of July, the government admitted, over 170 violent political murders had taken place throughout the country. In November the government press secretary admitted to the Foreign Press Association that there were some 200,000 terrorists in the country. Said General Castro Sanchez:

The guerrillas have disfigured the face of Argentina like a monstrous cancer. Indiscriminate attacks, kidnappings, and the assassination of men, women, and children; civilians and military men; members of the security forces; workers and employers, citizens from all walks of life and social conditions, make up today’s reality.

In the view of the liberal Unión Cívica Radical party leader Ricardo Balbín, the guerrilla groups operating in the country were “elements in the service of imperialism,” and terrorism, which “comes from abroad” was a means of enslaving the country. Captain Humberto Viola was the tenth army officer to be assassinated since leaders of one of the outlawed Marxist Liberation Armed Forces vowed to kill 16 officers to avenge the deaths of a similar number of their comrades in a clash with the army in northern Catamarca in August. In the week of November 26, over 500 guerrilla suspects were arrested. In the last three months of the year, four tiny children were killed by the terrorists. Their threats and bombing attacks forced the resignation of 31 doctors from a hospital in Bariloche.
Montoneros and People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), were the main leftist, and the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) the main rightist, terrorist organizations. There were some smaller groups that appeared and disappeared. Most of the younger leftists in the Peronist movement were associated with the powerful Montoneros, one of whose leaders, Mario Firmenich, announced in September that his organization would go underground because "the government is no longer revolutionary." Such was the power of the terrorists that Firmenich and Norma Arrostito published an article in La Causa Peronista (which had been banned three times) explaining how former President Pedro Eugenio Aramburú had been murdered. Newspapers were forbidden to publish terrorist threats, and censorship was quite obvious.

Throughout the year, the universities were the scene of violence, demonstrations, strikes, and closings. In August Oscar Ivanissevich succeeded Jorge Taiana as minister of culture and education, an appointment the students fought, but to no avail. Ivanissevich stated that school dropouts were one of Argentina's most serious problems. Terrorist and guerrilla activity had become so rampant that the government declared a state of siege on November 6, which was still in effect at the close of the year.

In November the Argentine Episcopal Conference advanced the theory that "Argentina is suffering an endemic moral crisis" caused by unacceptable methods of repression; the trampling of individual rights; irresponsible dissemination of totalitarian and Marxist doctrines, and the rapid advance of statism.

In February the government, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and the General Economic Confederation (CGE, representing management) entered into a "social pact" devised to prevent inflationary tendencies by attempting to hold prices and wages at a constant. In the course of 1974, the pact slowly dissipated, until very little of it remained at year's end. The traditional May 1 mass gathering at Plaza de Mayo saw President Perón on the balcony of Government House addressing the many thousands of workers below. His strong criticism of leftist youth called forth repeated shouts against the government. Many analysts agreed this was a turning point in relations between the orthodox Peronists and the rebel leftist forces within the movement.

The nadir of Perón's popularity was reached on June 12, when, in an address to the nation carried on radio and TV he called for the massive support of the Argentine people in combating a "psychological campaign waged by negative Argentine elements which, in alliance with certain foreign interests, are attempting to annul Argentina's growth in economic, political, and social areas." Accusing what he called irresponsible minorities in business and labor of not complying with the social pact, Perón stated that he would rather not continue in office if he did not have the necessary popular support. This statement triggered quick response. Organized labor called for an immediate demonstration at Plaza de Mayo, and all factories and places of business were closed. Perón, evidently pleased with the turnout and reaction, decided to remain in power.
However, shortly thereafter, on July 1, Perón died of a cardiac collapse at the age of 78, and his wife and vice president, María Estela Martínez de Perón, was sworn in as the 38th president of the nation. Ten days of national mourning followed, with all activity at a virtual standstill. On July 29 CGT and CGE issued a declaration supporting the “continuity of national institutions, democracy, and the process of unity, reconstruction and liberation.” This statement, together with the loyalty of the commander-in-chief of the army, Lt. Gen. Leandro Anaya, secured Mrs. Perón’s succession. On August 6 president María Perón established throughout Buenos Aires “work groups” to which the public could bring their problems, complaints, and petitions and which thus could combat speculation, shortages of essential consumer goods, and even violence.

The first indication of the eventual government takeover of three privately run television stations in Buenos Aires had been a statement by Perón on May 28 that “TV is preponderantly a cultural medium and, as such, should be in the hands of the state.” (Argentina had a relatively high percentage of viewers: 15 TV sets per 100 inhabitants.) A little more than two months later, these stations, together with two others in the interior of the country, were officially taken over by the government. The government had announced the expiration of their operating licenses in October 1973. Although the government announced that it would also seize control of all private radio stations as well, this had not yet occurred at year’s end. At the same time a law was passed requiring 75 per cent of all musical compositions and performing artists on TV and radio to be of Argentine origin. This type of xenophobia was responsible for the inferior performances in 1974 at the Teatro Colón, which had previously been one of the world’s leading opera houses.

Economic Conditions

Two Jews had much to do with Argentine economic affairs during 1974. José Ber Gelbard was the minister of finance until he resigned on October 22; he was succeeded by Alfredo Gomez Morales. Julio Broner was president of CGE. Perhaps the most significant development was the extensive trade agreements with the Communist countries and Libya. In the automotive industry, the Argentine Ford, Chrysler, Fiat, and General Motors factories sold some $200 million worth of cars and trucks to Cuba. An open-end credit agreement was signed with Russia as a result of negotiations conducted by an Argentine trade mission headed by Gelbard, which visited Eastern Europe in May. Trade agreements in the amount of several hundred million dollars were signed with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania. The trade pact with Libya amounted to well over $100 million. Argentine economists were seeking loans in Europe to cover the payment of the interest ($500 million) on the foreign debt, now estimated at five-and-a half billion dollars. There was a positive trade balance of some $300,000 in 1974.

In August Gelbard announced that “inflation which was 80 per cent in May of 1973, had been reduced to 22.6 per cent, while minimum wages had increased by 75 per cent in the same period.” He also stated that, by the end of April, unemploy-
ment was 4.2 per cent, the lowest in many years. Most economists declared that the official government statistics were false; that real inflation at year's end was about 60 per cent (rather than the official 33.1 per cent).

One of Argentina's most grievous problems, according to Gomez Morales, was tax evasion, which, he said, "runs about 50 per cent. Six million people should file returns and yet only 1,674,000 are registered. Only 330,000 pay on time, and 100,000 pay in installments. Some 300,000 file no statements at all, and 570,000 send in returns claiming they are not liable to tax."

An important U.S. State Department mission arrived at the end of November to discuss food and fertilizer production, multi-nationals and their taxation, and oil production. (Argentina is 88 per cent self-sufficient in oil, but imports for the year amounted to $600 million.)

Argentina nationalized International Telephone and Telegraph, Siemens, Standard Electric, and Italo (a Swiss concern) during the last months of the year. The government also took over all retailing of gas under the management of the State Petroleum Company (YPF). Many American executives left the country as a result of terrorist warnings.

In spite of the social pact several very important, and violent, strikes took place. In August Córdoba was the scene of the largest one, that of 7,000 IKA-Renault workers of the automotive union (SMATA). The union's head, René Salamanca, advised the strikers, "Don't pay your debts, especially to Jews." He later denied that he intended any antisemitic slur, claiming he merely wanted to refer to small shopkeepers. In the same month, Agustin Tosco's light and power workers also struck in Córdoba. Both Salamanca and Tosco were left-wing Peronists who provoked the anger of the orthodox Peronist establishment. A 48-hour bus strike paralyzed Buenos Aires on November 28 and 29. The leaders of the union (ENTAP) were arrested.

As 1974 came to a close, a legislative commission was investigating government contracts with the new giant aluminum factory, ALUAR, where Gelbard and other Jews had major holdings, in response to repeated charges that the contracts were detrimental to Argentina's interests. Generally, prices were rising, industrialists were bitterly complaining of the lack of raw materials, and there was a great scarcity of consumer goods.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

*Demography*

With regard to population figures, Professor Lazaro Schallman, director of AMIA's cultural department, wrote in Mundo Israelita of March 16:

> it is shameful that for the past 10 or 15 years the same (population) figure has been used for the Jewish community of Argentina, as if no one is born or dies here. The arbitrariness of this figure dates from 1950, when certain self-
appointed "leaders" circulated the capricious version that the Argentine Jewish community had 500,000 people. This was challenged by Professor Yedidia Efron who said this number did not remotely represent the truth. His studies led to a total of 326,000 Jews at the end of 1948. . . Unfortunately, 500,000 has been the figure published for Argentina for the past 25 years. . . Recently we have been led to believe that the figure is 600,000. . . The DAIA Center of Social Studies is currently engaged in a scientific study of Jewish demography in Argentina.

However, by year's end, no report had as yet been issued by the Center of Social Studies; but this writer was informed that according to the findings of a demographic study by the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry, which was to appear shortly, Argentina's Jewish community numbered 300,000 (sic!) The vast majority of Jews continued to live in Greater Buenos Aires, with leading centers of Jewish population in the provinces, in order of importance, in: Rosario, Córdoba, Santa Fé, La Plata, Tucumán, Mendoza, and Bahía Blanca.

Communal Organizations

Writers, journalists, lecturers, and Jewish community leaders seemed to agree that in 1974 the crisis of Argentine Jewish life was more acute than ever before. The inroads by extremist left political organizations among Jewish youth was repeatedly decried. This tendency reached its zenith in the latter part of the year when Jewish youth painted on the walls and blackboards of many Jewish schools and organizations such slogans as, "For a Free Palestine," "Freedom for the Palestinians," and "Down with American Imperialistic Zionism."

The Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA), the central Ashkenazi organization, continued to be the largest Jewish organization in the country, with 53,486 members as of July. Other statistics offered by AMIA were: 70 per cent of the members paid dues of 1,000 old pesos a month, 29 per cent paid less, and one per cent paid more. Of all members, 38,266 were paid up to date; 5,200 owed back dues, and the rest either had not paid for years or could not be located. AMIA's budget for 1974 was 5.5 billion old pesos, or two per cent higher than in the previous year. For the first time in many years, the fiscal year 1973 ended with a credit balance of 400 million old pesos. The allocation for youth work was 90 million pesos.

In August AMIA celebrated its 80th anniversary, coinciding with the Ninth Congress of the Federación de Comunidades Israelitas (Wa'ad Ha-kehillot, founded in 1952) which united the 124 organized Jewish communities in the country. Of the communities in the interior, 70 per cent numbered between 50 to 70 families, or fewer. AMIA spent some 475 million pesos for social work in 1974, and 50 per cent of its entire budget on education. The Fondo de Ayuda Integral al Necesitado (FAIN) was a fund established during the year to modernize and to make more moneys available for social work. AMIA maintained four cemeteries—Liniers, Berezategui, Ciudadela, and Tablada—so that a large part of its funds derived from funerals. These totaled 2,585 in 1973. AMIA's 80th anniversary bulletin admitted
that “many important intellectuals and social figures are buried in non-Jewish cemeteries.”

Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews maintained separate clubs, synagogues, philanthropic agencies, cemeteries, and actions in support of Israel. DAIA (Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas) was the representative body of the leading Jewish organizations in Greater Buenos Aires and the provinces. Its main function was to be spokesman for the Jewish community before the federal and local governments, specifically regarding antisemitism, which was a much more serious problem in 1974 than in earlier years. DAIA periodically published Boletín Informativo, devoted to its antidefamation work, but contained also other articles of Jewish interest. It also continued to sponsor the Centro de Estudios Sociales (Center for Social Studies). The Organización Sionista Argentina (OSA) was the third of the chief institutions of the Argentine Jewish establishment.

Some 40 Jewish organizations existed in the federal capital; the most important were: Sociedad Hebraica Argentina (SHA), a sports and cultural center with its own golf and country club; Nautico Hacoah, a rowing and sports club in the Tigre; Club Atletico Sefarardi Argentino (CASA), the decade-old Sephardi athletic and sports club; OSFA (the Local WIZO); the Hospital Israelita Ezrah, which faced the most severe financial problems which at year’s end had not been resolved; the Instituto Judeo Argentino de Cultura e Información; the Latin American section of the World Jewish Congress; B’nai B’rith; Hogar Israelita Argentino para Ancianos y Ninos (a home for 700 orphans and aged people).

The Asociacion Comunidad Israelita Sefaradi de Buenos Aires (ACIS) consisted of Jews of Turkish and Balkan origin. Moroccan Jews maintained the Congregación Israelita Latina; the Asociación Israelita Sefaradi Argentina (AISA) united the Jews of Syrian-Lebanese origin. The Delegacion de Entidades Sefaraditas Argentinas (DESA) coordinated the Sephardi actions in support of Israel.

Communal Activities

Under the auspices of the Casa Argentina-Israel Tierra Santa (Argentine House in Israel) the leading Argentine folklorist Facundo Cabral made a film in Israel. The commemorations of the 31st anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, which took place at SHA, featured Pesach Burstein of Tel Aviv and the new Israeli Ambassador to Argentina, Ram Nirgad. In April a National Jewish Welfare Board delegation visited Argentina, as did Arnulf Pins, director of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. The Latin American Congress sponsored a memorial meeting in honor of the hundredth birthday of Stephen S. Wise. Father Carlos Cucchetti received the first Baron de Hirsch prize for his invaluable role in furthering Jewish-Christian dialogue. The 14th regional convention of Keren Kayyemet le-Yisrael was held in May; Shimon Ben Shemesh, world director of the institution, was present.

In June, OSA convened its territorial congress, but only a little more than half the delegates attended. This prompted OSA president Lazaro Rúbinson to say:
"There is not only a deficiency in our Zionism, but in our Judaism as well." Liberal Zionist Federation president Saul Patrich also deplored the absence of so many delegates, and spoke of the "monstrous ideological distortions in many sectors of Zionist youth, some of whom are not sure whether Zionism is a Jewish or a Palestinian liberation movement." Commenting editorially on the convention, the official Ahдут Ha'avodah press organ Mundo Israelita decried the absence of so many delegates as indication that "they had no interest in the topics under discussion."

Dr. José Liebermann, author and scientist, won the first prize of the Ministry of Culture and Education for his book, La Argentina contra el Desierto.

The Latin American Office of the American Jewish Committee, under the direction of Jacobo Kovadloff, sponsored five courses at the El Salvador Roman Catholic University's School of Oriental Studies. Rabbi Esteban Vehgazi and Professor Jaime Barylko were among the local lecturers; Jacobo Kovadloff was course coordinator. The Committee office sponsored various lecture series and seminars in Buenos Aires and elsewhere. It also cooperated in the organization of seminars and workshops promoted by several groups, and worked with the local Committees on Behalf of Soviet Jewry and the Jews in Arab Countries. Apart from issuing some publications, the AJC's Office took an active part in social research and in local interreligious activities.

Sheerit Ha-pleita, the organization of concentration camp survivors, headed by its president, José Moskovitz, sponsored many cultural affairs during the year, chief of which was the memorial service on the Day of the Holocaust and Heroism. The ninth regional convention of Horim, the organization of parents of students at Jewish schools, was held in July, as was the ninth Plenary Meeting of the Latin American Jewish Congress. AMIA gave a testimonial to Mark Turkow, the director of the Latin American section of the World Jewish Congress, who was born in Warsaw, but has been working in Buenos Aires since 1939. At the meeting of the Wa'ad Ha-kehillo in July, José Liebermann described the disintegration of many of the smaller communities in the interior. A serious discussion arose over the feasibility of uniting Wa'ad Ha-kehillo with DAIA to avoid a duplication of efforts. Mundo Israelita commented on the sparse attendance at the sessions.

In August the Argentine Friends of the Hebrew University gave the 1974 Scopus Prize for distinguished service to the Jewish community and to Israel to Mrs. Sara F. Singer. The Sephardi association Shevet Ahim of Rosario celebrated its 50th anniversary. At the ninth Congress of the Wa'ad Ha-kehillo in August, AMIA's president Jaime Rajchenberg stated there were 3,000 new students in the Jewish school system in 1974. He underscored that the increase of the number of Jewish children receiving a Jewish education must be a foremost goal of the community.

A serious division, marked by heated ideological debates, among Argentine Zionist youth in August resulted in two, rather than one, central organizations: the Confederación Juvenil Judeó-Argentina and the Federación Juvenil Sionista. At year's end there was no indication that the two groups would unite in the near future.
In September DAIA representatives met with Social Welfare Minister José López Rega and Minister of the Interior Alberto Rocamora to protest the rising tide of virulent antisemitism.

YIVO (Yiddish Scientific Organization) celebrated its traditional "YIVO Week" in September. In the same month AMIA sponsored its 27th annual Jewish Book Month, which resulted in the sale of 24,356 books. Of these, 2,274 were written in Yiddish, 4,739 in Hebrew, 15,817 in Spanish and 1,526 were religious books. The book fair was the occasion of dozens of cultural programs, recitals, and lectures, among the last those given by the Israeli-Rumanian writer Jacob Yakar. AMIA also sponsored a Jewish Cinema Club which met during the year.

The devotees of Yiddish theatre were able to see Each One Had 6 Wings, by the Israeli writer Chanoch Bartov, translated locally into Yiddish by Falik Catovski. Another popular play was Jasidiana, based on the Israeli musical Ish Chasid Haya, and produced in the SHA Theatre by the Keren Kayyemet le-Yisrael youth department.

In November FESELA, coordinating committee for Argentine Sephardi communities, met to discuss means of preventing assimilation.

Memorial services and meetings for the former Israeli president Zalman Shazar were held by many of Argentine Jewish organizations, but once again Mundo Israelita wanted to know in its edition of October 19 why so few people attended these gatherings.

In November, President María Estela Martínez de Perón, who had sent Rosh Ha-shanah greetings to the Jewish community, received a DAIA delegation, which presented her with a book of statements by her late husband on Israel and the Jews, entitled Peron and the Jewish People. The Latin American Jewish Congress gave a testimonial dinner to mark the 90th birthday of the late Argentine-Jewish writer, Alberto Gerchunoff, author of the Jewish Gauchos. Another dinner was given by the Friends of the Weizmann Institute to mark the 100th birthday of Chaim Weizmann. Israel Ambassador Nirgad proclaimed Weizmann Year on December 9 at a ceremony OSA sponsored at the SHA theatre. Two days later the 26th anniversary of the founding of the Argentine-Israeli Chamber of Commerce was celebrated.

Earlier, in November, OSA also arranged a program to mark the 27th anniversary of the United Nations proclamation of an independent Israel. José Allende and other important politicians attended. Unión Cívica Radical party (UCR) Congressman Antonio Troccoli condemned UNESCO for ousting Israel.

Education

AMIA's Wa'ad Ha-hinnukh administered the Jewish school system of Greater Buenos Aires. According to its president, Jaime Blanck, the number of Greater Buenos Aires schools and their enrollments as of the middle of June were as follows: 45 kindergartens with 4,086 students; 43 half-day and all-day primary schools with 8,411 students; 12 secondary schools and high-school level Yeshivot with 2,210
students. There were 326 teachers in the kindergartens, 900 in the primary schools and 155 in the secondary schools of Greater Buenos Aires.

Blanck indicated that in the interior of the country, 5,165 students attended 27 Jewish kindergartens, 25 primary schools, 6 secondary schools, and 8 institutions offering night courses, which together employed 387 teachers. In other words, 19,872 students attended Jewish schools throughout the Argentine Republic in 1974, and 1,768 teachers worked in the field of Jewish education. This meant, Blanck calculated, that some 10,000 families were sending their children to Jewish schools. These figures were exclusive of Midrasha Ha-Ivrit, directed by Rabbi Mordecai Edery (Conservative) with about 250 students (plus 40 studying in Israel), and the ORT school with some 850 students.

At a summer seminar given in Huerta Grande, Córdoba in January, the majority of teachers came from the Seminario de Moises Ville, Santa Fé. As a result of the severe inflation and lack of proper salaries, the Histadrut Ha-Morim called strikes in May. In August the Sholem Aleichem schools celebrated the 40th anniversary of their establishment in Argentina. At the same time the Jewish Agency's director of the department of education and culture for the Diaspora, Haim Finkielsztyn, met with the leaders of Wa'ad Ha-hinnukh to study means of intensifying Jewish education in Latin America. WZO president Pinchas Sapir offered a million dollars aid from Israel if the goal of doubling the number of Jewish students within five years were achieved.

In view of the fact that international Jewish money for Argentine Jewish education was scarcer, Keren Ha-hinnukh (Emergency Education Fund) was stepped up; but all indications point to a disappointing campaign. Wa'ad Ha-hinnukh Hammerkazi made an effort to raise the standard of Jewish education in the country by employing two Israeli experts in education, Professor Shlomo Perelmuter and Zeev Bari, who were to help in orientation and curriculum selection, as well as in teaching methods. The Instituto de Intercambio Cultural Argentino Israeli, sponsored by the Israel embassy, offered Hebrew courses to adolescents and adults. AMIA continued to subsidize the student dormitory Moshe Sharet in Buenos Aires for Jewish students from the provinces. Many synagogues and schools offered lecture series throughout the year and maintained their summer camp programs, the largest of which was Camp Ramah of the Conservative Comunidad Bet El.

Religion

Jewish religious life generally continued to be marked by apathy and empty synagogues. AMIA's rabbinate, which had jurisdiction over shehita, kashrut, milah, and gitin, was headed by David Kahana, with the assistance of Rabbis Shelomo Ben Hamu and Menachem Gordon. AMIA's kashrut department was headed by Rabbi Dov Kraschinsky. Five AMIA rabbis paid their respects to President Perón as he lay in state at the national Congress. In July many synagogues held memorial services and prayers to mark his death.
According to Rabbi Kahana, there were only 10 Orthodox rabbis in Argentina, and a total of 25 in all of South America. He thought it would be better for Jews to stay home than to attend "the theatre-like services in the synagogues of the modern rabbis."

In August a well-attended and picturesque dedication of the Marcos Guertzenstein yeshivah took place, with street dancing, a Torah procession accompanied by motorcycle police, and a police band. The school's rosh yeshivah was Rabbi Samuel Levin; Rabbis Josef Lebenson, Efraim Dines, Iehudah Abecasis, and Moises Mone deb were the members of the teaching staff. The students of the yeshivah, which was established with funds donated by the son of the late Rabbi Marcos Guertzenstein of Brazil, were of high-school age.

Temple Emanu-El, a Reform congregation, engaged Robert Graetz, a Reform rabbi who had previously served as spiritual leader of the Conservative ARI synagogue in Rio de Janeiro. Rabbi Graetz, also the Latin American director of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, was Argentinian and trained at Hebrew Union College.

In August the Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano (Conservative), the only university-level rabbinical seminary in Latin America, called a meeting of representatives of six Conservative communities and their rabbis: Lamroth Hakol, Nueva Comunidad Israelita, Leo Baeck synagogue, Bet Israel, Templo Shalom (Sephardi), and Comunidad Bet El, for the purpose of establishing a union of non-Orthodox synagogues. The rabbis who attended were Abraham Skorka (Lamroth Hakol), Hanns Harf (Nueva Comunidad Israelita), Reuben Nisenbom (Leo Baeck synagogue and Bet Israel), Mordecai Edery and Marshall T. Meyer (both of Comunidad Bet El and the Seminario). The more than one hundred participants were addressed by Israel Ambassador Nirgad and Haim Avni of the Hebrew University, who had been visiting professor at the Seminario. The six synagogues, representing some 3,000 families, planned to cooperate in youth work, education, synagogue planning, publications, and other projects. A month later, Leo Baeck synagogue and Bet Israel merged under Rabbi Nisenbom's leadership to form B'nei Tikva. These communities had joint services at the Comunidad Bet El to kindle the last Hanukkah candle.

Seminario president Rafael Zuchowicki indicated that graduates of his school were now serving communities in Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Chile, and Argentina. In 1974 Comunidad Bet El opened a day school, the first Conservative one in South America.

**Press and Publications**

The rise in the price of paper (150 per cent in one year) and newsprint caused serious problems for the book industry and newspapers. The impact of the steep price rise, and, more importantly, the lack of interest on the part of the Jewish community, was responsible for the small number of books on Jewish subjects published during the year.

Salomon Suskovich, editor, celebrated 25 years (78 numbers) of publishing *Davka*, the only Yiddish language journal of philosophy, which appeared regularly under the auspices of the World Jewish Congress. The Latin American Jewish Congress continued publication of the series on great personalities and events in Jewish history in its popular Jewish Library. At the end of the year, Editorial Paidos, together with the Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano and under the supervision of Rabbi Marshall T. Meyer, published in two volumes Edward Flannery's *Anguish of the Jews*, under the Spanish title *Veintitres Siglos de Antisemitismo*.

*Mundo Israelita*, weekly organ of the Mapai party, completed the 51st year of publication. The only remaining Yiddish daily, *Di Presse*, was reported to have serious financial problems. The German-Spanish weekly *Jüdisches Wochenblatt* continued to appear, as did the Mapam fortnightly *Nueva Siión*, and the Spanish fortnightly *La Luz*. The World Council of Synagogues and the Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano continued the publication of its Spanish-language quarterly *Majshavot*, devoted to modern Jewish thought and theology. The publication of the literary magazine, *Davar*, issued by the Sociedad Hebraica Argentina, was resumed.

**Zionism and Relations with Israel**

Ram Nirgad, succeeding Eliezer Doron as Israel ambassador, presented his credentials to President Domingo Juan Perón in February in a meeting that was reported to have been most cordial.

The Argentine Jewish community, shocked at the news of the Ma'alot massacre, brought out more than 10,000 demonstrators filling three city blocks, who marched from the center of Buenos Aires to the Israeli embassy. All Jewish business was suspended and stores were closed during the hours of the demonstration; memorial services were held in the leading synagogues.

The 26th anniversary of Israel's independence was celebrated by all active Jewish organizations, the principal ceremony taking place at the Coliseo Theater, with the
participation of Ambassador Nirgad, Israel's Minister of Tourism Moshe Kol, and General Uzi Narkiss.

Aliyah month was observed from April 21 to May 21, with a large number of lectures and programs throughout Argentina (250 according to OSA). But despite the extraordinarily unsettling political, economic, and social conditions in the country, there was no marked increase in aliyah. According to the Buenos Aires office of the Jewish Agency, close to 2,000 Argentine Jewish youth visited Israel during the year to work as volunteers or as part of various youth programs.

Argentina voted for Arafat's presence in the United Nations; but, in November, Argentine authors Jorge Luis Borges and Ernesto Sabato signed the declaration of French intellectuals headed by Jean Paul Sartre protesting the anti-Israeli action of UNESCO (p. 158). The writer Victoria Ocampo cabled her protest to the UNESCO's director general. Practically the entire Argentine liberal press sided with Israel in this connection. AMIA, DAIA, and OSA denounced Argentina's vote on the Palestine issue in the General Assembly in a paid advertisement that appeared in all the leading newspapers.

The trade balance between Argentina and Israel was strongly in favor of Argentina. The last available figures, for 1973, indicated that Israeli import of Argentine goods totalled $44 million, while Argentina bought only $1 million of Israeli goods.

Antisemitism

The major crisis confronting Argentine Jewish life in 1974 was a rise in apathy, disinterest, and assimilation. At the same time, there was an upsurge of virulent anti-Zionism and antisemitism unequalled for many, many years. Evaluating the situation, Jacobo Kovadloff stated in June that "Latin American Jews are increasingly more concerned with the rise of antisemitism on the continent." DAIA protested against a TV drama which presented a most degrading portrait of Jewish life; in February the official government TV channel produced a violently anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist program, "Correspondents Debate," in which language equal to any scathing attack on Jews ever heard was used. After forceful protests by the Jewish press and DAIA, the program was finally withdrawn.

In February, following an Argentine trade mission to Libya and the conclusion of commercial, scientific, cultural, and technological agreements between the two countries, Minister of Social Welfare José Lopez Rega emphasized Perón's ideological identification with Qaddafi regarding the nations of the Third World. He also announced the creation of an Islamic center, and the construction of a mosque in Buenos Aires. (Saudi Arabia's King Faisal contributed $100,000 for the building). Lopez Rega subsequently (February 14) invited a large group of diplomats, governors, military personalities, priests, professionals, businessmen, all of Arab origin, to the presidential residence to explain that the Argentine mission had come to Tripoli "under unfavorable conditions due to the erroneous opinion the Arabs had of Argentina's position," and that things had been made still more difficult by cables.
dispatched to Libya by "Argentine figures of Jewish origin." (The Minister of Finance at the time had been José Ber Gelbard, a Jew.) A Libyan mission paid a return visit to Argentina in March, when a press conference was given by the Peronist Revolutionary Legion at the Peronist party headquarters. It released the following statement: "We must be members of the Third World, whose bases are Argentina and Libya. We clearly are against Free Masonry, Zionism, and international societies. We must immediately abandon all ties with Israel."

Higher courses in Arab culture, sponsored by the department of education and culture of the city of Buenos Aires, were instituted, and scholarships offered to nationals of Syria, Libya, Algeria, Egypt, and Lebanon. The Cinema Committee of the Third World showed films from Lebanon and Syria; one of them, entitled *Palestine, Another Vietnam*, was made available under the auspices of the University of Buenos Aires.

As Resnizky explained to a plenary session of DAIA in March, Arab strategy was as follows:

1) To persuade the public that the Arabs and Latin Americans are united by a common struggle against American imperialism;
2) To portray Jews as the enemies of the countries in which they live, and thus isolate them from their fellow citizens;
3) To separate Jewish communities from Israel and other Jewish communities around the world by means of propaganda and terror.

In April a memorial mass was celebrated in a local church in memory of Monseigneur Josef Tiso, a condemned Nazi war criminal who had been executed. Among participating groups were the World Congregation of Slovaks, the Slovakian-Argentine Association, and the Argentine Friends of Free Slovakia. Posters also appeared in Buenos Aires announcing a special mass to commemorate the 29th anniversary of Adolf Hitler's suicide. However, the church's priests indicated that no such mass was ever planned, and indeed, none took place.

The favorite term used by the extreme right, particularly some of Perón's followers, was "synarchy," a conspiratorial concept of history expressing belief that an international conspiracy threatened the popular government of Argentina. This word was employed in many antisemitic and anti-Israel articles in the rightist press. Some of the many anti-Israel and antisemitic newspapers were: *Cabildo, Semana Politica, Consigna Nacional, La Prensa Comprometida, Enlace, Patria Peronista, Mundo Arabe, El Descamisado, Militancia, Realidad Nacional*.

In October, at a meeting at which the future return of the remains of General Juan Manuel de Rosas, the acknowledged 19th century Argentine dictator who had died in exile, was announced, the call went up: "Mazorca, Mazorca, Judios a la horca!" a rhyme which meant loosely: "Mazorca (name of Rosas' corps of executioners) Jews to the scaffold!" The meeting was attended not only by the Administration, senators, and outstanding people, but also by the acting president of the Senate, José Allende, the second man in line of succession to the presidency. Representatives of such antisemitic groups as Alianza Libertadora Nacionalista, Tacuara, Concen-
Argentina / 275

The University of Buenos Aires was a festering hub of antisemitism. Its rector, Alberto Eduardo Ottalagano, stated on November 15:

"The liberal parties will have to split apart because Justicialism (Peronism) is the temporal essence of Catholicism and that is how we shall return to the old way: With Christ or against Christ... We Argentine Catholics possess the truth and reason, and the others have neither truth nor reason, so we will treat them accordingly (sic!)."

Ottalagano also stated, "We are here to build the world that Luther destroyed." He and Sanchez Abelanda had been allies of the arch antisemitic Argentine priest, Julio Meinville, who died some years ago.

One of Buenos Aires' most widely read dailies, Clarín, published in its November issue a paid advertisement signed by Argentine Arab youth which demanded the liberation of Palestine. One of Brazil's foremost journalists, Federico Branco, had a long interview with the anonymous leader of the extreme right Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA). In the leading Brazilian newspaper O Estado do São Paulo, Branco quoted him as saying that Argentina's enemies were easily identified as the Jews. On the occasion of the interview, Branco was handed a copy of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

At an important, well-attended meeting in December of the Argentine Building Workers Union (UOCRA), Ottalagano gave another important speech in which he stated:

"United with the army and the security forces, united with the people and with the idea of the Roman Catholic Church, destiny will be ours... This country rests on three fundamental things: first, the Holy Catholic Church; second, the Armed Forces, and above all, the people united in their trade unions in the CGT and politically in the Justicialist party."

El Cronista Comercial's report on the gathering stated:

"The meeting was held amid great enthusiasms, and the speeches were frequently interrupted by shouts of approval and applause. At the end, a group of young people left singing in chorus "en la patria de Perón, ni judío ni mason." [In Perón's fatherland neither Jews nor Masons.] Many joined in chanting the slogan, and in their center was the dean of philosophy, Raul Sanchez Abelenda.

A December 27 announcement stated that Alberto Eduardo Ottalagano, described by the Buenos Aires Herald as the "controversial rector," was to be replaced as of January 1, 1975, and that several deans appointed by him tendered their resignations. The Herald further commented that his successor was expected to try to reduce the tension at the university produced by Ottalagano's right-wing administration.

Perhaps the most virulent example of violent antisemitic activities took place at the end of December, when the police chief of the Rio Negro Province, Benigno Mario Ardanaz, ordered the publication of the Supplement to the Order of the Day
No. 5134, which blamed the "great Jewish Sanhedrin" of trying to control Argentina and the world. The Jews were accused of responsibility for Communism, Marxism, and collaboration with Free Masonry to achieve world domination. The chief asked the population to fight the Jews in every way possible; not to buy their products or have any traffic with them. According to the first press reports, he was said to have immediately been removed from his post by the Minister of the Interior Alberto Rocamora. It was learned later that he had been merely reprimanded. He, himself, published a very lukewarm retraction.

**Personalia**

Berta Gerchunoff, former president of OSFA and active in Latin American women's Zionist affairs, died in Buenos Aires in January, at the age of 85. David Kraiselburd, since 1962 editor of El Dia in La Plata, was kidnapped and murdered in June, at the age of 62. Rebeca Soifer, Argentine Jewish pianist who won the Buenos Aires Arts prize in 1961, died in Buenos Aires in July, at the age of 40. Simcha Schwartz, Jewish sculptor whose major work was the memorial at Tablada cemetery for the six million who died in the Holocaust, died in Buenos Aires in August, at the age of 70. Emilio Gutkin, former president of AMIA and Wa'ad Ha-kehillot, Argentine representative to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, member of the WJC executive committee, died in Kibbutz Or Ha-ner, Israel, in October, at the age of 86. Dora Spanier, former president of the Argentine Jewish Home for Children and the Aged, died in Buenos Aires in November, at the age of 58.

**Naomi F. Meyer**
GENERAL ERNESTO GEISEL succeeded Emilio Garrastazu Médici in March as Brazil's president, the first non-Catholic in the country's history to hold this office. He is of German descent, and the son of a pastor. With an estimated population of 110 million, Brazil ranks in size only behind the United States of America in the Western world. It continued to show vigorous economic growth, as indicated by a 10 per cent rise in the 1974 GNP. An uninterrupted petroleum supply was therefore an absolute necessity for economic stability and further development.

At the same time, the economy urgently required new capital investment, and petrodollars, concentrated in Arab hands, were crucial for current and possible future needs. For these reasons the new government's foreign policy of "responsible pragmatism" looked for a new and constructive relationship with the Arab countries, one that could not remain without consequences for the openly sympathetic attitude of former Brazilian governments toward the State of Israel. This position, authorities indicated, was not expected to change substantially even if recently discovered oil fields should transform Brazil from an oil-importing to an oil-exporting country. For government policy reflected not only the current need to secure the indispensable oil supply, but also the prospect of a new market in the Arab world and eventual Arab investment of petrodollars in Brazil.

Diplomatic circles supported the view that there has been no basic change in the Brazilian position toward the countries of the Middle East; only a shift of emphasis. Brazil, in fact, has supported UN Resolution No. 242 since 1967. Clearly, pro-Arab sympathy replaced the earlier policy of "evenhandedness" as a result of the pressures of the oil crisis and the promises by the numerous visiting Arab delegations of investments in exchange for a friendly government stand toward the Arabs in their conflict with Israel. Still, Brazil did not vote for the resolution, passed by the UN General Assembly in October, inviting the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in debate on the issue of Palestine because it was "not sufficiently clear" on Israel's right to exist. This was indicative of the meaning of "responsible" within the context of Brazil's policy of "responsible pragmatism."

Whether the change was one of policy or accent, the fact is that Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Omar Saqqaf could, with immunity, make the following remarks in September, on the occasion of a visit to the Brazil Foreign office in response to greetings by Foreign Minister Azeredo da Silveira:

It would have been possible for us in Saudi Arabia and for our Arab brothers to attain high levels of development had there not arisen in human history a unique case of aggression, occupation, and expulsion of the native population of a country. I mean, of course, racist Israeli Zionism's aggression and occupation of
Palestine, and the expulsion of its native people, both Moslem and Christian. Until recent years, international Zionism was able to deceive world public opinion by utter distortion of the facts so that it accepted wrong for right, and right for wrong. But, thanks be to God, today everyone accepts the legitimacy of the Arab cause; the truth that the Arabs desire nothing but peace, peace based on justice and on the right of nation.

The incident could not be a matter of indifference to the Jewish community. Benno Milnitzky, president of the Confederation of Brazilian Jewish Organizations, São Paulo Federation president Marcos Firer, and Rio de Janeiro Federation president Eliezer Burlá asked for, and were granted, an interview with General Golbery do Couto e Silva, head of the presidency’s department of civilian affairs and a close collaborator of Geisel. They were assured of the government’s “absolute respect for the hard-working Jewish community” and of the “high esteem it enjoys for its valuable contribution to the progress and welfare of the nation.” But the community was in no way protected against the malicious charge that it supported “international Zionism” and “deceived world public opinion.”

**Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism**

Existing antisemitic and anti-Zionist tendencies must be seen against this general background. Antisemitism as such has been limited to some extremist right-wing circles of the former “Integralist” movement (AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 415) and ultrareactionary Catholics. There has been little anti-Jewish discrimination in the professions, or in the diplomatic corps and the armed forces. But certain popular prejudices remained deep-rooted, even in the Portuguese language. For example, the *Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa*, a widely used desk dictionary, defines *judeu* (Jew) also as bad man, miser, profiteer, and cynic; and the verb *judiar* as to ridicule, tease, torment.

These old prejudices, as well as the canards of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which was anonymously published in Brazil, were now being exploited in an anti-Zionist propaganda campaign. Thus, one of the largest real estate brokers inserted in the November 3 issue of the highly respected newspaper, *O Estado de São Paulo*, an advertisement showing what obviously was a young Jew seated on top of a luxury car who suggested to prospective customers that real estate deals were meant to make profit not only for Jews—the Rothschilds and Kohns—who love money as much as prayer, but also for people with Portuguese, Italian or Japanese names; that the firm had 385 “rabbis” (brokers), who were at the disposal of anyone wishing to consult them. The only thing that was more profitable than real estate and beyond the reach of Jews was oil—because it belonged to the Arabs.

The advertisement had strong repercussions in Jewish circles. Councillor David Roysen launched a formal protest in São Paulo’s city council. The president of the Federation wrote a letter to the advertiser expressing Jewish resentment. The broker’s reply gave assurances that any offense to the Jewish community had been unintentional; that many community members were highly esteemed customers and friends of long standing.
When Shimon Peres was Israel's minister of information he said in an interview with the *Jerusalem Post* that the Emirate of Abu Dahbi bought the very important Brazilian newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* for $20 million—which would have been in violation of Brazilian law limiting the ownership of the country's newspapers to Brazilians. Nascimento Britto, the paper's director, said it was an outrage for a minister of information to make so irresponsible and false a statement. The fact remained, however, that the *Jornal* fired all its important Jewish staff members, including Alberto Dines, its editor-in-chief and a staunch defender of Israel, and Nahum Sirotzky, its special correspondent in Israel.

Toward year's end, the Lebanese press announced that the Lebanese government had blacklisted all firms owned by the Klabin group for not complying with the Arab boycott against Israel. Israel Klabin made a public protest against what he called intolerable interference in the affairs of a foreign country, for Brazilian enterprises were subject only to Brazilian law. The government declared it had received no official communication from Lebanon about this matter. It was generally believed that the Lebanese action was not really meant to intimidate Klabin—as the most powerful Jewish financier in Brazil his position was unassailable—but the less important enterprises dealing with Israel.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

*Communal Relations*

On the whole, relations between Jews and non-Jews continued to be good. On many occasions Brazilian authorities and distinguished Brazilian personalities participated in Jewish events and commemorations related to Israel, and Jews and representatives of the State of Israel participated in national celebrations.

Just as in preceding years, the president of Brazil sent his good wishes to the Jewish community on the occasion of the High Holy Days. The governors of the states of São Paulo and Guanabara (Rio de Janeiro), as well as mayors, deputies, and city councillors visited synagogues to show their solidarity with their Jewish fellow-citizens.

Health Minister Mario Machado de Lemos participated in the opening of a surgery department at São Paulo's Albert Einstein Hospital. An outstanding manifestation of solidarity with Brazilian Jews was the response of university circles in Recife to the efforts of a psychiatrist, Dr. Sara Erlich, to establish a Brazil-Israel foundation which would foster high-level cultural relations between the two countries. Scientists of Arab descent, too, wholeheartedly responded to her appeal.

Each year on *Yom ha-Azma'ut* (Israel's Independence Day), receptions were given by the Israeli consuls in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro for Brazilian officials and personalities. Many distinguished scholars came to the Casa de Cultura de Israel to hear Professor Abel S. Schejter of Tel Aviv university explain the position
of Israeli intellectuals on Middle East problems. Governor Laudo Natel of São Paulo state, and the president of the São Paulo city council, João Brasil Vita, came to the opening of the first Israel Fair to be held in Brazil.

Brazilian Jews similarly shared in national celebrations. The First Army, stationed in Rio de Janeiro, invited Rabbi Henrique Lemle and Commander Benjamin Tissenboim of the Ashkenazi Associação Religiosa Israelita (ARI) to attend the commemoration of the 1935 Socialist land reform revolt. The Jewish club A Hebrew in Rio held a luncheon for government officials on April 21, a national holiday honoring Tiradentes, martyr of the Brazilian struggle for independence.

The Liga Feminina Israelita, Brazilian branch of the International Council of Jewish Women, actively participated in social work in Rio, particularly as it related to the Benjamin Constant Institute for the Blind. The Ashkenazi São Paulo Congregação Israelita Paulista made its facilities available for classes conducted by Mobral (Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização), the nationwide, officially sponsored campaign to wipe out illiteracy. (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 330).

Israeli technological assistance to Brazil continued. It was based on an agreement between the two countries according to which Israel has made available its know-how in many areas ranging from agriculture to electronics.

The contribution of Brazil's Jews to the country's art, science, and technology has been very considerable—high above their proportion in the population. To cite but a few events for 1974: Isac Karabtchevsky represented Brazilian music as guest conductor of the symphony orchestras of San Diego (Cal.) and Nuremberg (Germany). When the Ballet de Paris performed in Rio, Henrique Morelenbaum conducted the orchestra. Jewish artists Rogerio Steinberg, Ronaldo Palatnik, Miriam Danovski, and many others were chosen to exhibit their works at the Museum for Modern Art in Rio. Hundreds of paintings by Walter Levy, the surrealist artist, were chosen for an exposition of 35 years of creative art in Brazil.

Professor Henrique Rattner of São Paulo organized for Escola de Administração de Empresas da Fundação Getulio Vargas (Business Administration School of the Getulio Vargas Foundation), the leading school in the field, a seminar on international politics with the participation of such internationally known authorities as Professors Hans W. Singer of Sussex University, Great Britain; Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University; Morton A. Kaplan of the University of Chicago, and Marcos Kaplan of Torquato di Tella Institute, Buenos Aires. Dr. Bernardo Akerman was coordinator of the medical and social aspects of the First International Congress on the Use of Drugs by University Students, held under the joint auspices of the Union Internationale d'Hygiène et de Médicine Scolaire et Universitaire and São Paulo university.

Austrian-born Walter Schwaetzer was named honorary citizen of Rio de Janeiro in recognition of his contributions to the country: equipping the country's airlines with radio stations and for many years directing the maintenance of radar installations on Brazilian warships.
Ecumenism

Interfaith activities have been growing in the large cities. It has become quite an established practice for graduation ceremonies to include ecumenical services in which priests, pastors, and rabbis join. The rabbis of liberal congregations generally responded positively to requests for such participation, and were active in the São Paulo Christian-Jewish Fraternity Council under the co-presidency of Father Humberto Porto and Hugo Schlesinger.

As an introduction to Judaism, a week's course for Catholic priests was organized in September at Zion College by Father Humberto Porto and Professor Fernando Pugliese, under the aegis of Paulo Cardinal Arns, Archbishop of São Paulo. The closing event of this program was participation in Sabbath services at Congregação Israelita Paulista, conducted by Rabbi Fritz Pinkuss. Cardinal Arns, who addressed the congregation from the pulpit, identified himself as "Paul of the Tribe of Benjamin, your brother." Some two weeks earlier, he had invited Rabbi Pinkuss to participate in an ecumenical celebration of the 150th anniversary of German immigration to Brazil.

Rabbi Henry I. Sobel, also a frequent participant in ecumenical graduation services, asked a priest and a pastor to come to a Seder at the Congregação Israelita Paulista. At his suggestion, they spoke about the Last Supper stressing the importance of the Seder for the Gospels. A roundtable discussion, "Religious Education in the Era of Technology," was organized at the Congregação Israelita Paulista by this author. Participants included Rabbi Sobel, Father Porto and Sister Benjamin, coordinator of religious education at Santa Maria College.

Religious Life

On the whole, observance of halakhah has not been important to young Brazilian Jews, who, for the most part had academic training. Parents, however, have been making an effort to give their children some Jewish education which would keep them within the Jewish fold.

One of the Orthodox groups in Brazil, the Habad movement, is Lubavitch in orientation. American-educated Rabbi Shabsi Alpern left his post as director of the Orthodox Institute for Jewish Education (Bet Hinnukh) to dedicate himself to the hassidic Bet Habad. Its headquarters has a small synagogue, study rooms and the rabbi's office where he receives those seeking spiritual guidance. The rabbi would call the Lubavitcher rebbe in New York if he needs advice in very difficult cases. Fifteen weekly study groups and daily religious services, usually conducted by young people, are available. Anyone can call Bet Habad between ten o'clock in the evening and nine in the morning and receive a spiritual message. Bet Habad also publishes a monthly bulletin. Upon request, Rabbi Alpern would travel to smaller towns to lecture and give guidance. Everything is done to promote Jewish religious practice. Habad youth made 9,000 Hanukkah candles for distribution to the public. All these services are free of charge.
Non-Orthodox congregations like Associação Religiosa Israelita in Rio and Congregação Israelita Paulista in São Paulo attempt to adapt Judaism to the needs of modern man. Services and sermons are made as attractive as possible; though prayers are recited in Hebrew. The result is that Sabbath eve services in these synagogues drew larger crowds than others, with younger people well represented. At least once a month services are being conducted entirely by youths.

There is an acute shortage of rabbis in the provinces. In 1974 High Holy Day services for the 70 Jewish families in the country’s capital, Brasília, were conducted by students of the Petropolis Yeshiva near Rio de Janeiro. Even as large a community as that of Porto Alegre has no rabbis. Rabbi Pinkuss supplied it with prepared sermons, and a father-and-son team to act as cantors. For the first time, the Curitiba community had its own rabbi for the High Holy Days—David Benhayon, a graduate of Tanger Seminary in Rio de Janeiro. Rabbi Robert Graetz of ARI moved to Buenos Aires and was succeeded by Robert Baruch, a young American rabbi.

A growing number of Jewish clubs and community centers throughout the country have instituted High Holy Day services. The famous American cantor Sidor Belarski has been coming to São Paulo every year to conduct services for Hebraica’s 7,500 member families. He was joined in 1974 by two young Orthodox folk singers from Israel, the Tsemed Reim duet, who attracted thousands of boys and girls to the services. The club also instituted regular Sabbath and weekday services. The other large São Paulo community center, Circulo-Macabi, made its holiday services more attractive, and also planned to introduce regular Sabbath services. At the same time, there is a growing tendency for congregations to expand their social and cultural activities in what appears to be a general attempt to make Jewish life more complete.

**Jewish Education**

Brazil has no seminaries for the training of rabbis or teachers of Jewish schools. Students preparing for the teaching profession have to depend on courses offered by the Chair for Hebrew at São Paulo university, directed by Rabbi Fritz Pinkuss, and on complementary courses in literature, history, sociology, and philosophy, offered by the Centro Brasileiro de Estudos Judaicos of the university’s faculty of philosophy; and by Professor Arnaldo Niskier and Rabbi Henrique Lemle who occupy the Portuguese-Hebrew Chairs at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and the State University of Guanabara, respectively. Although these courses covered essential areas of Judaism, they do not instruct the future teachers in the principles of education or give them the necessary ideological training. The Hebrew Chairs are, however, important sources of Jewish learning. In 1974 the São Paulo Centro, directed by Rabbi Pinkuss and Professor Nachman Falbel, offered matriculation in Jewish subjects to more than 1,000 students (230 of them in Jewish philosophy courses alone, given by this author), and the Rio universities to over 120 students. Interestingly enough, the courses were largely taken by non-Jewish stu-
dents and in this way effectively promoted understanding of Judaism on the university level. Matriculation for the new Jewish-sponsored Faculdade de Educação, Ciências e Letras Renascença (Faculty for Education, Sciences and Letters) was expected to begin at the end of 1974. Here, too, a mostly non-Jewish student body was expected, although Hebrew and Jewish history were required subjects.

The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, which gave substantial financial support to the Centro at São Paulo university in the first four years of its existence, indicated it would henceforth limit its assistance to specific research projects on Jewish endeavors in Brazil and the publication in the Portuguese language of fundamental Jewish texts.

Jewish schools were faced with many difficulties. They had to maintain a high educational level to compete with non-Jewish institutions. They also needed more money than other schools, not only to pay for additional teachers of Jewish subjects, but also to enable pupils whose parents could not afford the fees to attend school on full or partial scholarships.

Only 25 to 30 per cent of all Jewish children attended Jewish schools. The number of children participating in the bi-weekly study classes offered by São Paulo Congregação Israelita Paulista and Rio Associação Religiosa Israelita, as well as bar-mitzvah lessons given by some clubs also was relatively small. That meant that the great majority of Jewish children received no Jewish schooling whatsoever.

The São Paulo Board of Jewish Education, headed by Dr. José Knoplich, has been making an effort to bring some uniformity into the ideological diversity of Jewish schools. They were required to be religious or Zionist oriented, and to devote a weekly minimum of ten hours to instruction in Jewish subjects. The Board also published teaching material, such as its series, Biblioteca Popular Judaica (Jewish Popular Library), short biographies summarizing in 30 to 40 pages the lives of important Jewish personalities like David Ben-Gurion, Bialik, and Isaiah, and booklets on important historic events. In Lahorim ("To the Parents"), a small piece enclosed in the widely read biweekly Resenha Judaica, Dr. Knoplich tried to explain the need for, and problems of, Jewish education.

In Rio de Janeiro, Jewish education has been aided by the ORT Institute of Technology which, besides offering professional training to their own students, has entered into contracts with Jewish high schools so that they could comply with recent orders by the Brazilian Ministry of Education that all high school students be trained in a technical skill.

At the university level, Jewish student organizations have been important in developing identification with Judaism. Grupo Universitário Hebraico-Brasileiro, the Brazilian branch of FUSLA (Federação Universitário Sionista Latino-America), was the only such organization with branches in all state capitals. Massada, a Likud-oriented student association, gained much support in São Paulo and Rio due to the work of Israeli lawyer Shelomo Epstein. Other groups were supported by B’nai Brith, WIZO, various synagogues, São Paulo Friends of the Hebrew University and other organizations. Though membership in student organizations has been
increasing of late, it constitutes less than ten per cent of all Jewish university students. The São Paulo Federation established the Departamento de Assuntos Universitários (Coordinating Committee of Jewish Students), which was to unify the work of the various student groups and to increase their influence on the vast majority of Jewish university students who do not identify with Judaism. Success has been slight.

**Cultural Activities**

It has not always been gratifying to plan Jewish cultural events for a public whose economic and social success has dulled their enthusiasm for this type of diversion, especially since the Brazilian theaters, concert halls, and art centers generally offer programs of greater originality and range of choice.

Jewish plays have been produced with varying degrees of success. Among the successful ones was Leon Uris's *Mila 18*, performed in São Paulo by the Circulo-Macabi theatre group and later in Rio and smaller Jewish communities. The most serious undertaking of this kind was the production in Rio de Janeiro of *Gente Dificil* ("Difficult People") by the Israeli playwright Iosseph ben Iosseph. The leading role was played by Bela Genauer, wife of journalist Nahum Sirotzky, and an actress by profession, who, after a visit to Israel, secured the rights to the play, as well as the collaboration of Israeli director Tom Levy. There were also adaptations of Jewish classics, like Bialik's *The Cave of David* and Sholem Aleichem's *The Bewitched Tailor*, performed by youngsters of the Congregação Israelita Paulista under the direction of Iacov Hillel, a very promising young professional.

*Yom ha-Azma'ut*, Day of Jerusalem, Hanukkah, and Purim celebrations were the occasions of some successful shows and artistic performances arranged by Joel Rekem of the Jewish Agency Department of Culture and Education in Jerusalem.

Israeli song and dance ensembles and soloists performed quite often. Ohela Halevi and Chava Alberstein were very well received, also by non-Jewish audiences. The Tsemed Reim folksingers were enthusiastically applauded all over Brazil. The songs of the young girls known as the Yuval Trio delighted the capacity audience, including distinguished official guests, at A Hebraica.

Youth groups and schools enthusiastically participated in the Fourth National Festival of Israeli Dance, the Fifth National Festival of Israeli Popular Music, and the Festival of Chassidic Music, all held in Rio de Janeiro.

The education department of the Congregação Israelita Paulista, headed by Zelig Nachim, arranged a Passover exposition of many ritual objects, books, and pictures related to the holiday and the celebration of the Seder. For the second time, the congregation promoted an art week which enabled local Jewish artists to exhibit their work. São Paulo's Casa de Cultura de Israel (House of Israeli Culture), directed by Elías Blankfeld, organized an Israeli art exposition at A Hebraica. In collaboration with the *Wa'ad Ha-hinnukh* (Board of Jewish Education), Casa de Cultura held its annual Bible competition for students of the Jewish schools. The
first Jewish Book Fair of works written in Portuguese and Spanish was held in conjunction with the Israel Fair. In Rio de Janeiro, Professor Arnaldo Niskier organized the first intercollegiate Fair of Sciences, at which 62 projects were shown.

Israeli films were generally quite well received. The 1974 offerings were The Yom Kippur War, David Ben-Gurion, and Shallah, the Immigrant, starring the famous Topol. A rather original initiative was the transmission on the Porto Alegre Jewish radio program, “Hora Israeliita,” of texts in Portuguese translation of Wisdom of Israel, an anthology of Jewish texts throughout the ages, edited by Lewis Browne.

Of course, the bulk of Jewish cultural activities consisted of study courses and lectures. Professor Evyatar Friesdal of the Hebrew university, Jerusalem, gave a very well attended course on contemporary Jewish history; he also lectured in Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia, Belo Horizonte and Porto Alegre. Dr. Israel Eldar of the Hebrew University spoke on contemporary Jewish thought. WIZO, the Women’s Zionist Organization, and Pioneiras (Brazilian branch of the World Union of Pioneer Women’s Organizations), as well as the Brazilian aliyah movement, also sponsored courses. In São Paulo, A Hebraica’s People’s University for Yiddish, headed by Uron Mandel, offered weekly lectures, as did the Monte Scopus and the Bialik Library in Rio.

Lectures usually attracted only small audiences, but there were some exceptions. Capacity audiences listened to the impressions of Zevi Ghivelder, who covered the Yom Kippur war for the periodical, Manchete; to Alberto Dines of Jornal do Brasil (p. 279), who answered questions put to him by a group of journalists and leaders of the Congregação Paulista; to Danilo Nunes, a non-Jewish general, judge of the State of Guanabara court controlling state budgets and expenditures, author of Judas: Traitor or Betrayed?, who lectured on Franz Kafka and the Jews.

Books

The year 1974 saw the publication of a number of works of Jewish interest. Rabbi Henrique Lemle’s Nesta Hora - Dialogo com a Nova Geração (“In This Hour - a Dialogue with the New Generation”); Rabbi Fritz Pinkuss’s article, “Jewish Immigration to Brazil since 1935,” which appeared in the jubilee edition of the Revista da Historia (publication of the history department of São Paulo university) and another, more extensive study, “Types of Jewish Thinking,” serialized in Revista and scheduled to appear in book form under the sponsorship of B’nai Brith and São Paulo Federation; a collection of sermons by Rabbi Henry Sobel of the Congregação Israelita Paulista, which appeared under the title Judaism Is Optimism.

Marcus Margulis of Rio de Janeiro compiled Judaica Braziliense, a bibliography of Jewish books in Portuguese. He also edited a collection of essays on Circumcision, written by him, the Catholic Bishop Monsignor Heladio Correia Laurini, Moises Tractenberg, Moises Cohen, and others. Mrs. Eva Hirschberg, widow of Alfred Hirschberg, who for many years had been a contributor to the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, was preparing a history of Congregação Israelita Paulista, with the
help of her daughters; Salo Baron's *Historia e historiografia do povo judeo* ("History and Jewish Historians") was published with the financial assistance of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. A Portuguese edition of Lena Kichler Zilberman's *Meus 100 filhos* ("My Hundred Children"), translated from the Yiddish by Bluma Sahm Paves, was also published.

**Personalia**

The Jewish community of Brazil suffered a great loss by the death of Rabbi Menachem Mendel Diesendruck, who had come from Portugal to become rabbi of Congregação Israelita Paulista and later the spiritual leader of the Sephardi congregation Bet Yaakov.

Walter Rehfeld
Western Europe

Great Britain

Domestic Affairs

The year 1974 ended with a record level of inflation, a record overseas trade deficit, bombings in London, and renewed anxiety over what wage increases the miners would require to prevent further possible strike action. It also saw two elections and four budgets. Conservative leader Edward Heath fell in February amid the three-day work week and a state of emergency imposed to conserve fuel. The election result was a stalemate: Labour won 301 seats, the Conservatives 295, the Liberals 14, and others 24 seats. Half-hearted Conservative efforts to form a coalition with the Liberals failed. Realizing that his opponents feared an election more than he did, Prime Minister Harold Wilson governed with exuberance. He dismantled the Industrial Relations Act, which had provoked the wrath of the unions, and repudiated wage controls. The “social contract” between the government and the unions moderated wage claims, despite the refusal of the engineers union to abide by its admittedly vague terms. The introduction of food subsidies helped. As part of the same budget package, pensions and taxes were increased in March.

The second general election, in October, slightly increased the Labour vote, giving the party an over-all majority of three seats. Otherwise, only the Scottish Nationalists increased their representation. The second budget, in November, gave industry considerable relief. Still, at year’s end, such major enterprises as British Leyland and Burmah Oil were forced to seek government financial aid. In Northern Ireland, meanwhile, the Assembly was suspended following industrial action by the Protestant workers, and direct rule from Westminster was reimposed. The Christmas truce gave some slight hope for a peaceful solution.

Relations with Israel

During the last months of the Heath government, relations with Israel began to improve. The arms embargo imposed during the Yom Kippur war was lifted in January, and, in February, Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home supported America against France at the conference of the 31 oil-consuming nations. In its February election campaign publication, the Conservative party reaffirmed that the
integrity of the State of Israel must be maintained, but also pledged continued support for withdrawal from occupied territories in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions. The Conservative Friends of Israel, a parliamentary group with a current membership of 83 Conservative M.P.s was formed in September. At the group’s meeting in December, director Michael Fidler outlined the group’s aims as follows: to keep Conservative peers and M.P.s fully informed on Israeli affairs and to promote the best Anglo-Israeli relations.

The Labour government's concern, according to a November statement by Foreign Secretary James Callaghan, was to steer a course compatible with its traditional friendship with Israel, but to balance it against Britain’s dependence on Middle East oil. In a March speech, Queen Elizabeth said the government would support the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 of 1967, and 338 of 1973; Wilson's letter to his national executive affirmed that the government Middle East policy remained the same as that pursued by Labour in opposition. This was interpreted as a reiteration of his attitude while in opposition that Resolution 242 did not require the Israelis to withdraw from all the territories occupied in 1967, despite a March statement by a Foreign Office spokesman that the present government did not dissent from the November 1973 declaration to the contrary by the nine Common Market member states. (AJYB 1973 [Vol. 74] p. 406). On his return from a visit to Israel in September, Edward Short, leader of the House of Commons, said relations with Israel were so good that they could not possibly be improved.

Efforts continued to expand trade with Israel and to diminish the widening discrepancy between British exports and imports. Goods and materials going to Israel reached an all-time record value of £187,248,000 in 1973 (£53 million more than in 1972), and British imports from Israel £55 million (a rise of £10 million), increasing the gap to £122 million, from about £100 million in 1972, £70 million in 1971 and £60 million in 1970. In May Stanley Clinton Davis, parliamentary undersecretary at the department of trade, said that however concerned the government was about the situation, it could not discriminate in Israel’s favor to reduce the gap; that the main responsibility lay with those charged with promoting Israeli imports to Britain. In July the Anglo-Israeli Chamber of Commerce said it was cooperating with the British Overseas Trade Group for Israel and the Economic Council for Israel in an effort to coordinate the promotion of trade in both directions. In July, too, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, Callaghan stated that he would continue to seek favorable arrangements for the continuation of Israeli agricultural exports to the European Economic Community.

Palestinian Question

Britain's attitude to the Palestinian question clarified over the year. Callaghan stated in the House of Commons in March that permanent peace was impossible "unless a settlement provides for a 'personality' for the Palestinian people.” In
November, however, he called "for the satisfaction of the needs of the Palestinians, by which I mean not only the rights of individual Palestinian refugees as was laid down for so many years by the UN General Assembly, but also the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people." Britain abstained when the General Assembly voted to seat the Palestine Liberation Organization as the "representative of the Palestinian people" in the November debate on Palestine, evoking a sharp protest from the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

In the debate itself, Britain voted against resolutions giving the Palestinians observer status at the General Assembly ("The British Government," wrote Wilson to Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits, "feels very strongly that such observer status should be accorded to states and certain non-governmental international organizations. The Palestine Liberation Front does not come into either category.'"), and affirming "the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including the right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty." In the debate, Britain's delegate Ivor Richards said his government would support a Middle East settlement in which the Palestinians would "express their personality and exercise their legitimate political rights," but "this must be done in a manner which does not infringe upon or call into question the right of Israel as a state to exist in peace within secure and recognized boundaries." The British government, he said, had "much sympathy" with the Palestinians' contention "that they are indeed a people with a just claim to express their own identity within the territory with which they are historically associated and that, as such, they have political rights which extend beyond the rights of refugees referred to in Resolution 242. However, the Resolution must not be supplanted and not distorted out of shape or recognition."

There were in the Parliamentary Labour party, according to a statement made in June by Ian Mikardo, M.P., chairman of the party and of its international committee, some extreme anti-Israel members. These, he said, should not be confused with the "sizable and serious body of opinion within the PLP" (estimated by Mikardo at 30 to 50 M.P.s) which could not be described as anti-Israel in the sense of actually wanting to see the Jewish state destroyed, but which was pro-Arab in that it advocated a better deal for the Palestinians. Also in June, Joe Gormley, miners' union leader and new Labour Friends of Israel chairman, said that the anti-Israel section of the party could not be "very strong," since the British and Israeli labor movements had "been long-time collaborators in the Socialist International." Proof was that Golda Meir headed the Israel Labour party's delegation to the British Labour party conference in November.

In fact, the strongest parliamentary pro-Arab group, the Labour Middle East Council, was weakened in July by the defection of Christopher Mayhew, M.P., its founder and leader, to the Liberal party. In December six Labour M.P. Council members took part in a 12-day Middle East tour as guests of the Palestine Liberation Front.

In December Liberal party leader Jeremy Thorpe told the Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce that it would be in Israel's interests to "withdraw from the greater
part of her conquests in the Six Day War" and "permit and indeed welcome the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank," but only in return "for the most categorical declarations by the governments of her neighbors and by those who claim to speak for the Palestinians that they recognize the State of Israel, that they renounce war against her and that they are willing to establish normal interstate relations with her."

In December Sir Julian Huxley, the first director-general of UNESCO, and other prominent British intellectuals stated in a letter to The Times of London that they would no longer cooperate with the organization unless it reversed its anti-Israel stand.

PUBLIC OPINION POLL

According to a "random omnibus survey" commissioned by the Israeli Embassy and conducted by National Opinion Poll Market Research in June, 68 per cent of the 1,845 adults questioned had heard of the PLO; 1 per cent said their attitude toward it was "very favorable," and 6 per cent that it was "favorable"; 30 per cent said it was "unfavorable," and 32 per cent that it was "very unfavorable"; 21 per cent were neutral, and 10 per cent "didn't know." Only 4 per cent of all respondents believed that PLO was "morally justified in seeking to destroy Israel," as opposed to 73 per cent who thought it was not. The survey also showed that while only 3 per cent supported the Arabs (compared with 7 per cent in November 1973), 35 per cent supported Israel (43 per cent in 1973), 52 per cent supported neither and 10 per cent "didn't know." Exactly half thought that Israel was "morally justified in sending forces into the Lebanon" after Ma'alot (p. 402). An equal proportion felt there was moral justification for Israel to take action outside its borders to combat terrorism, but only 11 per cent thought it justified under all circumstances, 38 per cent under some, and 29 per cent under none.

OFFICIAL CONDEMNATION OF TERRORISM

Foreign Secretary Callaghan's keynote address to the November Labour party conference strongly condemned terrorism, whether the "murderous bombings in the Midlands and in London" or "the shooting of innocent hostages in aircraft hijackings or in cross-border raids." In May the Foreign Office had deplored both the "evil outrage" committed by the Palestinian terrorists at Ma'alot and the Israeli retaliatory raids on Lebanese bases. Condemnation of the Ma'alot attack was voiced in the House of Commons. Acts of violence from whatever source, said minister of state in charge of Middle East affairs David Ennals, could only harm prospects for a settlement in the area then being actively pursued by U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

There were continual alerts at British airports, ports, and naval bases over the year on rumors of projected terrorist attacks. In January Home Secretary Robert Carr said contingency plans at London's Heathrow airport had been under review
for the past two years since Arab terrorist hijacking operations started, and in June an innovation was the presence of troops in Heathrow terminal buildings.

**Arms Supply to Arabs**

Commenting on May reports that Egypt and Syria were seeking arms supplies from British manufacturers in an effort to lessen dependence on Russia and to strengthen their renewed ties with the West, a Foreign Office spokesman said that "the new Government is presently looking at the whole question of arms supplies to the Middle East. Our overriding policy objective in that area is a peace settlement between Israel and the Arabs and you can take it for granted that the British government would do nothing which might endanger it." In February Egypt had invited representatives of British arms manufacturers to Cairo to display a variety of weapons, all described by the British as "defensive."

**Arab Boycott**

It was announced by a company spokesman in February that British Leyland, Britain’s largest car manufacturer, intended to deal with both Israel and Arab countries once it was removed from the Arab Boycott Office’s blacklist. While it had offered to build two car assembly plants in Lebanon, it would continue to supply cars and spare parts to Israel and even hoped to increase its Israeli trade. In July, in fact, Leyland signed a £12 million contract with Iraq for the supply of buses, and in December Israel Ambassador to Britain Gideon Raphael voiced his country's concern over the implications of a Leyland deal with Egypt to Secretary of State for Industry Anthony Benn. In December, too, Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce chairman Lewis R. Goodman warned that British firms were increasingly submitting to the Arab boycott of Israel.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

**Demography and Communal Data**

A decline in the number of Orthodox marriages almost entirely accounted for a drop of 6.25 per cent in the number of persons marrying in synagogues in 1973 to 3,510, from 3,744 in 1972, according to statistics issued by the statistical and demographic unit of the Board of Deputies (AJYB, 1974-75 [Vol. 75], p. 408). For the first time since compilation of the statistics began, the Orthodox proportion fell to below 80 per cent of the total (79.5 per cent, compared with 81.5 per cent of the 1968-72 average), while Reform's share rose to 13.5 per cent (from 11.5 per cent) and Liberal's to 7 per cent (from 6.9 per cent).

The number of deaths was 4,776 in 1973. Of these, 86 per cent occurred in the Orthodox, 8 per cent in the Reform, and 6 per cent in the Liberal sectors.
A survey conducted by the research unit among 700 Jewish mothers who gave birth in 1971 showed the Jewish birthrate (1.72 children per family) to be lower than that of the general population (2.16 children). The exception was the small ultra-Orthodox group, with an average family size of 2.69 children. The survey showed a shorter child-bearing period for Jewish women, with only 4.6 per cent of births taking place after 10 years of marriage, compared with 13.3 per cent for the general population.

These figures, taken in conjunction with an average rate of synagogue marriages of 1,800 annually, led Professor S. J. Prais, honorary consultant to the research unit and co-author of the survey, discussing its implications in the London Jewish Chronicle in January, to estimate the eventual Anglo-Jewish community at 225,000 persons (affiliated to the minimal extent that they married in a synagogue) compared with 410,000 at present of whom some 270,000 were from families that were synagogue members.

Jewish Education

The London Board of Jewish Religious Education's annual report for 1973, issued in August, showed declines all around, with the total number of children enrolled in Jewish courses under its auspices down to 9,863, from 10,221 in 1972: average Sunday morning attendance dropped to 5,570 (from 5,691), and average mid-week attendance to 1,973 (from 2,152). In 1973 the board's Highgate, Mile End, and Bow centers in London closed, reflecting declining communities in these areas, while a new center opened in Newbury Park. At the end of that year, the board was responsible for 62 part-time centers attached to Greater London synagogues, and for release time classes in religious education at 16 local schools.

Concern with teaching standards at part-time centers was reflected in a June announcement that the faculty for the training of teachers, run by the board in conjunction with Jews' College and the Jewish Agency's Torah department, would conduct a condensed introductory course in teaching techniques for prospective teachers and in-service training of current teachers. Tovia Shahar was appointed director of the faculty.

In May the Jewish National Fund in London set up an advisory committee of educators active in Jewish schools and religion classes to counsel on the preparation of teaching aids and publications, as well as on planning conferences and meetings for teachers and parents.

It was announced in April that the Chief Rabbi's Educational Development Trust (AJYB 1972 [Vol. 73], p. 464) for promoting Jewish education has to date paid out a total of £200,000 in capital grants and scholarships, including £35,000 to the Lubavitch Foundation for a sixth form at its Stamford Hill, London, school; £60,000 to the Zionist Federation Education Trust for school development; £50,000 for the sixth form building at the Jewish Free School Comprehensive School, and £18,000 in scholarships to graduates.
In May Carmel College, Britain’s only Jewish public school, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary.

**Jews’ College**

For the first time, Talmud and Jewish law, as well as Jewish thought and philosophy, will be offered by Jews’ College as part of a new course leading to a B.A. honors degree in Jewish studies, according to a June announcement. The three-year syllabus, approved by the Council for National Academic Awards (NCAA), will also cover the Bible with commentaries, Hebrew and cognate languages and literatures, and the history and sociology of the Jews. NCAA’s approval, said the school’s principal, Rabbi Nahum Rabinovitch, was “recognition by the academic authorities that a program for our students should be designed from a Jewish point of view” (previously, any degree course at Jews’ College had to be determined by University College, London). London Bet Din Dayan Morris Swift described the course as “a break with the Torah world.” The inclusion of both Jewish and Christian critical scholarship in the College curriculum would, he said, make it “out of bounds for any genuine ben Torah or yeshivah graduate.”

In June, too, the College announced it was initiating a new program of graduate studies in Judaica, leading to M.A. or Ph.D. degrees and designed for students whose first degree was in other fields, with special provisions for overseas students and yeshivah graduates.

In October new student enrollment at 35 was the largest ever, including 10 taking the new B.A. course, 15 entering the postgraduate department, and 5 the Trent Park teachers’ training department.

**At the Universities**

A boost to Jewish studies on the academic level was the decision by the Cambridge University library syndicate in April to set up a Taylor-Schechter Geniza unit under the direction of Dr. Stefan Reif, which will make available bibliographical information and encourage research in geniza. The unit received a grant from the Leverhulme Trust fund, and annual grants for ten years were promised by the university’s Oriental studies faculty. An agreement was made with the Hebrew University for a joint program of Geniza research.

At a meeting in Oxford in April, scholars from 20 British universities and institutions of higher education formally agreed to create a British Society for Jewish Studies to promote and coordinate the various branches of post-biblical Jewish studies, and to provide a discussion forum for students of Judaica.

In September the Oxford Centre for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies—which, earlier in the year, acquired a building to provide facilities for its visiting fellows and eventually to house a 20,000-volume Judaica library—purchased from Israel the Kressee library, a major collection of press cuttings, books, and periodicals on the
history of Zionism, Jewish resettlement in Palestine, and the growth of Hebrew literature.

Wolfson College in Oxford, Britain's largest residential graduate school built largely with funds granted by the Wolfson Foundation, was opened by Oxford University's Chancellor Harold Macmillan in November.

Chief Rabbi, United Synagogue, and Religious Life

Rationalization and consolidation of community resources, a constant theme of the year, were strongly advocated by Chief Rabbi Jakobovits in his Rosh Ha-shanah message: "If our essential communal services are to be maintained and our religious, educational and charitable institutions saved from bankruptcy (or a drastic curtailment of their activities)," he said, "the community will have to recognize that it can no longer afford the luxury of organizational fragmentation and all the enormous waste it entails."

It was announced in April that two 70-year-old synagogues were to close as part of the United Synagogue's readjustment to Jewish population movements: at Brondesbury, membership had fallen continuously since World War II to slightly above 200; the Stoke Newington congregation, United Synagogue president Alfred Woolf said, was spiritually and financially nonviable, but a writ was issued against the United Synagogue to prevent its closure. The movement of Jews away from London's East End also accounted for the shutdown in October of the New Road Synagogue, Whitechapel, affiliated to the Federation of Synagogues.

The total income of the constituent, district, and affiliated congregations of the United Synagogue for the year ending June 1974 was a record £1,125,000, and total expenses were £1,130,000, according to the treasurer's report. Money for vital projects of expanding congregations in outlying areas of Greater London, it indicated, would have to come from the sale of older synagogues which were no longer spiritually essential.

An independent congregation, the New Highgate and North London Synagogue, was formed in November for the advancement of traditional Judaism in the spirit of Rabbi Louis Jacobs' New London Synagogue, which, in May, celebrated its tenth anniversary.

Rationalization and cooperation were also apparent in relationships between various branches of Judaism. In March Orthodox and Progressive religious leaders agreed to establish a Consultative Committee on Jewish-Christian Relations. In May Rabbi Dow Marmur of the North-Western Reform Synagogue, Golders Green, London, proposed a joint program to deal with questions of intermarriage. The Reform Bet Din's 1973 report, he said, showed that while the parents of 75 of the 92 Jews married to converts to Judaism were members of Orthodox synagogues, only 12 of the 92 spouses in question had applied to the Chief Rabbi's Court for Orthodox conversion.

Attempts were made to increase involvement in communal activity. In response
to repeated pressure, Chief Rabbi Jakobovits said in January that "the religious community and its organizations can only benefit from the increased participation of our womenfolk in their deliberations and activities at local or communal levels." This participation, as he pointed out, was restricted by the halakhic ruling barring women from serving as honorary officers or officiants. A demand that women be allowed to serve on boards of management and councils of Orthodox synagogues was carried by an overwhelming majority at the League of Jewish Women's annual meeting in May.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews joined the World Jewish Congress as a "national participant" in January, upon formal confirmation by the WJC plenary assembly of the Board's complete freedom of action in conducting its own affairs in all religious matters, and in approaches to the British and other governments. This meant that the British section of WJC would cease to exist and that the Board would take over its functions. Following the treasurer's report that the Board's deficit in the first half of 1974 was almost 50 per cent higher than in the same 1973 period, its president, Lord Fisher of Camden, issued an open letter asking all Jewish community members to "share in the responsibility for the efficient running of its representative body."

Kashrut and Shehitah

Concern over diminished kashrut observance, which together with consumer resistance to high costs, was regarded a major factor in the decline in kosher meat sales, moved the London Board of Shechita to set up a subcommittee to look into the matter in June. According to Dayan Grunfeld, the percentage of British Jews buying kosher meat diminished to 50, compared with 90 before World War II. The Board's 1973 figures showed a drop of 7.24 per cent, from 1972 levels, in the slaughter of oxen, 30 per cent for calves, and 6.8 per cent for sheep.

At the same time, London Reform Rabbi Michael Leigh wrote a pamphlet, Aspects of Kashrut, published in November by the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain, which advocated full observance of the Torah laws on kashrut. (The Reform movement's practice has been to leave dietary-law observance to individual conscience.) Although Rabbi Leigh specifically stated that he was expressing his personal views, Rabbi Marmur felt they might reflect a growing tendency in the movement toward stricter adherence to halakhah.

Meanwhile, Jack Brenner, secretary of the National Council of Shechita Boards, said in June that kosher poultry abattoirs in 18 British towns and cities would not pass stringent Common Market regulations, to be introduced in 1976, with regard to antemortem examinations, refrigeration and evisceration facilities, and the provision of "clean" and "unclean" areas. In December the National Council of Shechita Boards decided to establish a standing committee representing shehitah boards in all Common Market countries. In July the Board of Deputies designated a group to investigate prices of kosher food for Passover.
Welfare

Charitable institutions for the young, sick, and elderly were forced to curtail services because of the concentration on fund raising for Israel after the Yom Kippur war. In June Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) chairman Lionel Leighton forecast that day-to-day expenditure in 1974 would exceed £1 million—an increase of £100,000 over 1973. In December the Board’s headquarters were moved to a less desirable neighborhood, as the urgent need for funds made it “immoral to sit on some of the most valuable property in London.” Decentralization of Welfare Board activities was in progress, with day centers, a current priority, already functioning in various parts of London. An anonymous gift of £500,000 was earmarked for a Jewish day center in northwest London, to be run jointly by JWB and the Jewish Blind Society. There was also a determined effort to eliminate duplication by cooperative programs among agencies.

Zionism and Aliyah

Aliyah figures for 1973 were 30 per cent lower than in 1972 (708 compared with 976). While, as a result of an “aliyah month” (March), with over 300 meetings throughout Britain, aliyah increased for the June to September period, the number of emigrants in the first seven months of 1974 was 359, against 389 in the comparable 1973 period. The March aliyah campaign, according to Yitzhak Mayer, director of the Jewish Agency’s immigration department in Britain, showed that the most likely settlers were middle-class families aged between 32 and 45, whose major motivation was their children’s future. In view of this, the Agency considerably improved immigration facilities for British families.

A booklet published in May by the Reform Synagogue of Great Britain’s Israel Committee warned members going on aliyah to “be aware that while he enjoys the full rights under the Law of Return, there are severe disabilities for anyone wishing to continue fully as a Reform Jew.”

It was announced in October that Michael Fidler, one-time M.P. and president of the Board of Deputies, would head a new Zionist party, the General Zionist Organization, which, at the time of its formation in May, had a membership of 125. Linked ideologically though not organizationally to the World Union of General Zionists, the party was seeking affiliation with the British Zionist Federation.

In September George Evnine, general secretary of British Herut, whose membership has grown since its formation four years ago from 35 to 5,000, resigned as co-chairman of the Zionist Federation’s (ZF) Soviet Jewry committee because of its leadership’s alleged unwillingness to implement a resolution adopted in March to initiate and lead a cultural and economic boycott of Soviet Russia until all Soviet Jews wishing to go to Israel were permitted to do so.

In December Golda Meir addressed a nationwide ZF-sponsored mass rally of solidarity with Israel in London’s Albert Hall.

The Joint Israel Appeal launched its 1975 fund-raising campaign in November, two months earlier than customary, in an attempt to match the sum raised in the
post-Yom Kippur war period. To the same end, greater emphasis was placed on study missions to Israel, a series of preparatory seminars for Appeal leaders was introduced, and the fund-raising apparatus was decentralized. In August it was announced that 1974 Kol Nidre appeal funds would not be channeled into general Jewish Agency funds as in the past, but would be earmarked for specific social welfare projects in Israel; £30,000 would continue to go to Israeli institutions designated by the Chief Rabbi.

Pro-Arab advertisements in newspapers over the year culminated in an outcry in December when the London *Times* published a full-page advertisement by a "Committee for Justice in the Middle East" urging British Jews to keep their money in Britain, instead of donating it in support of "the Israel war machine."

Protests and Demonstrations

In February a campaign urging Syria to release a complete list of Yom Kippur war prisoners and to permit the Red Cross access to them centered around a brief visit of the 15-year-old sister of one of the prisoners. Among other activities arranged for her, she delivered a letter asking for government intervention, which Chief Rabbi Jakobovits handed to the Prime Minister, who replied that there had been several requests of Syria to release at least a list of names.

In April, in an atmosphere heightened by the news of the Kiryat Shemona massacre, members of ZF’s Arab Jewry committee and of the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women protested the murder of six Syrian Jews, outside the Syrian embassy. In May a week-long series of lunchtime demonstrations, organized by the Council for Jews in Arab Lands, were held outside Syrian Airlines London offices. In May, too, Michael Fidler introduced a motion in Parliament expressing shock at the continued ill-treatment of Jews in Syria and calling for the release of certain individuals who had been incarcerated for long periods without trial. It was reported in July that Syrian-British diplomatic relations had become strained over Syrian allegations of the British government’s pro-Israel bias and interference in Syria’s internal affairs.

Major General Sa’ad al-Din al-Shazli, until then Egyptian chief of staff, began his tour of duty as Egyptian ambassador to Britain, despite strong criticism of the government’s acceptance of his credentials. Questions were asked in the House of Commons, demonstrations were held, and the Board of Deputies formally called on the British government to declare Shazli *persona non grata*, in view of his close association with known racialists Colin Jordan and John Tyndall (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 421).

For Soviet Jewry

Nationwide efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry continued unabated. Protests, often dramatic in form, were organized whenever the opportunity presented itself—on the occasion of Soviet visits to Britain, holiday celebrations like communal Seders—to draw attention to Soviet Jews in prison, labor camps, or waiting for visas to go to
Israel. The initiators generally were the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry (the 35s), the Soviet Jewry committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and the Association of Jewish Women's Organizations. Among the important efforts was a communal campaign for the cancellation of the Bolshoi Ballet Company's London visit in June, which included petitions to the Prime Minister and cabinet members, picketing of the booking office, and calls to boycott performances. Unprecedented support came from Equity, the actors' union. The response was so effective throughout the Bolshoi's stay that the Soviet embassy threatened to cut short the engagement.

The release of Sylva Zalmanson from Soviet labor camp in September followed a lengthy campaign. Its highlights were a visit by an interdenominational delegation of clergymen to London's Soviet Embassy in January; a nationwide "Month of the Jewish Prisoners of Conscience," proclaimed in November by the Board's Soviet Jewry action committee and the All Party Parliamentary Committee for Soviet Jewry, including a high-level rabbinical delegation to the Soviet ambassador; the publication of a letter with more than 600 prominent signatures in the London Times; receptions in the House of Commons, and London rallies.

A group of Soviet Jewish youngsters living in Israel, whose fathers had not yet been able to leave the USSR, came in June as guests of the All Party Parliamentary Committee. They attended an exhibit on the plight of Soviet Jews organized by the Committee at the Church of St. Martin-in-the Fields, London, and opened by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In March, the committee's four principal honorary officers were refused visas to Russia, where they intended to contact Jewish families wishing to emigrate.

Support for Soviet Jews was voiced at a number of conferences held in London: by Jewish communal leaders from 15 countries (May); by more than 100 leading scientists from all over the world (July); by 40 lawyers and jurists from 20 countries (September).

Press and Publications

A Joint Israel Appeal decision in March to withdraw its substantial annual subvention to the Zionist Federation weekly, Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, necessitated stringent economy measures and caused the resignation of its editor. By year end, however, the crisis had been resolved, the paper was functioning normally and, according to ZF general secretary Sydney Shipton, "the journal has become more internally Zionist."

Israeli-Arab relations were an important theme of the year's publications. Among them were Walter Laqueur's analysis of the Yom Kippur war, Confrontation: The Middle East War and World Politics; Martin Gilbert's The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Its History in Maps; the Sunday Times newspaper team's Insight on the Middle East, and The Electronic War in the Middle East, by Edgar O'Ballance, who also wrote an account of Arab Guerrilla Power. Also on the terrorist theme was Bard O'Neill's Revolutionary Warfare in the Middle East on Palestinian violence and Israeli coun-
doctor Amos Elon and young liberal Egyptian intellectual Sana Hassan sought a
solution to the conflict. On the Arab aspect were Elie Kedourie's *Arabic Political
Memoirs and other Essays*; Y. Porath's *The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab
Movement 1918–1929*, and M. Abdel-Kader Hatem's *Information and the Arab
Cause*, an Arab propaganda document about Arab propaganda.

Israel was not neglected. Among historical studies were Moshe Pearlman's vivid
*In the Footsteps of Moses*; Oskar K. Rabinowicz's *Arnold Toynbee on Judaism and
Zionism: a Critique*, and Jacob M. Landau's *Middle East Themes, Papers in History
and Politics*. On contemporary Israel, publications included the beautiful album,
*Jerusalem, City of Mankind*, edited by Cornell Capa; Jakov Lind's essay on his
28-day *Trip to Jerusalem*; the East and West Library's series illustrating the stages
in the development of modern Hebrew as seen in the writings of Isaac Dov Berko-
weit, by Abraham Holtz, *Isaac Landau*, by Leon Yudkin; Saul Tschernichowsky,
by Eisig Silberschlag, and *Abraham Mapu*, by David Patterson, and, in addition,
*The Running Stag, the Stamps and Postal History of Israel*, by Meir Persoff.

Preoccupation with the recent past of the holocaust continued unabated. *The
Voyage of the Damned*, by Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan-Witts, told the story
of the 937 Jews who set sail from Germany for Cuba in May 1939; Ruth Aliv and
Peggy Mann, in *The Last Escape*, dealt with the illegal emigration from Europe to
Palestine before and during World War II. More personally, Auschwitz survivor
Kitty Hart described her experiences in *Alive*. The Last Butterfly*, by Michael Jacot,
was a moving portrayal of concentration-camp life. *Other People's Houses*, by Lore
Segal, on the other hand, told of an Austrian refugee's experiences in Britain. More
academically, Walter Laqueur's *Weimar: A Cultural History, 1918–1933* supplied
the background to it all; André Brissaud covered the period 1931–39 in the history
of *The Nazi Secret Service*; Richard Humble's *Hitler's Generals* gave a clear account
of the conduct of the war on the German side, and *Into That Darkness*, by Gitta
Sereny, was a study of war criminal Franz Stangl.

More general history was represented by Sam Waagenaar's *The Pope's Jews* and
Joan Comay's *Who's Who in Jewish History*.

Jewish theological publications included Rabbi Louis Jacob's *A Jewish Theology
*(which received the 1974 *Jewish Chronicle* book award); *Insurance in Rabbinic Law,*
by S. M. Passamankeck, original research on Jewish law on maritime loans; *Triolage
between Jew, Christian and Muslin*, by Ignaz Maybaum, an attempt to show the
interaction between the faiths.

Biographical works of note were Alexander Altman's scholarly *Moses Mendels-
sohn; The Letters of Chaim Weitzmann, Vol. IV (1905–1906)*, edited by Camillo
Dresner and Barnet Litvinoff; Sydney H. Zebel's *Balfour: A Political Biography*;
Desmond Stewart's *Herzl*, and Hans W. Cohn's life of the German-Jewish poetess,
*Else Lasker-Schuler: The Broken World*. Among autobiographies were Hungarian
Communist Jewish playwright Julius May's *Born 1900* and Dannie Abse's *A Poet
in the Family*.

Notable works of fiction were Lynne Reid Bank's *Two Is Lonely*, Audrey Laski's
Night Music, Brian Glanville's The Comic, and Love Letters on Blue Paper, by Arnold Wesker who also wrote Say Goodbye: You May Never See Them Again, a nostalgic view of London's East End, illustrated by John Allin, which was matched by Just Like It Was: Memoirs of the Mittel-East, by Harry Blacker.


In a class of its own was the beautifully produced Catalogue of the Jewish Museum, London, edited by R. D. Barnett.

Events on the British literary scene were the 20th anniversary celebrations of The Jewish Quarterly and the formation, in July, of a Jewish Book Circle by the Jewish Book Council.

Race Relations

Board of Deputies president Sir Samuel Fisher's January warning that the "national state of turmoil" could create a situation "which could reflect dangerously on minorities," seemed partially borne out by the votes for the right-wing National Front party (NF) in the February and October general elections, and by the violence following the NF march through London in June, protesting against the immigrant community.

Although no NF candidate polled enough votes in either election to retain his deposit, the number of candidates for office grew from 54 in February to 90 in October, and voter support from less than 80,000 to an all-time high of over 100,000. In a parliamentary by-election in May in Newham, London, the NF candidate scored 1,713 votes, some 60 more than the Conservative, though considerably less than the Labour or Liberal contestants.

Leaflets abounded at the October election: Colin Jordan's ultra-right-wing British Movement, which offered no candidate, called on electors to withhold support from any known Jewish candidate. In August the British Movement booklist included the antisemitic Did Six Million Really Die?, by Richard Harwood (Historical Review Press), which the Attorney General in July pronounced nonactionable under the Race Relations Acts.

The Board of Deputies published "The Hatemongers," warning the electorate of the dangers inherent in NF policy. In August both the Board of Deputies and the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women reported that London had become the headquarters of Children of God, an antisemitic, anti-Zionist movement.

Personalia

Joint treasurer of the Conservative party Sir Arnold Silverstone, public-relations executive Dennis Lyons, former Liberal party chairman Basil Wigoder, Q.C., alderman and Board of Deputies president Sir Samuel Fisher, and bank executive chairman Henry Kissin were created life peers in 1974. Knighthoods were bestowed on
impresario Bernard Delfont for charitable services; on William Woolf Harris, chairman of Bow Street magistrates court, for political and public services to London; and on National Coal Board chairman Derek Ezra, Lansing Bagnall Ltd. chairman Emmanuel Kaye, and business executive Jan Alfred Lewand, for services to export. Rose Heilbron, the second woman ever to be appointed as a high court judge, was made a Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire in October.

Sir Myer Galpern, Labour M.P. for Glasgow, was appointed deputy speaker of the House of Commons and deputy chairman of Ways and Means. Lord Diamond, former Labour chief secretary to the treasury, became chairman of the new Royal Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth; Michael Vivian Posner, fellow and director of studies in economics at Pembroke College, Cambridge, was appointed deputy chief economic adviser to the treasury. Lieutenant Colonel Mordaunt Cohen of Sunderland became chairman of Industrial Tribunals for England and Wales; Anthony Lewisohn, Alan Lipfriend and Vivian Ronald Hurwitz were made circuit court judges; and Neville Clive Goldrein was one of the first solicitors to become a deputy circuit judge.

Professor Sir Isaiah Berlin was the first Jew to be elected president of the British Academy. Sigbert J. Prais, honorary consultant to the Board of Deputies statistical and demographic research unit, was awarded the D. Sc. degree by Cambridge University for many published works of scientific standing in the field of economic and social statistics. Lord Cohen of Birkenhead, president of the General Medical Council, was made a Companion of Honour for service to medicine.

Among notable British Jews who died in 1974 were: Rose Stiftel-Lipman, prominent Hebrew educator, dedicated Zionist and civic administrator, in London in January, at the age of 71; Philip Stern, founder professor of applied mathematics at Natal University, South Africa, in London in January, at the age of 83; Professor Hermann Mannheim, world famous criminologist, in London in January, at the age of 84; Major John Gervase-Lang, noted member of London's Spanish and Portuguese community, in London in March, at the age of 93; Shlomo Alter, one-time scribe to London's Bet Din, in London in March; Ronald Nathan, executive director of the Jewish National Fund of Great Britain, in London in March, at the age of 54; Dayan Shabsay Gukovitzki, member of the Federation of Synagogues Bet Din, in London in April at the age of 67; David Hillman, noted stained-glass artist and portrait painter, in London in May, at the age of 82; Geraldo (Gerald Bright), famous dance band leader of the 1930s and 1940s, in Switzerland in May, at the age of 69; Professor Cornelius Lanczos, leading expert in numerical analysis, in Budapest in July, at the age of 81; Desmond Adolph Tuck, noted communal worker, in London in July, at the age of 85; Albert Rothschild, expert on Rashi, in London in August, at the age of 84; Jacques O'Hara, art dealer and communal worker in the Spanish and Portuguese community, in London in August, at the age of 73; Arthur Jacobs, internationally known urologist, in Glasgow in August, at the age of 75; Nicolai Polakovs (Coco), England's most popular circus clown, in Peterborough in September; Sir Seymour Karminski, eminent judge and communal
leader and former Lord Chief Justice of Appeal, in London in October, at the age of 72; Rabbi Hirsch Jacob Zimmels, principal of Jews' College, London, from 1964 to 1970, in London in November, at the age of 73; Joel Cang, journalist and recognized writer on Soviet and East European Jewry, in London in November, at the age of 75; Sir Morris Finer, judge of the family division of the High Court and chairman of the Royal Commission on the Press, in London in December, at the age of 57.

Miriam and Lionel Kochan
France

Politics

The major political event of 1974 in France was the presidential election following President Georges Pompidou's sudden death in April. Several weeks earlier, on February 27, the second government of Premier Pierre Messmer resigned, and Pompidou promptly reappointed him to form a new and streamlined one. A cabinet was named on March 1; it had 16 ministers, six less than in the previous cabinet.

President Pompidou died on April 2. April 6 was proclaimed a day of national mourning. Solemn homage was paid to his memory at Notre-Dame de Paris cathedral. Among the 50 chiefs of state present were President Richard M. Nixon and Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny.

The election campaign began almost immediately thereafter with the hastily announced candidacy of Jacques Chaban-Delmas, mayor of Bordeaux and a former Gaullist premier. Other Gaullists, including Edgar Faure and Charles Fouchet, also announced their candidacies, but later withdrew. Chaban-Delmas immediately drew the opposition of certain Gaullist circles; the Union of Democrats for the Republic (UDR), the Gaullist party par excellence, had long been plagued by dissension and quarrels among groups and individuals. Premier Messmer supported Chaban-Delmas in principle, but very feebly, as did Foreign Minister Michel Jobert. Jacques Chirac, one of the most prominent Gaullist personalities, openly opposed him. An appeal by 43 prominent Gaullists advocated "the union of the majority." This meant, in effect, the candidacy of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, former finance minister under Pompidou and a member of the Independent Republicans, the non-Gaullist section of the governing coalition. He announced his candidacy on April 8. François Mitterand, secretary general of the Socialist party and a former interior minister, was the candidate of the Socialist-Communist alliance on the first ballot. The first joint meeting of the left in Paris drew 100,000 people. Mitterand was widely believed to be leading; some thought he might win on the first ballot.

As usual in French election campaigns, foreign policy did not play much of a role. Nevertheless, the question of Israel and the Middle East arose. The Strasbourg Jewish weekly Tribune Juive (May 17, 1974) interviewed the two main candidates on this subject. The statements of both were rather vague, but at least in principle not at all hostile to Israel, emphasizing its right to full and complete independence and secure boundaries. Giscard d'Estaing advocated direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel for the purpose of achieving a definitive peace.

Jewish voters placed a good deal of hope in the centrists for an improvement of
relations between France and Israel. Politically, the centrists had always been the

group most favorable to Israel. There was some distrust of Mitterand in this regard

because of his alliance with the anti-Israel Communists. Some individuals prominent

in the Jewish community, including the new president of the Conseil Représentatif
des Juifs de France (CRIF; Representative Council of Jews of France), Jean Rosenthal,
advised Jews to vote for Giscard d'Estaing. But the candidate of the left

undoubtedly had a large number of supporters among Jews for various reasons. One

was the traditional position, almost a conditioned reflex, that as a Jew one does not

vote "right." Another was the growing confidence in the Socialist party of Mit-
terand's personal prestige. A number of Jewish groups, such as the Union des

Etudiants Juifs de France (Union of Jewish Students in France), the Cercle Bernard

Lazare (a left-wing political-cultural association), the Cercle Crémieux (pro-Israel

but ultra-left), and, of course, the Jewish Communists, issued appeals to vote for

Mitterand. Although no exact data were available, there was reason to assume that

the majority of the Jews voted left.

On the first ballot, Chaban-Delmas received less than 15 per cent of the vote,

Mitterand 43, and Giscard d'Estaing almost 33 per cent. Younger than the can-
didate of the left and more innovative, Giscard d'Estaing made a favorable impression.

Public opinion polls indicated that the left's chances for a sweeping victory were

poor, and the results of the second ballot on May 19 confirmed this expectation.

Giscard d'Estaing was elected president with 50.81 per cent of the vote, against

49.10 per cent for Mitterand, indicating an almost equal division of France between

right and left. It must be noted, however, that Giscard d'Estaing received the vote

of the majority of the centrists and even some elements of the left-center.

The government formed on May 28 included five representatives of the Gaullist

UDR, four from the centrists Reformists (including the group's two leaders, Jean

Lecanuet and Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber), three Independent Republicans, and

four who belonged to no party. One of the latter, Minister of Health Simone Veil,

was Jewish. The Prime Minister was Jacques Chirac, a moderately orthodox Gaul-

list who had been the leading opponent of Chaban-Delmas's candidacy. The new

cabinet held its first meeting on May 29. In his televised message to parliament,

Giscard d'Estaing emphasized his intentions to have a liberal program and his desire

to make a real change by being the president of all the French, including those who

had voted against him. This was in keeping with his wish to bring to the office a

new and pragmatic style.

On June 19 the government presented its social program. The parliament ended

its session nine days later, after adopting a law reducing the voting age from 21 to

18.

In August the cabinet approved penal and prison reforms, a decision that followed

a series of grave incidents in the prisons. Several days later, the president visited two

prisons in Lyon, talking with the prisoners and shaking hands with them, a gesture

without precedent in the history of the Republic.

The trade union federation called a general strike in November, which was not
completely effective. As signs of an economic recession and crisis multiplied, Giscard d'Estaing told the nation on television that the difficulties were real but not insurmountable, critical but not catastrophic, and were part of a situation currently developing on an international scale.

The end of the year saw dissension on the left between the Socialists and Communists. The latter were annoyed by the growing membership of the Socialist party and its successes in by-elections, and feared they would lose rather than gain from the new rise of the left. They charged that the Socialists were playing a double game; that, looking ahead to future legislative elections, they contemplated, if the opportunity presented itself, to enter into an alliance with the centrists, and thus reconstitute a "third force" despised by the Communist party. Many commentators explained this conflict in terms of the French Communists' lack of real interest in taking governmental responsibility in a time of economic crisis for which they saw no remedy, while, on the other hand, conditions no longer permitted them to return to an openly revolutionary line. Also, the Soviet Union preferred to have the government remain in power since French foreign policy was in perfect accord with its own interests. The accession to power of a united left could produce some unpleasant surprises for the Soviet leadership.

**Foreign Relations**

The first four months of 1974 were marked by efforts to strengthen France's relations with the Arab Middle East. This was the purpose of Foreign Minister Michel Jobert's trip to Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Kuwait, begun on January 23.

On June 27, at the conclusion of a state visit, the Shah of Iran and the French government signed an agreement involving a major ten-year development program under which France would sell to Iran five 1,000-megawatt nuclear reactors, the largest part of a $4 billion deal. Other aspects of the program included the electrification of Iranian railways and new railroad construction, the construction of a subway system in Teheran, the creation of a petrochemical industry, as well as military sales. The agreement was expected to ease France's acute balance-of-payments problem due partly to the rise in oil prices.

On August 28 France lifted the embargo on arms shipments to the Middle East "battlefield countries," which had been in effect since the six-day war. This decision came about after it had been clearly proved—particularly by Israel—that the Mirages delivered to Libya, theoretically outside the area of conflict, had ended up in Egypt and seen service in the Yom Kippur war.

At the end of October Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues visited Israel, where he was very coolly received. Earlier in the month he had gone to Libya and met with Yasir Arafat. The "warmth" of the meeting and the importance with which Sauvagnargues seemed to invest the PLO leader caused bitterness among French Jews, especially those who had campaigned for Giscard d'Estaing. However, France's support of the UN General Assembly November resolution granting observer status
to the PLO and recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people to "regain their rights" in keeping with the UN charter—in contrast to the other states of Western Europe—went beyond the anticipation of even the most pessimistic Jews. The worst that had been foreseen was an abstention.

At the beginning of December Soviet Communist leader Leonid Brezhnev came to France and met with Giscard d'Estaing to discuss matters relating to the Geneva conference on the settlement of the Middle East conflict. At a press conference on December 20 the French president described his foreign policy as based on internationalism and conciliation.

**UNESCO Affair**

Since the UNESCO sessions which took anti-Israel actions in November were held in Paris, France was, next to Israel, the place where repercussions were strongest. Among the numerous prominent intellectuals who signed an initial statement protesting the sanctions were Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir. A second statement by a large number of French intellectuals announcing that they would cease all cooperation with UNESCO until it demonstrated its fidelity to its proper purposes was signed by members of the Institute de France, the College de France, and the Academie Francaise; eminent scientists; famous actors and theatrical directors; jurists; psychoanalysts; priests and nuns, and even generals. This wave of protest was effective enough for the director general of UNESCO, Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, who on November 14 had replaced René Mahew of France, to offer a somewhat embarrassed explanation attempting to minimize the importance of these anti-Israel maneuvers. The French senate protested the UNESCO action by voting a symbolic cut in France's contribution to that body.

**Terrorism, Anti-Zionism, Antisemitism**

In August there was a terrorist attack on the Paris office of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU; United Jewish Philanthropic Fund). A booby-trapped vehicle parked in front of the building exploded but caused little damage. During that month, a number of letter-bombs were delivered to the Israel embassy in Paris, but were immediately recognized as suspicious and sent to the police laboratory. On September 15 a bomb planted in Le Drug-Store at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the literary quarter on the Left Bank, wounded several persons and killed David Grunberg, a militant Jew and Zionist. The police could not find the perpetrator.

There was a considerable decrease in leftist parades and demonstrations, and a certain depoliticization of university and high-school students, accompanied by a drop from the previous year in anti-Israel and "pro-Palestinian" shouts and graffiti. However, the Trotskyist, Maoist, and anarchist grouplets in the high schools continued their "educational" work of spreading anti-Israel ideology and slogans. One of the most virulently anti-Israel and fanatically pro-Arab political youth movements in France was the Gaullist Union des Jeunesses Progressistes (UJP). Split
from the official Gaullist party, the UDR, and in competition with the leftists, UJP outdid its competitors in anti-Zionism and antisemitism.

Israel's return of Quneitra to Syria was the occasion for a large-scale campaign to defame Israel. The Israeli soldiers were said to have profaned and pillaged the mosque and the church, and to have behaved exactly as did the Nazi SS at Oradour-sur-Glane (a small town in Southwest France burned with its inhabitants by the Nazi troops), a parallel drawn by an anti-Israel Gaullist deputy, Raymond Ofroy, in a speech at a Euro-Arab interparliamentary meeting in Beirut. Photographs of the ruins of Quneitra with the caption, "A Zionist Oradour," were pasted on fences and walls in Paris.

In June the old Jewish cemetery of Mommenheim, an Alsatian village, was profaned, the tombstones toppled and defiled. The police failed to find the culprits. On July 15 the Jewish cemetery of Vantoux in Eastern France was similarly vandalized. Here, too, no arrest was made.

During the summer, a repetition of the "Orléans rumor" (AJYB, 1970 [Vol. 71], pp. 419-20) occurred in Chalon-sur-Marne. In this middle-sized provincial city, too, the rumor spread that the Jewish owners of some dress shops used their fitting rooms to drug young women customers for purposes of the white slave trade, although—as previously in Orléans and later in some other cities—the police had received no report of the disappearance of a woman. There were, as before, official communiqués denying this absurd rumor, a police investigation without result, some complaints by the libeled merchants, and protests by the International League Against Antisemitism (LICA). The "Chalon rumor" dissipated rapidly.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Organizations and Institutions

The reorganization of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) from an agency for the collection and disbursement of funds for social and cultural activities into an organic, democratic institution of the Jewish community continued throughout 1974. The guiding principle was pluralism without discrimination. Particular emphasis was placed on attracting the younger generation to positions of leadership. There was first a major campaign for the mass recruitment of members; the minimum age was 18, and annual dues a very modest 25 francs. Toward the end of the year, 15,000 persons and 112 groups and associations had joined. General elections for a national council to direct the organization, for which 400 candidates filed, had to be postponed to January 1975 because of a protracted postal strike.

FSJU's philanthropic and cultural activities saw little change. As in the preceding year, the budget was relatively small and concentrated primarily on aid to the elderly poor, as well as on urgent cultural activities. Economic conditions presaged a growing case load of the needy.
One of the most valuable achievements of FSJU in recent years was the establishment in Paris in 1973 of the Centre Broca, a communal house for Jewish students and intellectuals. In a little more than a year, it had become the focal point for Jewish cultural activities of very high quality. Its Centre Universitaire d'Études Juives (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], 432), modern Hebrew courses, an annual colloquium of French-speaking Jewish intellectuals, lectures of all sorts, discussion groups, religious activities for youth, concerts, and exhibitions made it an intellectually inspiring place.

In October "Les Oliviers," a modern residence for the elderly, with every comfort, was opened by FSJU in Marseille.

Under its new president Jean Rosenthal, Compagnon de la Libération (an honorary title given to the first members of the resistance in General DeGaulle's entourage) and a former active Gaullist, the Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF; Representative Council of the Jews of France) took frequent action on matters of concern to French Jews, particularly Franco-Israeli relations. On October 30, on the eve of the French foreign minister's visit to Israel, CRIF published a communiqué after Rosenthal had been received at the Elysée Palace, stating that he "had informed President Giscard d'Estaing of the French Jewish community's shock and disgust at the fact that France had seen fit to recommend that a terrorist organization guilty of terrible outrages should be permitted to use the platform of the United Nations for its continued demand that the State of Israel cease to exist."

Consistoire and Religious Life

There were no new developments in the activities of the Consistoire Central de France. As in recent years, it carried on its regular functions: supervision of kashrut, Torah courses, and instructions for bar-mitzvah wherever a sufficiently large number of Jews lived. According to Consistoire figures, some 15,000 youngsters were receiving primary and secondary religious education at the beginning of the year, but their number had decreased by about one-third at the beginning of the summer vacation.

In the Paris region, two new synagogues were opened during the year: one at Vincennes with a community center, and one at Fontenay-les-Roses. The 100th anniversary of the great synagogue in the Rue de la Victoire in Paris was celebrated; Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren of Israel attended the ceremony.

It was not easy to be a religious Jew in France, even in Paris. There were, for example, only three or four kosher restaurants for the 300,000 Parisian Jews, and these were closed on the Sabbath. However, the city had countless kosher butcher shops.

Scattered and often little known religious activities, not connected with the Consistoire, took place in Paris and elsewhere. Various groups who resisted integration had their own small places of worship that were attached to no central organization. Young Lubavitcher Hasidim and their "mitzvah mobiles"—small trucks adorned
with religious slogans—came to Faubourg-Montmartre, the center of Paris, on their "put on the *tefillim!*" campaign. Approaching passing Jews, especially young people, they offered them phylacteries, and helped those, who so desired, put them on in the prescribed manner and to say the required benediction.

**Youth**

The Union des Etudiants Juifs (UEJ; Union of Jewish Students) did not increase its small membership in proportion to the ever-growing number of Jewish university students. UEJ was highly politicized. For some time now its dominant ideology has been that of the more or less left-wing tendencies within the French Socialist party, narrowly defined leftism being very much on the decline in all student circles. In the presidential elections, UEJ campaigned for Mitterand. Independent of UEJ was the Comité de Liaison des Etudiants Sionistes Socialistes (CLESS; Liaison Committee of Zionist-Socialist Students), engaged primarily in activity in support of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The Front des Etudiants Juifs (FEJ; Jewish Student Front), considered as belonging to the "right," has gained influence and was militantly Zionist.

**Pro-Israel Intellectuals**

A year after its establishment, the Conseil des Intellectuels Juifs pour Israël had not accomplished much. Its stated aim was to familiarize intellectuals with the idea and facts of Zionism and to explain in intellectual terms the national revolutionary significance of Zionism, in an effort to go beyond routine Zionist propaganda. By virtue of its composition, the Conseil also aspired to be expressive and representative of the Jewish intelligentsia of France. Under the presidency of Professor Robert Misrahi, it did not attain, or even approach, any of these objectives. From its inception, blunders, as well as political and personal dissension, seriously damaged the project. Misrahi had to resign in June, and no successor could be found. Controlled by the Jewish Agency (which paid its expenses), deprived of all autonomy, and without the support of the majority of prominent Jewish intellectuals, the Conseil did no more than repeat the Zionist and pro-Israel propaganda of the old Zionist organizations. Its consequent lack of prestige and influence led many of its founding members to resign. With a membership that never reached 50, it failed in its aim to become a large representative body of the Jewish intellectual elite.

**The Press**

On the whole, the condition of the French Jewish press remained stable and with too little growth in influence and prestige, given the size of the Jewish population and the importance of Jewish problems even in the non-Jewish world. This, no doubt, was in part due to the fact that the general press, and especially the dailies, had been giving its readers ample information and commentary on Israel. The
majority had correspondents in Israel, most often Jews and sometimes even Israelis, and often published interviews with Israeli political figures and even writers, artists, and scholars.

The value of the Jewish press lay in its reflection of Jewish cultural and religious life. This was particularly true of the FSJU's monthly *l'Arche*, the monthly *Information Juive*, edited by Jacques Lazarus and read mainly by Jews of North African origin (its circulation of about 18,000 should be multiplied by three to get its actual readership), and the weekly *Tribune Juive* of Strasbourg, which was more widely read by observant Jews than any other publication. The daily Jewish Telegraphic Agency bulletin, according to its editor Reine Silbert, had a readership of 15,000. Intended for journalists, it was read by many others because of its daily news reports. The new General Zionist and Revisionist monthly, *Dialogues*, has been doing a creditable job, but has not yet been widely distributed.

In October *l'Arche* published a special issue on the Jews of France, with interesting historical, sociological, and reportorial contributions. *Information Juive*, in spite of its modest format and its run-of-the-mill readership, was the Jewish periodical that gave the most serious attention to ideas and devoted much of its space to them, with articles by such leading French Jewish scholars and writers as André Neher, Renée Neher-Bernheim, Emmanuel Lévinas, Eliane Amado Lévy-Valensi, and Vladimir Jankélévitch. *Tribune Juive*’s editor Rabbi Jacques Grunewald seemed more at home in politics than in theology; the publication was most militant in political matters, fighting with the greatest vehemence against the pro-Arabism of French statesmen and the government. The Alliance Israélite Universelle sponsored the quarterly *Les Nouveaux Cahiers*, an intellectual review with a small circulation of about 3,000. It sometimes carried excellent articles, generally written by educators, on a wide range of subjects: Zionism and the Diaspora, assimilation and Jewish nationalism, leftism and conservatism, and synthetic neo-orthodoxy with additives of Marxism and Freudianism. The semimonthly *Terre Retrouvée*, like the institutional Zionism which founded it, was not prestigious.

The Yiddish press was on the road to extinction. Of the three Yiddish dailies published in Paris some years back, only the Zionist *Unser Wort*, now the only Yiddish daily on the European continent, continued to appear regularly with the aid of a continuous subsidy from its readers. The Communist *Naïe Presse* came out only three times a week, while the Bundist *Unser Stimme* ceased publication.

During the long strike that paralyzed postal services for almost two months at the end of 1974, the Jewish periodicals, slow to arrive at their destinations in normal times, did not reach their destination at all. The copies piled up in the depots, at a time when many political events, such as the Arab summit conference at Rabat and the exaltation of the Arafat leadership, called for discussion.

**Books, Theater, Films**

Among the new publications of the year were many accounts and memoirs dealing with the Soviet detention-camp system and Soviet antisemitism during the
Stalin, Khrushchev, and post-Khrushchev eras. The majority of these works were written from the same perspective as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago 1918–1956*, placing the blame for the prison world of the Soviet Union not on Stalin's tyranny alone, but on the whole system, starting with Lenin and Trotsky. Some of these books were more specifically devoted to the situation of the Jews in the USSR, to the efforts, adventures, misadventures, and tragedies of those who chose *aliyah* to Israel, and to Soviet antisemitism today, both official and popular.

Esther Markish's book *Le long retour* ("The Long Return"; Robert Laffont) is an account of the life of the great Yiddish poet Peretz Markish, from his marriage to the author to his arrest in 1949 and execution in 1952. The narration continues with the deportation and exile of Esther and her children, the posthumous rehabilitation of her husband and, finally, her decision to go to Israel at any cost and the ultimate success of her efforts. The book drew the enthusiastic response of the French public. Esther Markish spoke on television in French, the language of her studies, and won the sympathy of the viewers.

*Les otages* ("The Hostages"; Seuil) by Grigori Svirski, primarily deals with the virulence of antisemitism in the Soviet Union today, especially in university and literary circles. The author never gives a precise answer to his repeated question, "How is it possible?" But the answer is implicit in his analysis of the situation; it is, in essence, that the revolution in Russia changed neither the people nor human relations, nor the causes of antisemitism.

A major Yiddish literary work in French translation, *La famille Machber* ("The Family Machber"), by Der Nister, pseudonym of Pinchas Kahanovich who had been executed during the Stalin purges, appeared under the imprint of Lattés, a new publisher who planned to give a large place to Jewish literature. The book was only one volume of what was to have been a continuous novel in several volumes, had the author lived.

*Que vous a donc fait Israël* ("What Israel Has Done for You"; Gallimard) was a moving and attractive book pleading the cause of Israel with affectionate warmth and from a more moral and generally humanitarian than a political perspective. The author, Zoé Oldenbourg, was well known for her historical novels. Another book on a Jewish subject by a non-Jewish author was Herbert Le Porrier's novel *Le médecin de Cordoue* ("The Physician of Cordova"). This novelized biography of Maimonides was notable not for its historical exactness—anachronisms are deliberately introduced—but for the nobility of its inspiration.

Among reprints of Jewish scholarly works were: *Histoire biblique du peuple d'Israël* ("Biblical History of the People of Israel"; Adrian Maisonneuve), by Renée Neher-Bernheim and André Neher; Renée Neher-Bernheim’s *L'histoire juive* ("Jewish History"; Kincksieck) in four volumes covering the period from the Renaissance to the present; André Neher's biography of *David Gans* (Kincksieck), a disciple of the Maharal of Prague; and an anthology on Rashi by twelve authors, with a preface by Manès Sperber, published by the Service Technique pour l'Education, a publishing service connected with FSJU.

*Les Juifs à Paris de 1933 à 1939* ("The Jews in Paris from 1933 to 1939");
Calmann-Lévy) by the young American scholar David H. Weinberg was a historical study based on documentary material, especially press reports. This work caused a stir in Jewish circles because it recorded an attitude toward the German and Austrian refugees on the part of some French Jewish notables and rabbis that showed little Jewish solidarity.


Elie Wiesel's *Zalman ou la folie de Dieu* ("Zalman: or, The Madness of God") had a deserved success at the Théâtre de la Nouvelle Comédie in Paris.

Two excellent films on Jewish subjects appeared during the year. Both *Les violons du bal* ("The Violins of the Ball"), directed by Michel Drach, and *Les guichets du Louvre* ("The Windows of the Louvre") directed by Michel Mitrani, dealt with the persecution of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Paris.

**Personalia**

Darius Milhaud, leading figure in contemporary French music; composer of operas, cantatas, symphonies, and other works; best known for *Sacred Music*, commissioned by Temple Emanu-El in New York for its services, died in Geneva on June 22, at the age of 81. Léon Czertok, for many years secretary-general of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris, died on September 17. Raphael Spanien, once close associate of Léon Blum and his defense lawyer at the Riom trial in 1940, director of the European headquarters of United HIAS Service, for decades active in refugee aid and resettlement work, died in Geneva on October 11, at the age of 72.

**Arnold Mandel**
The Netherlands

Domestic Affairs

On May 11, 1973, the government of Premier Joop den Uyl took office, ending a 164-day political crisis—the longest in the history of the country. This was the first government since 1966 in which the Labor party (PvdA) participated, and the first in 15 years that was headed by a Socialist. The progressive parties—PvdA, Democrats '66 (D'66), Radical party (PPR)—had 56 of the 150 seats in the Second Chamber of parliament. The other coalition partners were the Catholic People's party (KVP) and the Anti-Revolution party (ARP). The July 1974 elections for 38 of the 75 seats in the First Chamber of parliament strengthened the position of the PvdA and the opposition Liberal party, and weakened the Catholic People's party (KUP).

The new government policy included a cut in the defense budget, a more equitable distribution of earnings, and putting a stop to land speculation. No decision regarding the liberalization of the abortion law was expected before the Christian parties—the Christian Historical Union (CHU), the Calvinist ARP, and the KVP—submitted new proposals.

Foreign Minister Max van der Stoel, one of the severest critics of Greece and Portugal, was expected to continue to strengthen the ties with NATO, since he was more Atlantic-oriented than his predecessor, Norman Schmelzer, who leaned more toward Europe. Although a strong critic of United States foreign policy, he advocated close cooperation with the United States. His friendly attitude toward Israel was well known.

Finance Minister Willem F. Duisenberg announced on September 15 that the Dutch currency would be revalued by 5 per cent because of a trade balance surplus of over 5 billion guilders. New measures were also adopted to combat unemployment, which had risen from 106,490 in December 1973 to 123,020 in mid-1974, some 3 per cent of the work force. On August 6, 1974, the Rotterdam city council reversed its decision to limit the number of foreign workers, including natives of Dutch overseas territories, to 5 per cent of any district's population. The Crown had suspended the order two weeks after it was issued, in September 1972, following protests.

On several occasions the Dutch showed characteristic concern for the underdog and opposition to acts of violence and discrimination. Fifty thousand persons demonstrated in Utrecht on January 6, 1973, against the bombing of North Vietnam. The Dutch government was among the first to support officially the World Council
of Churches program against racism, with a contribution of 500,000 guilders on December 11, 1973. Seven months earlier it had barred Dutch freighters from entering the South African port of Simonstown. Minister of Development Cooperation Johannes P. Pronk's national budget for 1973 contained a provision for development aid in the amount of 2.7 billion guilders by 1976, constituting 1.5 per cent of national income. On November 31, 1973, the Dutch representative to the United Nations declared that the Dutch contribution to UNRWA would be raised by 900,000 guilders, which was earmarked for educational projects. Large fund-raising campaigns were held for the disaster areas of Bangladesh and the Sahel region of Africa. A televised appeal for the support of cancer research brought contributions of over 60 million guilders in one evening.

Aid to Nazi Victims

On May 16, 1973, "Center 45," a clinic for the treatment of those who were suffering from the effects of the Second World War, was officially opened in Oegstgeest by Queen Juliana. The new facility bore witness to the fact that many of the Holocaust survivors continued to suffer disabilities 25 years after the war had ended. Particularly traumatic for them were events like the 1972 debates on the proposed release of the remaining three war criminals in a Dutch prison and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In January 1973 parliament passed a law giving war victims the right to claim allowances for physical and psychological disorders. By mid-year 15,000 had already filed claims, among them 1,000 living in Israel and the United States. This was four times the expected number. To cope with the increasing backlog of applications, Undersecretary for Culture, Recreation and Welfare Wim Meyer issued special measures regulating advance payment of recognized claims. An editorial in the Jewish weekly Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad praised Meyer for his speedy action. During 1974 Meyer visited Israel and Jewish communities in California and New York to investigate the problems of the Dutch Jews who had left the Netherlands after the war. When he returned from Israel he said that there, too, former Dutch citizens could claim allowances and that a coordinating agency would be set up to facilitate procedures. In a special television interview he emphasized that, in decades to come, material as well as spiritual aid would have to be given to those who suffer. He also spoke of a growing need to give support to their offspring. In mid-December the Jewish community asked the government to subsidize the engagement of special pastoral workers to deal specifically with the growing psychological problem of the survivors.

Dutch Solidarity with Soviet Jews

The decision of Austria on September 28, 1973 to close Schönau transit camp (p. 365) brought a strong reaction in the Netherlands. Several hours after the news broke, Rabbi Awraham Soetendorp strongly protested the closing in a television
interview, which also raised the question whether it would not be possible for the Netherlands to admit Soviet Jews. The following day, there was a deluge of offers to house them in hotels, private homes, and conference centers from all parts of Holland. Politicians and private individuals appealed to the government to open the doors of the Netherlands in case of emergency. Labor party leader Ed van Thijn asked den Uyl and van der Stoel to set up reception camps for Soviet Jewish emigrants. Van der Stoel maintained that the Netherlands "is obliged to do something for the Jews of the Soviet Union," but was later assured by the Austrian ambassador that his country was continuing with its task.

A seminar on the situation of the Soviet Jews, held on October 7, 1973, the day after the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war, was attended by Premier den Uyl and his wife. Author and journalist Emanuel Litvinoff of London gave a presentation. Later in the afternoon, at a rally originally organized to protest against the closure of Schönau, politicians of all parties took the occasion to express their strong solidarity with Israel.

Reaction to Yom Kippur War

During the first weeks after the outbreak of the conflict there was an outpouring of solidarity from individuals and groups. On October 13, for example, some 5,000 persons, among them Defense Minister Henk Vredeling, participated in a demonstration in Amsterdam. In the Hague on October 31, 2,500 people attended a special "Artists for Israel" meeting. Other activities took place throughout the country, all coordinated by an emergency committee set up by the Zionist executive. Contributions by non-Jews, sent to the Dutch Collective Action for Israel, were proportionately higher than in any other part of the world. A public-opinion poll indicated that 73 per cent of the people supported Israel's position.

The Dutch government's dismay at the resumption of hostilities in the Middle East was voiced in an October statement by Foreign Minister Max van der Stoel asking that fighting cease and that there be a return to the 1967 cease-fire lines. Interpreting this to mean that the Dutch would support these lines in a final settlement, and angered by their earlier reaction to the Schönau camp closing, the six Arab members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) announced on October 24 an embargo on all oil exports to the Netherlands. Algeria and Kuwait had done so several days earlier, and Libya soon joined. This meant a reduction by about two-thirds in Dutch crude oil imports, which, Dutch officials feared, could lead to a general economic slowdown, particularly in Rotterdam. An emergency law was enacted, authorizing measures to head off shortages. They asked for a reduction of the use of energy, a ban on travel by car on ten consecutive Sundays, and others. This did not change the people's attitude toward Israel. On the contrary, a poll indicated a one per cent rise in support for the state.

Still, there was no public remonstration when the government, in an effort to ease the situation, began to back away from its initial pro-Israel position. Foreign Minis-
ter van der Stoel repeatedly denied Arab charges of support of Israel which, he said, were based on a misunderstanding of Dutch policy. The ambassador to Iran, Paul A. E. Renardel de Lavalette, and J. H. van Rooijen, who had held the posts of ambassador to the UN, the United States, and Great Britain, were sent to Arab capitals to clarify this policy. On October 23 the Dutch government reiterated that, in its view, a solution of the conflict would have to be based on UN Resolution 242. On November 6, it signed the European Common Market declaration endorsing the return to the Arabs of territories captured in the six-day war. In a foreign policy debate in parliament on November 29, van der Stoel repeated an earlier statement that the government sought a "balanced policy" that acknowledged the rights of both Israel and the Palestinians. At the same time, the government continued to insist that it had not changed its policy; that it had merely clarified it in the light of new developments. On the day of the parliamentary debate Premier den Uyl, speaking to newspapermen, pledged that his government "would never place the continuation of the State of Israel in jeopardy." And when Dutch and Arab representatives meeting in Brussels on December 1 made no progress toward ending the embargo, Dutch Minister of Economic Affairs Rudolph F. M. Lubbers said the Netherlands would not meet Arab demands for a condemnation of Israel and a call for complete Israeli withdrawal. "We don't want to give the impression," he declared, "that we are buying oil on a Saturday morning, or making any deal that would be misunderstood by others." However, the Netherlands received some oil supplies, and the embargo was officially lifted on July 10, 1974. The decision was made because, as the Saudi Arabian oil minister put it, "All the members [of OPEC] were convinced the Dutch government's attitude toward the Middle East had changed."

**Terrorism**

On November 25, 1973, a KLM Dutch Royal Airlines Boeing 747 with 247 passengers was hijacked by Palestinian terrorists while flying over the Middle East on route from Amsterdam to Tokyo. The passengers were released when the Dutch government acceded to the hijackers' demands that it "ban transportation of weapons and volunteers to Israel" and would not open facilities for Soviet Jews in transit to Israel. To put a stop to this type of blackmail, parliament on December 20, 1972, had unanimously passed a bill, introduced by Minister of Justice Andreas van Agt, providing that terrorist acts against airplanes be punished by nine to 15 years in prison.

However, sentences imposed June 6 by a Dutch court on two Arab guerrillas who had hijacked and set fire to a British Airways jetliner at Amsterdam airport on March 3, 1973, were only five years imprisonment. The government had been warned by the Arab National Youth Movement for the Liberation of Palestine, which claimed responsibility for the attack, to make certain that no harm came to the hijackers during their pretrial detention. Answering critics of the light sentence,
van Agt declared he considered it to be a sensible one in view of the interests and responsibility involved. The statement drew a reprimand from the premier. In October, one of the two terrorists, who were held in prison in Scheveningen, and three other armed convicts took 15 hostages in the prison chapel and demanded, as condition for their release, a getaway plane and freedom for the second Palestinian. With government approval, Dutch marines and police unit stormed the chapel and released the hostages.

The hijackings and related events prompted the World Jewish Congress to cancel plans to hold its world conference in the Hague at the beginning of May 1974. The official reason was that it would be difficult for the Dutch to provide the necessary security for the safety of all delegates, who would have had to be housed in various places in Amsterdam and the Hague.

A new indication of the links between Arab terrorist groups and foreign revolutionary groups (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 499) was the seizure as hostages of the French ambassador and his staff in the Hague by two Japanese, later identified as members of the Japanese Red Army. They demanded the release of a third member imprisoned in Paris, the payment of $300,000 ransom, and safe conduct to the airport. Their demands were met, and a Dutch volunteer group flew the terrorists to Damascus, where they were persuaded to give up the ransom. In a press conference, Premier den Uyl, who had taken charge of the negotiations, expressed satisfaction that the hostages were freed unharmed, but also bitterness that the criminals escaped punishment. A Syrian announcement that the terrorists were in PLO custody was later denied.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish population of the Netherlands remained at about 30,000. Membership in the Orthodox communities decreased from 18,900 in 1954 to 16,000 in 1974; the Sephardi community membership remained at 800. The Liberal community's membership doubled in the 1964-74 decade, from 1,000 to over 2,000 members. New Liberal communities were formed in Arnhem, Rotterdam, and Enschede.

Aliyah remained at about one per cent of the Jewish population, annually. Of the 213 Jews who went to Israel in the 1972-73 Jewish calendar year, 33 were under 18 years of age and 80 between 18 and 35. Of a total of 168 who left during the following year, 23 were under 18, and 78 between 18 and 35.

Israel and Zionism

In May 1973 the Dutch Jewish community marked the 25th anniversary of the State of Israel with a celebration attended by 2,500 persons, who were addressed by Leon Dulzin of the Jewish Agency.

At its 70th annual meeting, the Zionistenbond (Zionist Federation), whose chair-
man was Sal Cohen, approved the application of the Netherlands branch of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) for membership. The WIZO board later decided against joining. The meeting elected Mrs. Fieps van Emde, immediate past president of WIZO, to succeed Cohen as Federation chairman.

A Center for Documentation and Information for Israel (CIDI) was established in February 1974. Its purpose, according to directorRal Levisson, was to eliminate prevailing ignorance about Israeli affairs through the publication of factual information. It thus far issued a number of pamphlets, among them a detailed study of the Palestine Liberation Organization. At the same time, a group of young intellectuals formed Werkgroep Israel, which organized study groups throughout the country and published a bi-monthly Nabij aimed especially at high-school and university youth. David Shultan, who joined the staff of the Israeli embassy in 1974 as press attaché, did much to help these groups achieve their aim. Gavriel Gavielli replaced Joshua Tregor as councillor at the embassy.

During the months following the Yom Kippur war Jewish communities throughout Holland concentrated their activities on fund raising and general support for Israel. Many youths volunteered for work in Israel. Proceeds from a public auction, held on November 4, went to Israeli widows and orphans. Solidarity with Israel was expressed on a number of other occasions. In May 1974 there were expressions of sympathy for the victims of the Ma'alot killings. In November the Werkgroep Israel organized a demonstration at the offices of the European Common Market in the Hague, protesting its declaration in support of the Arabs (p. 316). On November 14, when Yasir Arafat addressed the UN Assembly, Jewish youth held a rally in the center of the Hague and handed a foreign ministry official a petition asking that no PLO representative be permitted to appear in the UN. On December 1, in Amsterdam, a meeting organized by the Zionist Federation and attended by 2,500 persons joined the other Jewish communities in Europe in expressing solidarity with Israel. The meeting, which was addressed by several Dutch political leaders, was critical of the government's decision to abstain from voting at the time of the UN debate on support for the Palestinians. On April 20, 1974, a number of leading intellectuals protested the UNESCO decision to expel Israel. This protest was followed by a declaration of solidarity with Israel, signed by representative personalities, known as the "Statement of the 88."

Appreciation of Dutch support of Israel was shown by the establishment of a Dutch-Israeli Friendship League in Israel. So many Israelis, including then Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, praised the Netherlands that Dutch Ambassador to Israel Gijsbert J. Jongejans cautioned against exaggeration. On the occasion of Queen Juliana's 65th birthday, on April 20, 1974, a new forest in Galilee was dedicated to her. On that day her grandson Prince Willem Alexander planted the first tree from that forest in front of the royal palace.
Community Activities

A new Jewish home for the aged in Rotterdam was inaugurated by the city's mayor on April 22, 1974. The Jewish home for the aged in Arnhem celebrated its 100th anniversary. The Rosh Pina and Maimonides day schools, with primary and secondary grades, moved to their new premises in Buitenveldert, a modern Amsterdam suburb (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 415). The board of the Kerkgenootschap Orthodox community in Amsterdam agreed in August 1974 to move its administrative offices to the cultural center in Buitenveldert, whose population was ten per cent Jewish. The Gotspe youth club in the old central part of Amsterdam, which had been a meeting place for more than 600 youths, was closed in February 1973 because it had no money.

In February 1974 Prince Claus, German-born husband of Crown Princess Beatrix, paid an official visit to the Jewish community of Holland, at the Amsterdam Jewish center, where he was welcomed by representatives of all communal organizations. There had been strong opposition to the marriage from Jews and non-Jews alike because he had been a member of Hitler's Waffen-SS (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 333; 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 353). However, he proved to be an active popular leader, notably in the field of development programs. On the occasion of his visit, he asked to be informed particularly about Dutch Jewish youth and the Jews in the Soviet Union. His interest in Soviet Jews was well known to the Dutch Committee of Solidarity with Jews in the Soviet Union which had been in touch with the prince and princess before they visited the USSR in May 1973.

After years of negotiations agreement was reached in June 1973 on the distribution of the JOKOS (Stichting van Joodse Kerkgenootschappen en Sociale Organisaties in Nederland voor Schadevergoedings Aangelegenheden) funds, the accumulated interest of 11 million florins on German reparations payments to the Dutch government. In addition to 2 million guilders which had already been given to Israel, 3 million were paid to the Irgun Oleh Holland to aid needy Dutch immigrants in Israel; 2 million went to the Orthodox, 1 million to the Liberals, and 600,000 to the Sephardim. The fairness of the distribution was debated in the Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad.

The Weinreb case (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 351; 1973 [Vol. 74], pp. 411-12) remained in the news. Corroboration of his guilt of having denounced resistance workers and Jews to the Nazi occupation authorities was presented in a new, definitive study by A. J. van der Leeuw and D. Giltay Veth of the government National Institute for War Documentation.

Religion

After the retirement of Amsterdam Chief Rabbi Aaron Schuster in October 1972, the central committee of the Orthodox community, the Nederlands Israëlietische Hofdsynagoge, despite rabbinic opposition, decided in June 1974 to establish one chief rabbinate for all of Holland. The Dutch system allowed for chief rabbis in
Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and one for Utrecht, who had jurisdiction over the rest of the country. By year's end the decision had not yet been carried out. The vacancy left by the departure to Israel in December 1972 of Rabbi David Brodman of Amsterdam was finally filled in mid-1975, when Rabbi Aryeh L. Ralbag was inaugurated.

A serious problem arose in the Rotterdam community at the end of 1973, when its board decided not to renew the contract with Chief Rabbi Daniel Kahn, which was to expire in August 1974. Kahn requested that a Bet Din be convened to deal with the disagreements between him and the board. The request as well as the offer by Britain's Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits to act as mediator were refused. In September 1974, after months of debate between factions in support of and against him, Rabbi Kahn finally offered his resignation on "religious grounds." In an interview with the *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* he declared that the board had made decisions contrary to *Halakhah*, which he could not accept.

Work to restore the 250-year-old Portugues Synagogue in the Hague was begun in September 1973, a year after it was acquired by the Liberal Jewish community. At a press conference in April 1974 an interfaith committee representing churches and other non-Jewish organizations in the Hague announced that it would help finance the project and that it had received individual contributions from the members of the royal family. The Queen also made a contribution to a project to restore the 17th-century de Pinto mansion in the former Amsterdam Jewish quarter, which had been almost entirely demolished by subway construction work.

In February 1974 the Orthodox community of the Hague, the Nederlands Israëlietische Gemeente, bought the Good Friday Church which was to be converted into a synagogue. The one on Wagenstreet was declared to be a historical monument and was to be used only on the High Holy Days.

In October 1974 army chaplain Rabbi Leo Slagter retired and was succeeded by Rabbi Michel Nager. The community planned to appoint a second Jewish chaplain, but no appointment was made because of a controversy with the Liberal community which wanted the post to be filled by a Liberal rabbi.

**The Rabbis and the Churches**

The Yom Kippur war gave rise to a public controversy regarding the position of the official church organizations in the Netherlands toward Israel. When the Dutch Reformed Church, the Calvinist Church, and the Catholic Church announced a collection of funds to help all victims of the conflict, the Orthodox and Liberal rabbis, on October 15, 1973, addressed an open letter to them expressing shock that they had not spoken out against aggression. While all victims should be helped, they said, the silence of the churches implied that they condoned the attack on Israel.

In reply to the letter which was widely publicized and debated on television, the Calvinist and Dutch Reformed church leaders stated that "in these times of struggle and tension," they felt "very close to the Jewish people," whose link with Israel was
eternal and unbreakable. They expressed hope for a peace agreement which would guarantee the security of Israel and solve the problems of the Palestinians. Secretary General van den Heuvel of the Dutch Reformed Church and S. Gerssen said the exchange of letters indicated that relations between church and synagogue had become closer.

A reply also came from the Catholic bishops in whose view "it would not suffice to condemn only this violence," precisely because they were concerned about "the fate and identity of the Jewish people which, after centuries of persecution, desires a secure home." They advocated that "a lasting peace for the people of Israel should be sought by negotiations between all parties concerned," taking into account also the "interests of the Palestinians."

The rabbis individually expressed their disappointment with the replies, especially the bishops' letter. "There will always remain the fact that they had been silent in the hour of need." Utrecht's Chief Rabbi Eliezer Berlinger said the Protestant churches at least underscored Israel's right to existence, which the Catholic bishops did not mention. The Liberal rabbis expressed a desire to continue the dialogue with the churches.

At the local level, an overwhelming number of churches throughout the country responded with expressions of solidarity and fund raising for Israel. The small village of Urk collected over 100,000 guilders, a gift that was officially presented to Israeli ambassador Hanan Bar-On. In November 1973 a number of Dutch pastors and the Hague's Chief Rabbi Menachem Fink established a group called Synagogue and Church in Support of Israel. The pastors published nine theses pledging their unequivocal support as Christians for the Jewish people and the State of Israel. By the end of 1974, the group had some 150 members.

In June 1974 an Israel Committee was formed by non-Jews for the purpose of disseminating information and organizing activities in support of Israel. In September a large crowd attended an atonement service held in the Dom Church in Utrecht to express the Christian commitment to Israel. Before Yom Kippur 5735, the first anniversary of the war, the Dutch Reformed Church addressed a letter to all rabbis which said it wished to express concern for, and fellowship with, the Jewish people and Israel out of a need to voice its deepfelt convictions not only in moments of distress, but also in a time of relative peace. In December the Reformed Church strongly protested issuing certificates of baptism to those who wanted to travel to Arab countries. All Dutch church organizations later prohibited pastors and priests from issuing such certificates.

Publications

Dr. Lou de Jong published volume five (March 1941 to July 1942) of his detailed study of the history of the Netherlands during the German occupation, Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog ("The Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Second World War"). Dr. Ben A. Syes published a collection of essays,
Studies over Jodenvervolging ("Studies of the Persecution of Jews"), on Adolf Eichmann, antisemitism in Austria and other subjects, as they related to the "final solution" of the Jewish problem in the Netherlands. Dr. K. Kwiet of Berlin published in Dutch his incisive historical account of antisemitism, Von Jodenhoed tot Gele Ster ("From Jewish Hat to Yellow Star"). Hyman Beem's historical studies of Dutch Jewry, De Joodse Gemeente van Sneek ("Jewish Community of Sneek") and De Joden van Leeuwarden ("Jews of Leeuwarden"), and the treasured Uit Mokum en Mediene ("From Amsterdam and Environs") earned him honors for important research. Mozes Heiman Gans, celebrated author of the Memorboek (a picture atlas of Jewish life in Holland from the Middle Ages to 1940), published De Amsterdamse Jodenhoek ("The Amsterdam Jewish Corner"), a book of many photographs of the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam in 1900-1940. Jan van Agt wrote a beautiful book, De Synagogen van Nederland ("The Synagogues of the Netherlands"), with a large section devoted to the old Portugues synagogue of Amsterdam.

Solidarity with Soviet and Syrian Jews

Aside from arranging the October 7, 1973, seminar on Soviet Jews (p. 315), the Committee of Solidarity with Jews in the Soviet Union sponsored the traditional Simhat Torah celebration in front of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam in October 1974. Michail Shepselovitch who had spent over two years in a labor camp and Boris Rubinstein, recent immigrants from the Soviet Union, talked about their experiences at meetings and press conferences. During the 1974 Hanukkah week daily demonstrations were held in front of the Russian embassy in the Hague. Television coverage was extensive.

Dr. Jeanne Smeulers, an endocrinologist at Rotterdam University, initiated a doctors' campaign in 1974 in support of Dr. Michail Shtern, who, after his sons applied for emigration to Israel, was arrested and tried on charges of accepting bribes for medical services. Two thousand signatures on a petition were obtained within a few weeks. In November 1974 the Russian embassy in the Hague issued a statement in its official monthly news bulletin, attempting to counteract the protests.

In September 1973 a Jewish delegation appealed to the undersecretary for foreign affairs to deal with the situation of the Soviet Jews at the security conference scheduled for March 1974 in Geneva.

The Committee for Jews in Arab and East European Countries, under the leadership of Monseigneur Antonio C. Ramselaar of Utrecht, continued its appeal for relief to the suffering remnant of Jews in Syria. Their terrible plight was described in June 1974 by two young Syrian Jews to members of parliament and representatives of the Jewish community. Professor Th. van Hulst of the Christian Historical Union represented the Netherlands at the International Conference for the Rescue of Jews in the Middle East in Paris in July.
Personalia

In November 1973 Amsterdam Mayor Ivo Samkalden was appointed honorary curator of the Hebrew University. Dr. Louis Evers was appointed the new director of the Jewish Maimonides high school.

Dr. L. Fuchs retired as librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana of Amsterdam University, one of the largest Judaica libraries in the world. He has published studies on Yiddish and Hebrew in Dutch Jewish history, and was lecturer in Yiddish at Amsterdam University.

At a traditional ceremony in November 1974, the Israel ambassador presented the Yad Vashem medal for courageous aid to Jews during the war years to a number of Dutch men and women. On that occasion Premier den Uyl spoke of the feeling of guilt still shared by so many Dutch and of his own feeling of responsibility for the security and safety of the Jewish people.

Ernst Isidor, the president of the Orthodox Jewish community in Amsterdam, died in Amsterdam on July 21, 1974, at the age of 63.

S. Awraham Soetendorp
Italy

The government of Mariano Rumor, formed in July 1973 after one year of centrist interruption as a promising second edition of the Left-Center coalition, was forced to resign in March 1974. The crisis was triggered by the resignation of Republican Minister of the Treasury Ugo La Malfa because of the opposition of Socialist Minister for Programming Antonio Giolitti to his restrictive anti-inflationary measures. Rumor succeeded in forming his fifth government, but the Republicans (PRI) refused to reenter the coalition, promising only "external support" in parliament.

The year's main political event, one of foreseeably historical consequences, was the outcome of the referendum on May 12 for the abrogation of the divorce law of November 1970 (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 366). The referendum was sponsored by Christian Democrat (DC) moderates and right-wingers, together with ultra-conservative Catholic circles which, as early as 1971, had already collected 1,300,000 signatures, 800,000 more than legally required for a formal request for a referendum. This was regarded as an indication of a resounding victory; an expectation regarded by Amintore Fanfani, who was elected secretary of the Christian Democrats by the party congress in 1973, as his and his party's great chance. He therefore threw all his energy and the entire party apparatus into the campaign. It should be noted, however, that support of the referendum was in any case a necessary move by the party, which otherwise might have lost most of its followers and voters from the center to the right who were already embittered by the reconstitution of the Left-Center coalition in June 1973.

All the lay parties and the Communists (PCI) had opposed the referendum, with the result that DC remained alone with the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano-Destra Nazionale (MSI-DN) in an unwanted and embarrassing "cameraderie of arms," a circumstance that was exploited by DC's opponents, in particular the Communists, in a drive to win over its women voters—mostly "anti-divorcists"—under the banner of "antifascist fight."

Mindful of the disastrous consequences of past religious conflicts, the Vatican would have preferred to avoid this clash, and therefore refrained almost entirely throughout the campaign from openly taking sides. Only shortly before the voting, amid growing indications of defeat, the Pope and the Bishops' Conference came out in favor of the anti-divorcists, stirring further lay resentment.

The results of the balloting upset all forecasts by pessimists and optimists on both sides. Of the 32.2 million valid votes cast (about 85.5 per cent of registered voters), only 40.9 per cent opted for the abrogation of the divorce law, compared with the 47.6 per cent collected by the anti-divorcist parties in the last general election of May
1972. They had been rather certain to surpass the latter figure, trusting in the "voice of Catholic conscience" of a good many among the usual voters for lay parties. The fact that the opposite occurred was the real significance of the referendum, and had far-reaching consequences.

An analysis of the vote by geographic areas showed that the anti-divorcerists obtained 37.7 per cent (1972 election: 44.6 per cent) in the highly industrialized north of Italy; 36.3 per cent (1972: 44.5 per cent) in the central part, and a scant majority of 51 per cent (1972: 55.3 per cent) in the south, including the islands—a loss, as compared with their electoral strength, of about one-fifth in the northern and central, and one-twelfth in the southern regions of the country. The record was set in Turin (Piedmont), where the divorcerists obtained 79.8 per cent of the vote (in 1972 the percentage for all lay parties was 65).

For the Christian Democratic party and for Fanfani's personal position the referendum outcome was a true disaster. The left wing reproached Fanfani for having used the party's prestige for his personal ambition. The rightists blamed 1) the party's board for not having agreed to the neofascists' proposals to abrogate the divorce law in parliament by simply using the majority represented by the combined two parties, and 2) the party's left wing for having caused the debacle by desertion in battle.

What shook the DC to its foundation, however, was the demonstration by the vote that it had lost its image of a political party based on common religious feeling and on the corresponding Catholic outlook on society (and thus gathering adherents from all classes of the population). The promoters of the referendum committed the great and thus far unexplained blunder of affirming that their opposition to divorce was not based on religious but on social considerations, which in a way helped the voters to free themselves from clerical tutelage. No doubt, the widespread and angry disaffection from DC (which alone was held responsible for all the ills afflicting the country) was another important factor in the defeat, whose percentual proportion was later confirmed by the outcome of the Sardinian regional election in June and by the partial (but nationwide) municipal elections in November. These also registered large gains for the Socialist party (PSI) and moderate gains for Social Democrats (PSDI) and Republicans, while the Liberals and MSI-DN lost; PCI had a slight gain.

This induced the Socialist party to make new and greater demands: an end to the "hegemony" of the DC government in the numerous public institutions and state-owned enterprises—the so-called sottogoverno, or "subgovernment." The Socialists also demanded equal rights with DC, and recognition of their "superior quality" as "authentic representatives of the working class." This unacceptable attitude moved Rumor to tender his resignation again in June, but this time President Giovanni Leone refused to accept it, and asked the premier to seek a vote of confidence in parliament. The Socialists prudently drew back—they wanted more influence, but feared an untimely crisis—so that Rumor obtained the backing of the majority and remained in office. In October PSI again began to pressure; they wanted a "new
model for economy and government," as well as "preferential relations with DC," with evident detrimental consequences for the two other coalition partners, the Republicans and Social Democrats. No wonder the latter "slammed the door," provoking the third government crisis in 1974, the 36th since the fall of fascism.

The new crisis lasted 73 days, and after Fanfani failed, Foreign Minister Aldo Moro made a successful attempt to form a two-party government of Christian Democrats and Republicans, and, with the promise of PSI and PSDI support, managed to maintain formally the Left-Center coalition. The precariousness of this coalition was evident from the fact that it had so far found it impossible to call a meeting of representatives of the four parties. Moro's government, doubtless more homogeneous in composition than Rumor's, nevertheless was too exposed to easy demagogic criticisms and pressures by the Communists, and even more so by the Socialists. More than ever before, the latter found themselves in the comfortable situation of being close to the government, retaining the "subgovernmental" positions and, at the same time, being free to attack the Christian Democrats relentlessly.

Fanfani apparently remained the strong man in the party, and even succeeded in ousting the left-wing members from the secretariat; but his fate remained closely linked to the outcome of the June 1975 regional and municipal elections, which were generally expected to produce another painful defeat for his party. Efforts to form some kind of an alliance or election pact between the three minor lay parties (Social Democrats, Republicans and Liberals, the latter thus far in opposition), deemed essential to attract those DC voters who were expected to desert their party, but had no confidence in small parties and would otherwise abstain or vote for extremist parties, had failed so far, and had little prospect of success in the near future.

Toward year's end, Socialist leaders rather surprisingly declared themselves against the "historical compromise" as well as against a new "popular front" with the PCI (which was accused of lacking in a "sense of democracy" and of insufficient "autonomy from Moscow"). They obviously realized that in either eventuality they would be pushed aside by the much stronger partners. Strangely enough, they realized this only when the resistance of other democratic parties to PCI's participation in government was fading.

**Economy**

Economically, Italy, like the rest of the industrial world, was afflicted by "stagflation," only much more so because of its 80 per cent dependence on foreign energy sources; its huge treasury and balance-of-payment deficits (each amounting to $13 billion yearly, equal to one tenth of the GNP); the steady flight of capital abroad because of fear of the PCI, and a top-heavy, obsolete administration. Also detrimental was the attitude of the trade unions which in their turn claimed that pressure by ascending extraparliamentary groups forced them to continue their demands for higher salaries incompatible with the spreading recession, and to call paralyzing
strikes. Only at the end of the year were rather promising collective contracts concluded with employers' associations.

In the latter half of 1974, however, ruthless credit restriction reduced the balance-of-payment deficit sufficiently to cover it by available foreign loans. Thus supporting investment in industry and agriculture again became a possibility, but the effects will not be felt for some time. In December industrial production was 10.9 per cent lower than in December 1973, though there was a rise of 4.9 per cent for the entire year. Prospects for the first half of 1975 remained gloomy.

**Other Problems**

Signs of the disintegration of public and social life appeared also in other spheres. The prestige of political parties and parliament was shaken by scandals, and even more by the parties' adoption, in unprecedented record time of a few days, of a law granting them huge governmental subsidies. Signatures were being collected for another referendum to abrogate this law. At the same time, unrest was spreading among the police because of low salaries and because they felt they lacked the necessary protection to ensure their physical safety and moral standing in face of constant accusations from the left. Two police generals resigned in loud protest against the disavowal by civilian authorities of some disciplinary measures they had proposed. The military secret service was under heavy public attack for having failed to take action against fascist attempts to seize power; a general and several other high army officers were arrested, others were under investigation. In the judiciary, too, there was a deep rift which showed itself in disputes and accusations among the professional organizations of judges of various political tendencies. The unprecedented rise of crime (especially kidnapping with ransom demands of millions of dollars) and of political terrorism from both extremes—the riots and violence preferred by the extreme left, and cruel bomb massacres and foolish plans for golpi by the rightists—completed an image captured in the *N.Y. Times Magazine* cover-page heading, "Italy in Agony." Only at year's end did more and more leaders and citizens, apparently realizing that the country was drifting towards an abyss, seriously seek remedies.

**Foreign Policy: The Middle East**

Throughout the year, Italian foreign policy was necessarily "oil-minded." This also affected relations with other members of the European Economic Community and the United States. Aldo Moro, and later his successor Mariano Rumor, kept a median course between the French and American policies. Pressure by Arab countries to bring Italy into line with their particular interpretation of UN Resolution 242 and of Palestinian rights began on the new year, and soon proved completely successful. In January Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Cesare Bensi visited Iraq and Syria, and in February Foreign Minister Aldo Moro toured Arab countries, both repeating throughout their visits the phrases their hosts wanted to hear, and
both being rewarded with assurances that Italy was put on the list of "friends of the Arabs." Italian diplomats also endeavored to prove that the country's policy with regard to the Middle East conflict had not changed throughout the years. The Arabs showed much understanding for such efforts, and in December, when President Leone visited Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, Sadat certified, against all evidence, that "Italy had already supported the Arab cause in 1967, the first European country to do so." (Then why was Italy included in the oil embargo in October 1973?) Sadat overdid it, however, when he added that Italy was "on the side of the Arabs in their battle against Israel." Obviously embarrassed, Leone ignored such affirmation and limited his answer to pointed repetitions that Italy's policy was peace. Whether or not upon Italian request, Egyptian sources later said that Sadat's words had been incorrectly translated.

This incident indicated that the docility of Italian foreign policy had certain limits, which acted as a brake to the initially steep "downfall of political morals," as an observer called the enforced crude-oil policy. This emerged also in the affair of Arrigo Levi, editor-in-chief of the Turin daily La Stampa, owned by the FIAT automobile company. In Libyan President Muammar al-Qaddafi's eyes, Levi was guilty of having permitted the publication of a satirical article about Qaddafi's Paris press conferences, and still worse, for having fought as a volunteer in the Israeli army during the War of Independence. The Arab League threatened FIAT with boycott, even with nationalization of their installations in Arab countries, if Levi was not dismissed. The Italian foreign ministry pointed out that there was freedom of the press in Italy; FIAT adopted a wait-and-see policy, and thus far nothing happened either to Levi or to FIAT.

A relative stiffening of Italy's foreign policy could also be noted when its delegation, which had voted for inviting Yassir Arafat to speak in the General Assembly, abstained on the Arab draft resolution and voted against conferring observer status on the PLO. In UNESCO, after some hesitations in the commissions, Italy voted against condemnation of Israel and suspension of contributions to that country, and for its admission into the European regional group. For weeks, statements protesting the UNESCO resolution, signed by top Italian personalities, appeared in the Italian press and were adopted at meetings.

**Public Opinion on Israel and Jewry**

The press followed the government line in almost all its nuances. Italian journalists accompanying Aldo Moro on his trip did not report on the "publicity material" (various antisemitic pamphlets, among them the Protocols of the Elders of Zion) they were given in Kuwait and Riyadh, as their French colleagues angrily did in an analogous situation.

The press did much better in discussing the Arrigo Levi affair (since freedom of the press was at stake here) and the UNESCO resolutions. On Arafat's UN appearance, most papers did not comment; those which did stressed that it would only
aggravate the Middle East situation. Their reaction to the decisions reached by the Arabs at the Rabat summit conference was the same.

The stand on the Middle East by the various political parties did not change: the Social Democrats and Republicans in the government coalition, and the Liberals of the opposition, remained decidedly on Israel's side and said so on every appropriate occasion. So did the Socialists, at least in principle. They stressed evenhandedness generally, but with significant differences of detail between their leaders and with attention to what the Communists were saying. The neofascists followed a pro-Israel line, but only as an extension of their anti-Communism and while continuing to have many known antisemites in their ranks. The Communist party was strictly pro-Arab, faithfully following the Moscow line, sometimes even outranking it. The exceptions were some of its Jewish members like Senator Umberto Terracini who, against the reported opposition of the party leadership, decided to participate in the international meeting of Jewish jurists in London on the "juridical situation of the Jews in the USSR." He even said in an interview before leaving Italy that he intended to collect in London "new information," since he had given up hope of "ever obtaining [it] from Soviet sources." According to Terracini, Jews in the USSR were victims of "systematic violations of social justice." As a result of the absence of freedom of speech and of the press, the emerging diffuse antisemitism, under the guise of anti-Zionism, could not but influence Soviet public opinion.

Contacts between Italy and Israel were frequent in the political, scientific, cultural, and artistic fields. Delegations of the Kneset and of the Italian-Israeli section of the Interparliamentary Union exchanged visits. A PSI delegation toured Israel during the summer. A meeting of pro-Israel European parliamentarians in Berlin in February was attended by a group of ten Italian deputies and senators, headed by Undersecretary of Finance Giuseppe Amadei.

Within the framework of the Italian-Israeli cultural agreement, groups of scientists of both countries exchanged visits. The Italian Committee for the Weizmann Institute—its roster included top names in science and culture, among them its chairman, Professor Alessandro Faedo of the Italian National Research Council—held its inaugural meeting in Rome in November. Professor Israel Dostrowsky, president of the Weizmann Institute, attended. The presence of a score of Israeli physicians at the International Cancer Congress in Florence was widely noted; attention focused on Professor Leo Sachs, the "great hope" for cancer research.

A group of Florence architects, headed by the city's Commissioner for Urbanization Vittorio Foti, visited Jerusalem in the fall. Its report, made public during the UNESCO debate, praised both the excellent restoration work done to conserve the old city of Jerusalem and the efficient communications system in the new city.

At Venice university, Italian-born Rabbi Menachem Artom of Israel was appointed to fill the newly established chair of Modern Hebrew. The Israeli scholarship program for Italian graduate students continued.

In December an agreement for the exchange of information on the peaceful use of nuclear energy was signed between the Italian and Israeli atomic authorities.
In October Israeli Ambassador to Italy Moshe Sasson presented to Father Don Benedetto Richeldi the Yad-Vashem Medal for the Just for hiding and then having smuggled into Switzerland a group of Yugoslave Jews who, in the fall of 1943, had been trapped by the German occupation of Northern Italy.

In Modi'in, Israel, in a ceremony attended by Israeli and Italian personalities, Senator Paride Piasenti, president of the Italian Association of Former Concentration Camp Inmates, dedicated a forest in the memory of 40,000 Italian soldiers who had perished in Nazi concentration camps.

Israeli artists participated in the International Graphics Exposition in Florence, which attracted much interest and a good press. The Jerusalem orchestra came to Italy and performed in the renowned San Carlo Opera House in Naples, as well as in other cities. As usual, Israeli editors attended the annual Children's Book Fair in Bologna.

**The Vatican**

Efforts to come to an agreement with the Polish government on such problems as religious education, the nomination of bishops, and the construction of new churches, continued. The creation of "working commissions for contacts" was viewed as preliminary to the establishment of diplomatic relations. In the deliberations the bargaining power of the Church was relatively strong because of its almost undiluted influence on the Polish masses. A reasonably good agreement with Poland was particularly desirable because it could, in all probability, serve as a model for similar arrangements with the other East European Socialist countries with predominantly Catholic populations, where atheistic ideologies continued to be rampant.

At present, contacts with Czechoslovakia regarding the nomination of bishops made only slow headway; those with Hungary did not improve much despite the Vatican's removal of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, and relations with Yugoslavia were at a stalemate after the "honeymoon" of the late 1960s. Therefore, the Holy See was understandably ready to be more flexible in Poland; but it had thus far met with the opposition of the Polish clergy who were disinclined to relinquish any of the real religious freedoms "won in 30 years of fierce battle."

During his sojourns in Rome, Stefan Cardinal Wyszinski, primate of Poland, was finally persuaded that it would be in the general interest of the Holy See if he accepted its strategy, which even drew favorable attention from the Kremlin. In fact, Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski was invited to come to Moscow immediately after Monsignor Agostino Casaroli, the Pope's "foreign minister," visited Warsaw in February. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko called on the Pope two weeks later. The Soviets obviously had come to regard the "Polish case" as an interesting "experiment" in improved relations with the Vatican for the advancement of general East-West détente.

In April the Vatican's *Ostpolitik* veered sharply West: Monsignor Casaroli left
for Cuba to resume "fruitful dialogue" after the break in 1960, when 500 Spanish priests were ousted from the island. Fidel Castro gave him a very cordial reception and even honored him by paying him one of his famous unannounced midnight visits at the Nuncio's residence. Casaroli had the opportunity to talk freely with bishops and priests. Back in Rome, he spoke of mutual understanding, adding that "religious and Marxist teachings are not incompatible."

Within the Church, the rift between innovators and ultraconservatives continued, with both sides vehemently attacking the Church's central power and undermining hierarchic institutions. In an address in August, Pope Paul VI asked the faithful for comprehension of the Church's position in a hostile world, thereby drawing upon himself new criticism for pessimistic views unbecoming to a pope.

In September the Bishops' Synod met for a one-month session to discuss "Evangelization in the World Today." On that occasion, the Third World showed strength and vitality, and a marked tendency to make the most of local civilizations, assimilating their diversified theologies and their socio-political and nationalistic peculiarities. The Synod also revealed severe institutional tensions within the Church. The Pope reaffirmed his absolute power; the sensational collective meal for the 350 bishops (for centuries popes had not eaten with others) failed to compensate members of the synod for the absence of true "collegiality" between the Pope and bishops, as requested by the Ecumenical Council.

On Christmas the Pope solemnly inaugurated the "Holy Year 1975" in Rome (AJYB, 1974-75 [Vol. 75], p. 460), continuing its observance throughout the world in 1974. The Jewish origin of the concept was widely discussed by the mass media. More care than ever before on similar occasions was given to the spiritual uplift of the pilgrims who had come to Rome to participate in the ceremonies.

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND THE JEWS

Less than a month after the Fiumicino airport massacre staged by Arab terrorists in December 1973, a meeting took place in Beirut between the papal nuncio, Monsignor Alfredo Bruneira, and a representative of Yasir Arafat, in which the latter, expressing gratitude to the Pope for his position on the Palestinian issue, referred to "existing contacts" between the Vatican and a PLO delegate in Rome. The nuncio reportedly replied that "such support of the Vatican was dictated by right and justice." The Rome news agency Relazioni Religiose viewed the meeting as "another of the Vatican's historical errors of incalculable consequences for the Church, humanity, and the Palestinian Arabs themselves whom, it says, it wants to help. Whoever shakes hands with the fedayeen has no moral right to be scandalized by the massacre of innocents." Despite criticism, the Pope received in private audience the head of the PLO delegation to the World Food Conference in November.

Still more discussed was the Vatican's stand on the Capucci affair (p. 403). Patriarch Maximos V, who as former Bishop George Hakim had been a loyal citizen
of Israel, came to Rome in August to plead his bishop’s (Capucci’s) cause. He drew a parallel between Capucci and the European freedom fighters against Nazism. At that point, the Vatican remained neutral; but after the bishop’s conviction it issued a statement of “surprise and sorrow,” and of hope for the early liberation of the arms-smuggling priest.

Vatican diplomacy was actively involved in the question of Jerusalem. On March 25 the Pope appealed to the faithful to “save the Christian community in Jerusalem” from disappearing. He regretted the constant departure of Christians from Jerusalem. Without their presence, he said, the Christian holy places would become museums. Jews were somewhat perturbed by the appeal, though it was not openly aimed against them. The Pope in fact stressed the spiritual importance of pilgrimages to the Holy Land, especially by the clergy, as an opportunity for contacts also with the Jewish and Moslem communities. Referring to the first Christian fund raising, that of St. Paul, in behalf of Palestinian Christians, Pope Paul appealed to the faithful all over the world to contribute abundantly to meet the needs of the Church in the Holy Land. A somewhat less pessimistic assessment emerged from a conference on the “Situation of Christian Communities in Jerusalem,” held in Rome in April by Paolo Colbi, departmental director of the Israeli ministry of religion.

After Ma'alot, the Pope, more outspoken than in response to earlier acts of terror, cabled his apostolic delegate in Jerusalem that he was “deeply grieved by this most serious act of violence,” which he “deplored as an outrage against the conscience of humanity.” To the families of the victims and to Israel he expressed his “heartfelt sympathy in their anguish.” The Vatican newspaper Osservatore Romano declared that “every detail in this terrible aggression torments and offends, and gives rise to horror that is equalled only by the anger at, and condemnation of, . . . ideologies and methods of violence.”

In May the Pope received the fathers of two Israeli POWs held by Syria with very cordial words, wishes, and assurances of his intervention. In July he gave an audience to Israeli Minister of Tourism Moshe Kol, which concluded fruitful talks between Kol and the papal Commission for the Holy Year on the possibility of the Vatican encouraging visitors to Rome during that Year to extend their pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

The creation by the Vatican of a separate Commission for Relations with Judaism, with much wider functions than those so far performed in this area by the Secretariat for Christian Unity, was announced in October. A personal bond continued, since Jan Cardinal Willebrands was president of both bodies. Father Pierre de Contenson became secretary and Monsignore Charles Moeller vice president of the new commission.

In his customary Christmas address to the Cardinals on December 23, Paul VI said:

How could one not remember, on the eve of the Holy Year in this city, . . . another city, Jerusalem, the “Holy City” of the Christian world, at the same time the focus
of the love and secular nostalgia of that people which God mysteriously elected His people and in which we recognize ourselves, and so dear to the great religious family of Islam?

These words were quite novel; for Christianity had always considered itself the only heir to divine election and to the Covenant.

Shortly thereafter, the Vatican published "Guidelines and Suggestions for Relations With Judaism." They were intended to implement the Vatican II Declaration on the Jews, a breakthrough in Catholic-Jewish relations. However, the "Guidelines" even surpassed the Declaration in that they clearly rejected the widespread teaching that Judaism is a rigid religion of justice, fear, and law, calling for neither love of God nor of men. They stated explicitly that the history of Judaism did not end with the destruction of Jerusalem, but continued to develop, creating new rich religious values. The document further contained instructions to Catholics to start dialogue on all levels and to fight antisemitism. This decisive policy of approach to Jewry, including Israel, aroused considerable international interest. Some observers saw in it an attempt to establish a "common front of religions" against the moral disintegration of institutions and society; others believed it was meant to pave the way for the role the Holy See claimed for itself in the European Conference for Security and Cooperation and in the Geneva conference on the Middle East.

On November 30 the Pope presented to the directors of UNESCO the 1974 John XXIII Peace Prize, but made it quite clear that the recipient had been selected before the "regrettable" votes in UNESCO, an action that had nothing to do with UNESCO's institutional tasks, that outraged world opinion, and "disturbs the serenity of this happy moment." He also expressed the hope that the matter would be reviewed and settled as soon as possible. Monsignor Loris Capovilla, who had been secretary to Pope John XXIII, was to have read the citation, but cancelled participation in the ceremony without specifying the reason. Jean Cardinal Villot, the Vatican's secretary of state, who was to address the meeting, did not even attend, ostensibly because of a sore throat.

Also in November, the late French Jewish historian Jules Isaac, who had induced Pope John XXIII to put the problem of the Church's attitudes toward the Jews on the agenda of the Ecumenical Council, was eulogized by Professor André Shuraki of Jerusalem at Florence's town hall, which was filled to capacity.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Antisemitism

The main causes of antisemitism did not change (AJYB 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 464). However, its manifestations during the year could be traced largely to the extreme right and to reactionary Church circles. Apart from the more than a dozen incidents of slogan-painting on buildings in various towns (among them Venice in
February, and Pisa in November), and the numerous threatening letters with the usual, stale invectives, a “new look” was added by a shower of telephone hoaxes to Jewish leaders, announcing Arab terrorist actions, especially in August, and again in November, concomitantly with widespread rumors of an imminent rightist coup d'état. This induced authorities to arrange for the physical protection of the Jewish leaders in question and for stronger security measures at Jewish institutions. Also, leaflets claiming or, at times, disclaiming responsibility for some bombing attempt or similar exploit by extreme rightist groups often contained threats or merely ugly references to Zionists, Jews, and Israel. Thus, on August 8, a “Group for the ‘Black Order’ Press Office” disclaimed responsibility for the terrible bomb explosion in the Rome-Munch train but, at the same time, threatened reprisals against the “servants of Jewish power.”

The Friends of Freda (AJYB 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 438) reappeared on the scene to blame former Italian president Giuseppe Saragat and “Zionists” for the bomb massacre in Milan in December 1969, for which Freda was being held in prison pending investigation. At the same time, his well-known antisemitic Padua publishing house Edizione di AR continued its work without interference and, at year's end, distributed a new Catalogue 75, as usual offering books and pamphlets drenched with Nazi ideology, by Julius Evola, de Gobineau, Paul Rassiner, and others. It also announced a new series entitled Paganitas, of which the first publication dealt with the anti-Christian (and anti-Jewish) Greek philosopher Celsus.

The intensification of rightist antisemitic and anti-Zionist propaganda, while that of the extreme left became relatively less virulent, probably indicated that the suspected main financiers of such efforts, the wealthy Arab nations with Libya and Saudi Arabia in the vanguard, generally concentrated their help on rightist groups, probably in keeping with similar shifts in their domestic and foreign policies. In fact, commentators believed that such interest and support went beyond the question of Israel; that the oil sheiks were “actively interested” in promoting an authoritarian rightist regime in Italy. Very significant, too, was the proliferation of Nazi terminology in the rightist propaganda. In one of its few numbers, Anno Zero (“Year Zero”), organ of the now banned Ordine Nuovo (New Order), reproduced from Libyan papers Stürmer-style anti-Jewish articles and cartoons.

This sort of investment of Arab petrodollars does not seem very promising. True, the Italian extreme right still commanded a good number of pathologically exalted gangs and “action squads,” which were highly dangerous because of their access to unlimited dynamite and arms supplies, but largely powerless because of their almost complete isolation from society.

According to the weekly Panorama (August 22, 1974), the Italia-Libia organization in Ferrara was founded in 1973 by a group of dissidents from Giorgio Almirante’s MSI-DN party. Its chairman Claudio Mutti, founding member of the Ordine Nuovo, “managed” the Libyan money.

The release, in 1974, of a new edition of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion (printed in 1972 by an artisan, Costantino Catapano, in Lucero and its free distribution to
bishops, priests, and "selected" laymen by Don Luigi Villa, a priest in Brescia, was strongly condemned by the press.

Attention was given by the press (e.g. *Voce Republicanana*, March 2), to the appearance in Italy of the Children of God, a group led by "Moses David," which boasted of having branches in 11 cities. In their pamphlets, which were offered for sale, they hailed Arab power and predicted the early demise of the United States and Israel.

At the same time, Arab connections with the Italian Left did not stop; they focused on arranging conferences, discussion panels, usually "lofty" in principle and "peaceful" in outlook, with venomous attacks and threats against Israel.

**Relations with Israel**

The trauma of the Yom Kippur war and its aftereffects in Israel and on the international scene aroused fears among Italian Jews that Arab political pressure might extend to public opinion and lead to their isolation from society, similar to that of Israel from the world. Though there have so far been only very few concrete signs of such a development, these understandably assumed exaggerated proportions for Jews.

Israel remained the focus for Italian Jews, but they became more critical and realistic about its policy and structure. An extensive symposium significantly entitled "Two on the Seesaw," and published in the Rome Jewish community's monthly *Shalom*, dealt with the question of the relationship between the Diaspora and Israel. Opinions and proposals ranged from one for a "mixed senate" to "the absent should not interfere," to the somewhat misapplied "no taxation without representation." The prevailing view was that the "right to criticize should not be refused *a priori*, but that direct participation in decisions by the politically unorganized Diaspora was impossible."

On the local level, interest centered on the ninth quadrennial congress of Italian Jews, held in Rome from June 9 to 11. It was generally considered as disappointing because undue time was lost on the question of whether a person married to a Gentile could effectively serve as an official of the Jewish community. The decision was overwhelmingly negative. The congress's political resolution expressed solidarity with the State of Israel indissolubly linked to the Diaspora and condemned Nazi-fascist terrorist acts and plots. The newly elected council of the Unione delle Comunità Israeliiche Italiane was pledged to fight antisemitism from whatever source and to work for the removal of still existing discrimination against Jews in the penal code and the Italian Concordat with the Holy See.

The congress recommended the engagement of rabbis of other than Italian origin and ordination to alleviate the scarcity of rabbis; the modernization of teaching methods in Jewish day schools, and the establishment of follow-up courses for Jewish teachers. Also recommended were the creation of a Study Center of Jewish History, and the utilization of the artistic and cultural patrimony of Jewish communities not only for religious, but also for scientific purposes, with further research
to be conducted in the south of the country. It was decided to support the national circulation of *Shalom*, also among non-Jews. Judge Sergio Piperno-Beer was re-elected president of the Unione, and six new members were elected to its 15-member board.

Delegates of Zionist federations from 13 European countries—Great Britain and France sent only observers—met in Milan in October in a well organized conference. The reason for this partial representation was that, at earlier European Zionist meetings, the voices of the smaller federations were drowned out by the much larger British and French delegations discussing their own specific problems that were quite different from those of the smaller communities. In fact, the work of the plenary sessions and commissions proceeded more smoothly, and there was an opportunity to discuss adequately and intensively the specific situations of minor federations. The conference strongly emphasized the need for local Zionist organizations 1) to disseminate in the language of their country up-to-date information and material from the World Zionist Organization, and 2) to extend Zionist work with youth by organizing activities in the family, in schools, in other youth organizations, in synagogues, and elsewhere. The consensus was that the Milan conference was useful for the affirmation of Zionism in the threatened minor Jewish communities of Europe.

A most painful event occurred at the annual convention of the Federazione Giovanile Ebraica d'Italia (FGEI; Jewish Youth Federation of Italy), held in November in Chiavari. Thanks to the skillful maneuvering of a "progressive and democratic" board, the meeting adopted a resolution which, in almost offensive terms, accused the Israel government of having "militaristic and annexationist tendencies." It put the PLO's right to nationhood before Israel's right to existence. Some members of the board, obviously thinking first of their position in the Italian Left, submitted an even more repugnant version of the resolution to the large-circulation weekly *Panorama*, which printed it with venomous comments under the heading, "Far From Tel Aviv." The incident evoked bitter protests in the Jewish community and brought a censure from the Unione, which subsidizes the FGEI, from the Italian Zionist Federation, and from the large majority of the members of Kadimah in Rome, the largest youth organization in FGEI, though without adequate representation on its board. Thus far, no sanctions were applied because it was hoped that Italian Jewish youth would learn how to impose its will on its leaders, or to be more circumspect in selecting them. In fact, the question of the FGEI's mandate was once again raised; for its pretentious name wrongly implied that it was representative of Italian Jewish youth in its entirety.

In March the first Center for Jewish Family Consultation was opened in Rome, with a team of social workers and psychologists on its staff. A new cultural center, opened in Rome near the Great Synagogue in May, has proved its value as a place for conferences and many community activities.

In April, 25 Israeli soldiers who had been wounded in the Yom Kippur war came to Italy as guests of Italian Jewry for a successful fortnight's tour.

In December an exhibition of documents and photos depicting "Antisemitism
Yesterday and Today,” including the history of the persecution of the Jews in Italy between 1943 and 1945, was organized by the Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (CDEC; Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation) in Milan, in memory of its late director Eloisa Ravenna.

A significant event receiving much attention in the press was the return to Italy of Professor Emilio Segre, aged 70, one of the founding fathers of nuclear physics and 1959 Nobel-prize winner, to fill a chair founded for him at Rome university. He had been one of Fermi’s collaborators, but left his post at Palermo university in 1938 because of Mussolini’s racial laws and emigrated to the United States, where he immediately became professor at the University of California at Berkeley.

**Publications**

*L’Arpa di Davide* ("David’s Harp”; Campironi Editore, Milano), by Elena Tessadri, is a most complete, objective, and documented history of the 1475-76 ritual murder trial in Trient (southern Tyrol). The alleged child victim, though never beatified, was later worshipped locally as Little Saint Simonino until the city’s bishop, under the influence of the Ecumenical Council, prohibited the cult in 1964. According to the legend, King David’s harp sounds in lamentation at every new persecution of Jews.

Several remarkable literary works dealt with Jewish tragedy in our time, when the harp resounded. *La Storia* ("History"; Giulio Einaudi Editore, Torino), by Elsa Morante, described the fateful years 1942-44 in Rome, ghetto life and the October 1943 deportations, and the fate of the victims, as seen in historical perspective. It evoked the enthusiasm of critics and public alike, and became a best-seller of the year. *Un Ebreo nel fascismo* ("A Jew Under Fascism"; Rusconi Editore, Milano), by Luigi Preti, Social-Democratic leader and many times member of the Italian cabinet, is the story of Oberdan Rossi, a half-Jew, son of an ardent Jewish supporter of Mussolini and himself a thorough fascist, who committed suicide when he finally recognized the true nature of fascism. Impressive is the deep understanding of this non-Jewish writer for the feelings and sufferings of the Italian Jews under fascist and Nazi rule.

*Shalom Ruth, Shalom* (Barulli Editore, Roma), by Lise Loewenthal, received the 1974 Syberis Magna Graecia literary prize of the Free Union of Writers. It is the autobiography of a young girl of a Jewish middle-class family in pre-Nazi Germany, the story of the persecutions, and her later experiences on a transport to an Israeli kibbutz. The authoritative Jesuit periodical, *Civiltà Cattolica*, and *Osservatore Romano* commented in laudatory reviews on her discussion of the elements common to Judaism and Christianity.

Another woman’s autobiography against the background of great historical events was *Salto indietro* ("The Leap Back"; Edizioni Mediterranee, Roma), by Mita Kaplan, describing Jewish life in pre-war Riga, the Nazi occupation, and Jewish refugee camps in Tashkent and post-war life in Rome.

The 1974 Portico d’Ottavia literary prize was awarded to Alberto Vigevani for
his Fine delle Domeniche ("The End of Sundays"; Edizioni Valecchi, Florence), a volume of three stories about the life and demise of the Jewish middle classes in disintegrating Europe in the 1930s and 1940s. Guido Fubini's La Condizione giuridica dell'ebraismo italiano ("The Legal Condition of Italian Jewry"; La Nuova Editrice, Turin) is a remarkable and thoroughly researched account of the legal status of the Jews and their communities in Italy, from the time of Napoleon to the present.

Immagini del passato ebraico ("Images from the Jewish Past"; Vol. 19 of the series of Jewish and Zionist works published by the high-level Unione-supported monthly, Rassegna mensile di Israel) is a collection of articles and photographs by Attilio Milano that had been published in that periodical throughout the years. Though Milano died before he could complete profiles of all cities, the articles give a remarkable picture of the Jewish past in Italy. The compilation was prepared by Umberto Narboni and Joseph Colombo.

Studi sull'ebraismo ("Studies of Judaism"; Barulli Editore, Rome), by various authors, is a volume of essays and documents compiled by the Institute for Advanced Jewish Studies of the Rome Rabbinical College, which includes reprints, some of them in English, extracts and translations.

Art

Many Jewish and Israeli artists showed their paintings in Rome and other Italian cities. The year began with an exhibition of Pincas Sha'ar, Anatol Gurewitch, David Azur, and Zadik. This was followed by an Israeli graphics exhibit, sponsored by the Israel embassy, of works by Miron Sima, Yehoshua Griffit, Elie Abrahami, Pinhas Eshet, Mordechai Moreh, Rudolf Lehman, Rita Alima, and Avraham Eilat, giving a good cross-section of several generations of artists of varied backgrounds and styles. Other works were shown with much success: those of Pauline Vivienne of Leghorn, at the Foreign Press Club; the designs of Vladimir Galatsky, a Soviet Jewish emigrant in transit; the works of Eva Fischer of Rome, an artist of long standing.

Personalia

Alfredo Steinhaus, a Merano merchant and counselor of that city's small Jewish community in the immediate postwar period, philanthropist, Keren Kayyemet leader, died in Milan on January 10, at the age of 65. Renato Maestro, accountant, vice-president of the Venice Jewish community, died in Venice on March 15, at the age of 63. Carlo Alberto Viterbo, attorney, Zionist leader, until 1961 president of the Zionist Federation of Italy, for more than 50 years editor-in-chief and owner of the Rome weekly Israel, died in Rome on August 9, at the age of 85. The Unione published a final, commemorative issue of the weekly containing his autobiography and tributes by many Jewish leaders throughout the world.

Julio Dresner
Central Europe

West Germany

The year 1974 saw economic stagnation and recession, a change of government, and a substantial drop in the vote for the ruling Social Democratic party (SPD). The rate of economic growth dropped sharply, gross national product increasing by only 0.4 per cent, as against 5.3 per cent in 1973. At year's end, there were almost one million unemployed. Still, the economic situation in the Federal Republic was better than in any other Western country. The rate of inflation during the year was only 7 per cent.

Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt resigned in May. While the immediate cause was the discovery that his personal assistant Guenter Guillaume was an East German spy, Brandt was also charged by his own party, and by the opposition, with lack of leadership in both the political and economic spheres. He nevertheless remained chairman of the Social Democratic party. He was succeeded on May 16 by Helmut Schmidt, a former Wehrmacht officer who had been a Hamburg senator and had held the portfolios of defense, economy, and finance in the federal government. On May 15 the former chairman of the Free Democratic party (FDP), Walter Scheel, was chosen to succeed Gustav Heinemann as federal president. Former Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who became foreign minister in Schmidt's cabinet, was named FDP chairman in October.

In the various state and local elections held during the year, the ruling Social Democratic party losses ranged from 5 to 13 per cent and the conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) gains were between 3 and 8 per cent. The SPD setback was most severe in the March elections for the Hamburg state legislature, where it received only 44.9 per cent of the vote, compared with 55.3 per cent in 1970. The opposition Christian Democrats polled 40.6 per cent, compared with 32.8 in 1970, and the Free Democrats, nearly 10.9, up from 7.1 per cent.

The trend begun in Hamburg continued in the communal elections in Schleswig-Holstein and in the council elections in Rhineland-Palatinate. Losses continued after Schmidt succeeded Brandt, in the June legislative elections in Lower Saxony, and the elections to the state legislatures of Hesse and Bavaria showed similar losses. However, slight gains by the Free Democrats retained majorities for the governing coalitions. The neo-Nazi National Democratic party was proportionately the heaviest loser in Hesse and Bavaria, with a decline of 2.1 and 1.8 per cent from the 1970 elections.
Within the European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market) and NATO there were growing difficulties and differences on questions of energy, and regional and world politics. The Federal Republic appeared to be the strongest and most stable state in EEC, politically and economically. Its export surpluses were the largest. Stagnation marked Bonn's relations with the Eastern bloc. In June the Bundestag ratified the normalization treaty with Czechoslovakia. In the same month President Tito of Yugoslavia visited Germany. Belgrade was granted a credit of DM 700 million. While attempts were made to improve relations with the Arab states, Bonn stressed the unchanging nature of its Middle East policy in respect to the vital interests of Israel. In April Chancellor Brandt visited Algiers and Cairo. An agreement for financial cooperation was concluded with Algeria. Also in April, a Bundestag delegation headed by Gerhard Schroeder, chairman of its foreign affairs committee, went to Cairo. Diplomatic relations with Iraq and Syria were resumed.

In July in Bonn, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Egyptian counterpart, Ismail Fahmy, agreed on close economic cooperation between the two countries, with a promise to Cairo of DM 500 million capital assistance by 1976.

In the UN General Assembly the Federal Republic abstained from voting on the resolution regarding the Palestine question, but voted against the admission of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as an observer during UN deliberations. In the debate on Palestine, Bonn's Ambassador Rüdiger von Wechmar declared:

We support the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people. For us Germans, with our tragic experiences, this goes without saying. We regard it as impermissible to acquire territory by force, and regard it as essential that Israel end the territorial occupation that it has maintained since the 1967 conflict. But we believe that in the settlement of the Palestine question it is necessary to observe all the principles laid down in Security Council decision #242. This means above all that such a settlement must start from respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of every state in the Near East, as well as the right of these states to live in peace within their recognized boundaries. All states in the region must be guaranteed the right to life and to a secure existence. This applies to Israel in particular.

In this connection Genscher stressed that the Federal Republic would not participate in any Middle East policy that did not guarantee Israel's existence and right to live. The CDU/CSU opposition charged that Wechmar's speech was a serious backward step in Germany's Middle East policy and destroyed the credibility of the government's verbal assertions of a special German-Israeli relationship. The position taken in the UN was, it said, extremely inopportune and politically unconsidered.

In UNESCO Bonn abstained on the question of admitting the PLO, but voted for Israel's acceptance into the European group. In September Gerhard Schroeder met with Yasir Arafat in Damascus. The Social Democratic party expressed its approval on the ground that the information he acquired could be useful. Minister of State Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, an SPD member, revealed that he had met with Arafat in 1970. The Central Council of Jews in Germany protested that a leader of terrorists could not be a proper partner in discussions.
Chancellor Schmidt sent a telegram to Israel Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin expressing certainty that cooperation between the governments of Germany and Israel would continue, as before, a sentiment he voiced in his official policy statement: "We have an unaltered vital interest in a just and lasting peace settlement in the Middle East. On this I reaffirm the policy of my predecessors in office. We continue to support the peace efforts in this region and will cooperate with our partners in the search for peace."

In July Bonn granted Israel capital assistance for 1974, as it had done in previous years: DM 140 million for various development projects. It declared that no "spectacular changes" were planned in cooperation with Israel in regard to development. Since 1950 Israel had received about DM 1.2 billion in development help from Bonn.

In September Schroeder and the other members of the Bundestag foreign affairs committee visited Israel and had discussions with President Ephraim Katzir and Prime Minister Rabin, among others.

Extremism

Leftist extremism increased during the year, while rightist extremism declined. The number and membership of extreme left organizations grew; while their influence at the universities declined, the campaign against Israel and Zionism by ultra-left students continued unabated. They found imitators among high-school student groups and newspapers.

Though there was a decrease in right-wing extremist groups recorded and in their membership, they tended to become more extreme. The interior ministry's report, "Constitutional Protection 1973," described right-wing extremism in that year as peripheral and no danger to the democratic system. Nor did it consider left-wing extremism a current danger. At the end of 1973 there reportedly were 107 right-wing extremist organizations with 21,700 members, and 78 ultra-rightist publications with an average weekly circulation of 196,700. By far the most important was the Munich weekly Deutsche National-Zeitung, with a circulation of 106,000. There were 1,343 right-wing extremists in the civil service. According to the report, the National Democratic party had about 12,000 members. The same report said that there were 317 ultra-leftist organizations with 87,000 members, and 1,380 publications with a weekly circulation of 880,000. There were 1,423 left-wing extremists in public service. The school system employed 133 right-wing and 322 left-wing extremists. Of the disturbances or threats of force that occurred in that year, 23 were right-extremist and 322 left-extremist; several arrests were made. Among army personnel were 125 right-wing and 33 left-wing extremists. The most prominent of the right extremists was the 51-year-old Lieutenant-Colonel Werner Witt, chairman of the Schleswig-Holstein NPD. Hesse reported 138 left-wing and 134 right-wing extremists in the state's public service; Baden-Wuerttemberg had 246 leftists and 156 rightists, and Bavaria 155 leftists and 247 rightists. Bonn and the prime ministers of the states tried to carry out an earlier decision to regulate the employment
of extremists in civil service, but by year's end no agreement on procedure had been reached.

In April, 15 right extremists and NPD sympathizers disrupted an exhibit on "National Socialist Policy in Poland" held by the Society for German-Polish Understanding in Berlin-Schoeneberg's town hall. They defaced pictures and documents, and demanded the release of Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess from Spandau prison. In April, too, 50 youths in brown shirts and swastika armbands celebrated Hitler's birthday at Westerland on the island of Sylt, under Hitler photographs and swastika flags. In June two left-wing extremist students were arrested in Erlangen on a charge of having ties with Palestinian terrorists and planting bombs. In November the 21-year-old leader of the Nazi organization in the United States, Gary (Gerhard) R. Lauck of Lincoln, Neb., addressed a meeting of ultra-rightists in Hamburg. He was expelled for serious violation of federal law. Recently, Lauck sent NS-Kampfruf, a Nazi publication printed in Chicago, to sympathizers in West Germany and Austria.

In a trial in Karlsruhe in February, three young Germans, Werner Kühni, Lutz Buhr, and Franz Galuski, and the Jordanian worker Osmar Jara were sentenced to prison terms ranging from six months to three and one-half years for large-scale thefts. The prosecutor dropped the original charge that they had planned acts of violence to win supporters for the Arab cause. In Munich in April, Willi Pohl and Wolfgang Abramowski were sentenced to 26 months and 8 months, respectively, for illegal possession of arms. They were also under investigation for possible ties with the Black September terrorists. In July the federal constitutional court in Karlsruhe rejected a 1969 request of the federal government for the revocation of the constitutional rights of Gerhard Frey, editor-in-chief of the Deutsche National-Zeitung, on the ground that he had abused them. The specific charge was that he had for years published nationalistic, antisemitic, and racist articles, and headlines inimical to international understanding. The court ruled there was no ground for revocation, since the views of the Deutsche National-Zeitung did not constitute a serious danger to the free and democratic constitutional order. In September the Munich prosecutor dropped a similar charge made against Frey in 1966 because of difficulty of proof.

In October Das III. Reich, a periodical dedicated to the documentary presentation of the Nazi period, published the result of a poll of its readers according to which 12 per cent thought it might some day be possible for a new Hitler to seize power in Germany.

Foreign Extremism

A report by authorities charged with the protection of the constitution indicated a constant change in the organizational set-up and ideologies of foreign extremist groups. There was, it said, a significant decline in politically motivated acts of violence, as well as in the number and size of foreign extremist organizations. In the
first half of 1974, there were 41 acts of violence by foreigners, including an attempted murder, six bombings, two cases of arson, and 64 threats of violence. The security authorities repeatedly warned of possible attacks on airports, airline companies, and Israeli and Jewish institutions; the latter were temporarily placed under special guard.

At the end of 1973 there were reported to be in West Germany 226 foreign extremist organizations, whose total membership was 52,400. They had 165 publications, with a total weekly circulation of 15,000. Thirty-six of the groups were engaged in conspiratorial activities resulting in 11 terrorist acts and 139 threats of violence. Most important were the activities of individual Palestinian groups, although they had decreased since the Generalunion Palästinensischer Studenten, (GUPS; General Union of Palestinian Students) and the Generalunion Palästinensischer Arbeiter (GUPA; General Union of Palestinian Workers) were banned in 1972. Former members of these two organizations failed in efforts to rebuild them or establish substitute groups, but cells continued to exist in numerous major cities. Many of them joined Arab college student associations, or became behind-the-scenes workers of the Middle East and Palestine committees directed by German ultra-leftists. Turkish and Iraqi extremists, too, had some connection with these groups, the report stated.

The anti-Israel propaganda of the Arab extremists continued in 1974, especially in German institutions of higher learning. In this they had the full support of the German extreme left, especially the Maoists. The Palestine Committees carried on public activity against Israel in many cities. There were repeated anti-Israel demonstrations during a so-called Palestine Week. In March four Arabs were tried in Berlin for bringing explosives from East to West Berlin and planning to attack the El-Al office and other, German, institutions. Ali Salem was sentenced to four years, and Mohammed Zaher to three years in prison for active involvement. The other two, Salim Hamdan and Ali Shehade, were acquitted. Salem and Zaher were expelled to Cairo after Palestinian threats to free them. In June an Arab student in Heidelberg and another in Saarbrücken were arrested on suspicion of preparing attacks on El-Al and the Israel embassy; they were released for lack of evidence.

Relations with Israel

In the autumn Eliashiv Ben-Horin was succeeded as ambassador to Bonn by Yohanan Meroz. When he presented his credentials to President Scheel in October, he stated that his country's relations with Germany developed and deepened productively in the nearly ten years since the first exchange of diplomatic representatives; that reciprocal official visits did much to stimulate personal relationships. In his response, Scheel pointed particularly to cooperation in economic, scientific, and technical matters, and in cultural and youth activities. "It is our desire," he declared, "to continue these good relations and to pass on this desire to the young generation of both countries." For this reason, "the German Federal Republic sees
great significance in the contact of its youth with the youth of the State of Israel," which cannot but serve the cause of "genuine understanding." In addition to bilateral relations, he continued, "we are especially interested in a lasting peace settlement in the Middle East," a goal "which is also of great importance to us," which can be best served "by continuing our balanced Middle East policy." Jesco von Puttkamer was succeeded as German ambassador to Israel by Per Fischer who had served as a soldier in the *Wehrmacht* and, after the war, worked as a journalist and later became a diplomat.

During the year the SPD and CDU repeatedly expressed themselves in favor of Israel’s right to exist. CDU speakers referred to a special historical interest in the Jewish state and called on the government to make it clear to the entire world that it would neither overtly nor covertly identify with those who sought Israel’s destruction. Statements by the chairmen of the youth sections of the major political parties reflected the attitude of German youth. The Young Socialists (SPD), Young Democrats (FDP), and the Young Union (CDU) agreed that relations with the State of Israel must in no way be determined by the German people’s guilt feeling toward the Jews. All advocated Israel’s right to exist, as well as support of the rights of the Palestinians. The Young Democrats emphasized their rejection of political or military aggression by any state, noting their deep concern over “Zionist tendencies in Israeli foreign policy.”

In December, 46 prominent West Berliners, among them Mayor Klaus Schuetz, Bishop Kurt Scharf, and publisher Axel Springer, published a declaration, “Justice for Israel,” appealing to Bonn to defend in future UN debates Israel’s right to exist and to promote peace by declarations and acts that could not be misinterpreted. They said: "We are not prepared to confer the honorable name of freedom fighters on the air pirates, murderers of Munich, and child-killers of Ma’alot." In February former CDU chairman Rainer Barzel and Mayor Schuetz visited Israel. In April they were followed by Postal Minister Horst Ehmke. In December Israel received visits from Development Minister Egon Bahr and from an FDP delegation headed by the party’s general secretary, Martin Bangemann. A delegation of the Bundestag’s petition committee was studying the petition system in Israel at the end of the year.

In connection with the German abstentions from voting on UN and UNESCO resolutions, the Central Federation of Democratic Resistance Fighters and Organizations of Persecutees in Bonn in November criticized the “opportunistic attitude” of the federal government and demanded “a clear and unequivocal declaration guaranteeing Israel’s right to live, without deference to oil.” Because of its past, Germany could not allow itself the sort of attitude toward Israel that, in case of necessity, might have to be accepted from other states. In November a number of German writers, including Heinrich Böll, Siegfried Lenz, and Wolfgang Weyrauch, as well as the German PEN center, refused further cooperation with UNESCO.

More than 100 parliamentarians from 13 West European countries, who were members of friendship-with-Israel groups of European parliamentarians established
in Paris in November 1973, met in West Berlin in February. They adopted a resolution supporting Israel in its efforts “to establish a just and lasting peace with its neighbors” and criticizing the November 1973 declaration of EEC’s foreign ministers on the Middle East.

At the beginning of the year the EMNID Institute in Bielefeld published the results of a public opinion poll on attitudes toward the Middle East conflict: 40 per cent of the German people sympathized with Israel, 6 per cent supported the Arabs, 45 per cent had no special sympathies, and 8 per cent did not know. Almost 70 per cent thought that Boon should be neutral in the conflict, 14 per cent that it should favor Israel, and 5 per cent that it should favor the Arabs. In the EMNID October poll, the percentage of those favoring Israel was essentially the same (39.4 per cent), higher than the proportion in France (36 per cent), Great Britain (32.1 per cent), and Italy (29.7 per cent). While the Germans, particularly in their public statements, were still overwhelmingly favorably inclined toward Israel, criticism and disapproval were increasing. People spoke of Israel’s unyielding attitude, missed opportunities, unreadiness to compromise, of its indecision and helplessness. At the same time, the federal government was often criticized for carrying its neutrality too far, especially for being too friendly to the Arabs because of oil. There was a demand for an explicit policy statement by the Federal Republic in support of Israel’s right to live.

Meeting in Kassel in January, the synod of the German Evangelical Church adopted a resolution emphasizing that solidarity with Israel must not be sacrificed for economic advantages. At the same time, the right of the Palestinians to a homeland must not be neglected. With regard to efforts for peace in the Middle East, it continued, “we should do all in our power to oppose in our country any manifestation of a new antisemitism, as well as of an anti-Arab attitude.” In the same month the Evangelical synod of the Rhineland asserted the “duty of all Christians to support the right of Israel to live” in view of “the danger of Israel’s increasing isolation in the world.” In December the state congress of the Evangelical Reformed Church in northwest Germany asked the government to declare itself unmistakably and unequivocally for Israel’s right to exist. “Friendly relations of our country with Arab states, desirable as they are, and necessary efforts to solve the problem of the Palestinian refugees must not be purchased at the expense of our ‘special relationship’ with Israel. . . We call on our communities not to slacken in their solicitude for Israel.”

Israel’s economic policies affected German-Israeli trade. The German ministry for economics, to be sure, felt that Israeli restrictions would not have any serious consequences for German enterprises, since trade was rather limited, but that a smaller volume of exports was to be expected. In 1974 the Federal Republic’s imports from Israel amounted to DM 436 million and exports to DM 1,252 million. Israeli firms were represented at 12 international trade fairs in the Federal Republic. In December the group of German Dr. Amann firms, through its subsidiary for Israeli German investment, Gefidi, concluded an agreement with the Israeli Oil
Exploration (Investments) Ltd. and Yekutiel Federmann's Fed Oil Company group for investment in an Israeli oil-drilling program in 1975-76. When the German government rejected Israel's plan to establish a direct air route between Frankfurt and Jerusalem (Atarot), Israel decided on a route with an intermediate stop at Lod.

In May the German-Israeli Committee for Scientific and Technological Cooperation met, for the first time, in Bonn under the leadership of Hans-Hilger Hauschild, secretary of the ministry for research and technology, and Dr. Eliezer Tal, director of the Israeli National Council for Research and Development, to discuss the coordination and promotion of joint German-Israeli research projects. Several programs were agreed on, in particular in the fields of medical technology, biotechnology, and water purification. The Volkswagen Foundation gave DM 180,000 to finance the excavation of the ancient mining center of Timna in southern Israel. Other gifts of money to Israel included DM 750,000 delivered by North Rhine-Westphalia's Labor Minister Werner Figgen to Tel Aviv for the establishment of a kindergarten; DM 20,000 from the West Berlin government to the mayor of Kiryat Shemona for the victims of Arab terrorism; DM 10,000 from the municipal council of Stuttgart for the Shavei-Zion moshav established by German Jewish refugees.

The Jerusalem Yad Vashem Foundation's Medal of the Righteous for 1974 was presented to Klara Kaus of Mannheim, Johanna Eck of Berlin, and Josefa Olschwang of Bad Godesberg, for help to Jews during the Nazi period.

Throughout the year there was an active flow of visitors between the two countries. The German-Israeli mixed commission for youth exchange in the Bonn ministry for youth, family, and health planned further programs. And the German Federation of Trade Unions and Histadrut increased the exchange of skilled workers, apprentices, schoolboys, and students. Among those who visited Israel in 1974 were a delegation of the German Red Cross; 21 Catholic youth leaders; numerous German young people and skilled workers who did volunteer work in kibbutzim; the Philharmonic Orchestra of the Hamburg State Opera, and the German national junior soccer team.

From Israel came many teachers, students, youth leaders, social workers, kibbutz members, trade-unionists, journalists, policemen, and others. One may mention in particular a Histadrut women's delegation; Jewish and Arab teachers from the Martin Buber Center in Jerusalem, who took part in an international sensitivity seminar in West Berlin; 22 members of the Israeli Liberal party; the director of the Israeli development authority; the deputy director of the Israeli state forest authority; 40 representatives of the Israeli post and television administration; a group of deaf Israeli youths; Zubin Mehta, the conductor of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra; author Ephraim Kishon (so far, 12 million copies of his books have been sold in West Germany); the Israeli national soccer and chess teams, and a delegation of young members of the Israeli National Religious party.
Christian-Jewish Cooperation

A poll by the EMNID Institute indicated that most Germans had no idea of the actual number of Jews living in the Federal Republic. The average estimate of 83 per cent of the respondents was 268,000; the rest could give no answer. Estimates ranged from 10,000 to one million.

The Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation continued to take the lead in interfaith activity. In May, 90 delegates from 45 local societies met in Frankfurt for the annual meeting of the German Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation to discuss current problems in the more than 25-year-old history of Christian-Jewish cooperation. Resolutions were adopted against Arab terrorism and for the ratification by parliament of the Franco-German agreement on the prosecution of Nazi criminals by German courts. In March the societies conducted Brotherhood Week under the slogan "Der geplante Mensch." The Council presented the London-domiciled historian and author, H. G. Adler, with the Buber-Rosenzweig medal for his book, Der verwaltete Mensch ("The Administered Man"), which deals with the Nazi deportations of the German Jews. In its Rosh Ha-shanah message the Council declared:

The quantity and, above all, the quality of contacts between Jews and non-Jews in our country have not yet reached the point where one could hope for a rapid decline in prejudice, misinformation, intentional stupidity, and plain ignorance. Imagination and patience should have made more people capable of overcoming this deficiency... The concrete debris of the war has been removed, but this has not yet been the case with the intellectual debris of what had led to fascism and war.

The Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation conducted numerous student trips to Israel; invited German schoolchildren and students to observe Jewish institutions and meet with Jewish leaders, and held seminars to improve interfaith understanding. In January a seminar on Christian-Jewish-Moslem religious questions took place in Bendorf on the Rhine. Rabbis and rabbinical students from London were among the participants. Protestant clergy, Catholic priests, and rabbis took part in a Christian-Jewish Bible Week, which began at the end of July. In September the Evangelical Academy at Arnoldshain conducted a discussion by Jews and Christians of "The Church and the Jewish People." At a seminar in Regensburg in November, Christian teachers and theologians dealt with the problem of the image of the Jewish people conveyed in religious instruction, and criticized the failure to eliminate anti-Jewish passages from textbooks.

Anonymous German donors gave DM 300,000 for the restoration of buildings in the Venice ghetto (e.g., the Schola Grande Tedesca). The Frankfurt trade-union Bank for Cooperative Economy (Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft) established a board on Jewish history to encourage research in the field, and to collect and publish studies on the Jews in Germany, the first of which was to be a history of the Jews in Frankfurt. The group includes German and Jewish representatives; its chairman was Walter Hesselbach, chairman of the bank. In March the Verband der Judaisten
in der Bundesrepublik (Society of Judaica Experts), both Jews and non-Jews, was formed in Frankfurt, with the aim of coordinating Jewish studies throughout Germany. In May the Frankfurt Society for the Promotion of Jewish Studies published the first issue of a booklet titled *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* ("Frankfurt Judaistic Contributions").

In July, 410 former Berlin Jews, mostly from the United States, spent a week in the city as guests of the municipality. Since 1969 when the program of visits began, 4,400 former Berliners came to the city; another 15,000 were on the waiting list. The annual cost to the city of Berlin was some DM 700,000. In April Bundestag President Annemarie Renger visited the Leo Baeck Institute in New York. In April the Evangelical Aktion Sühnezeichen (Action Atonement) and other Berlin organizations, in an appeal to the public to help Syrian Jews, declared: "Christians must not be silent." In June President Walter Scheel presented the Federal Service Cross First Class to Dr. and Mrs. Werner Eisenberg, a non-Jewish couple, for saving the life of a Jew during the Hitler regime.

**Restitution**

Chancellor Schmidt's policy statement to the Bundestag in May declared that "With the 28th supplement to the law for the Equalization of Burdens . . . and a few possible minor corrections necessitated by the history of the German people, the federal government regards this complex of obligations resulting from the war, including in particular compensation for war prisoners, Equalization of Burdens, restitution, and the laws under Article 131, as completed." The Federal Republic, or rather its taxpayers, thus far had paid out DM 220 billion; another DM 174 billion would still have to be paid. The government knew, he continued, that "a satisfactory settlement for the many injuries, such as one might like to see, cannot be achieved. The tax-paying capacity of this people is not adequate for that. Now the tasks that lie ahead of us must take precedence. Their fulfillment, too, serves the injured." At the end of 1974 the payments by the Federal Republic totaled DM 52.4 billion, of which DM 39 billion were paid under the Federal Indemnification Law (BEG), DM 4.2 billion under the Restitution Law, DM 3.4 billion to Israel, DM 1 billion under international agreements with 12 states, and the rest under various other laws. Future pension payments under BEG were expected to total another DM 25 to 30 billion. At that time, discussions were still going on between Jewish organizations, headed by Nahum Goldmann as representative of the Conference of Jewish Material Claims against Germany, and the federal government on the settlement of hardship cases of victims of Nazism, especially the so-called post-1965 cases. Bonn declared itself ready, in principle, to supply a fund of about DM 600 million for this purpose.

The government continued to refuse reparation payments to foreign states, but was prepared to grant them generous credits. Belgrade accepted a credit of DM 700 million. Poland continued to demand additional reparation payments for former
concentration-camp inmates and other Nazi victims, to which Bonn refused to agree. It was pointed out that the DM 100 million Bonn had paid in 1972-73 through the Red Cross to Polish victims of medical experiments had not yet been transmitted to them.

Nazi Trials

The news sheet of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (Central Council of Jews in Germany) reported in December that between the end of the war and January 1, 1974, German legal authorities had conducted 77,820 investigations of suspected Nazi criminals. Of these, 6,375 led to convictions. Proceedings were still pending against some 3,000 charged with murder. The Central Office for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Ludwigsburg was in the process of preparing 276 murder cases for trial. The Central Office felt that the likelihood of meting out justice to Nazi murderers who were still alive was declining from year to year. Nevertheless, the agency was expected to continue its activities, at least until 1980. A public opinion poll showed that 60 per cent of the Germans were for amnesty for Nazi criminals and 25 per cent for the continuation of the trials; 15 per cent had no opinion.

The Franco-German agreement of 1971, enabling German courts to prosecute Nazi criminals who had been condemned in absentia by French courts, had not been ratified by year's end, although Chancellor Schmidt and the parties in the government coalition had promised earlier that it would. The statement was made in connection with the trial and sentence to two months imprisonment of Beate Klarsfeld who, in March 1971, had participated in an attempt to abduct from Cologne to France former Nazi security police chief in Paris Kurt Lischka, one of those affected by the agreement. According to the Ludwigsburg Central Office, ratification would affect some 500 cases, but fewer than two dozen prosecutions could be expected. Chief Prosecutor Adalbert Ruckerl, who heads the office, explained why results would fall short of expectations. Of 196 Germans who had carried out the deportation of Jews from France, 75 had died, 3 had disappeared, and 51 had not yet been found. In 13 of the remaining 67 cases, it was not known whether the French courts had sentenced them. French proceedings against 12 others had been dropped. Only 21 condemnations in presence and 21 in absentia had resulted in France. In each case proof of guilt would now be difficult.

Hamburg: 66-year-old Gustav Barschdorf, former SS Hauptscharführer and Gestapo official in Norway, was condemned to life imprisonment for implication in the murder of a woman resistance fighter; Felix Gruber, 71, former SS Hauptscharführer and Gestapo official, was acquitted.

Former SS Obersturmführer Wolfgang Mohwinkel, 62, and SS Unterscharführer Alois Gröger, 68, were sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder, and participation in the murder, of Jews in labor camps near Lublin; Hans Offermann was sentenced to five years as an accomplice.

Otto Hantke, 67, another former SS officer, received a life sentence for the murder
of Jews in the ghettos of Bialystok and Warsaw and as an accomplice in the murder of 300,000 Jews. In the same case, former SS Sturmbannführer Georg Michalsen, 68, received a 12-year sentence.

For participating in 7,000 murders and as an accomplice in 8,000 others, Gerhard Erren, 73, former district commissioner of Slonim in White Russia, was sentenced to life imprisonment; former gendarmerie top sergeant Lothar Schulz, 66, to three years.

Mannheim: Former SS Unterscharführer Richard Pal was sentenced to eight years for the attempted murder of Jews in Galicia.

Freiburg: Adolf Kühnel, 60, was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of nine Jews in Tschenstochau.

Munich: Former SS Obersturmführer Max Drexel, 60, and SS Obersturmführer Walter Kehrer, 61, were sentenced to five and four years, respectively, as accomplices in the extirpation of Jews and other civilians.

Frankfurt: The retrial of Walter Fasold, 69, was discontinued in August because a juror declared herself prejudiced. Sentenced to life imprisonment in 1949 for the murder of Jews in Tschenstochau, he was released 23 years later because the testimony of a witness was shown to be inaccurate. Thus far, the cost of the second trial, begun in November 1972, was well over DM 1 million.

Giessen: The trial of former SS Obersturmführer Hartmut Pulmer, 66, and Friedrich Schulz, 64, for the murder of Jews and Poles was terminated because they were too ill to stand trial. The proceedings against their eight codefendants broke down because of a procedural error.

Hamburg: The prosecution of Dr. Kurt Struve, 72, as an accomplice in the killing of the mentally ill was dropped because of his illness. For the same reason, a Hamburg court permanently dismissed charges against former SS Gruppenführer and bureau chief in the Reich security headquarters Bruno Streckenbach, 72, of having participated in the murder of over a million Jews.

Essen: Proceedings against Horst Wagner, 68, former counselor of legation in the Nazi foreign ministry, as an accomplice in the murder of 350,000 Hungarian Jews were ended for reasons of health.

Kiel: Heinz Riedel, 60, charged with gassing partisans, was acquitted on the ground that he acted without base motives.

Frankfurt: Alois Frey, 63, former SS Oberscharführer and commander of Günsersgrube, subsidiary camp of Auschwitz, was acquitted in a murder trial because of contradictory testimony.

The acquittal in Frankfurt in 1972 of Dr. Kurt Borm, charged with participating in the mass euthanasia of the mentally ill, on the grounds that he had not been aware of wrongdoing was upheld by the Federal Court of Appeals in Karlsruhe.
Demography

On December 31, 1974, the Jewish population of the Federal Republic was 27,199, consisting of 14,438 men and 12,761 women. Their average age was 45.8. During the year, there were 80 births, 525 deaths, 1,301 immigrants, 455 emigrants, and 62 converts to Judaism. West Berlin continued to have the largest Jewish community, with 5,493 members. There were 5,009 Jews in Frankfurt, 3,704 in Munich, 1,642 in Düsseldorf, 1,432 in Hamburg, 1,209 in Cologne. While most emigrants went to Israel or overseas, the stream of immigrants from Eastern Europe continued. Between autumn 1973 and December 1974, 546 Jews came to West Berlin from the Soviet Union, 15 of them directly and most of the others by way of Israel. All were cared for in the Marienfeld emergency reception camp. Two hundred were able to prove their German nationality and were integrated as Germans. Seventeen left for other countries. On December 3 the Berlin senate granted residency permits to all remaining at the camp, as well as to 150 of their relatives who were due to arrive later. From then on, however, all new arrivals were to be treated like other foreigners. All except those recognized as German returnees and refugees would be urged to go back to Israel, and would face possible expulsion. Several hundred more Soviet Jews were stranded in other parts of West Germany. At year’s end, the interior ministers of the various federal states had not been able to agree on a common policy on Jewish immigration. They announced, however, that the immigration laws would be more strictly enforced.

Communal Life

The Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland had numerous discussions with German politicians, including President Scheel, several cabinet members, and party leaders on such matters as domestic and foreign policy, restitution problems, and humanitarian aid to persecuted Jews, e.g., in Syria. In August representatives of the Zentralrat met with Foreign Minister Yigal Allon in Israel for talks on relations between Germany and Israel. In its internal discussions, the Zentralrat considered such questions as the needs of hard-pressed Jewish communities in Europe and the Arab countries, trials of Nazis, antisemitic propaganda, support of youth, and cooperation with German, foreign, and Israeli organizations. It appealed to the president and parliament to use their influence to stop persecution and terror, to help the Iraqi and Syrian Jews, and to give financial aid to the families of the victims of Arab terror in Israel. It also criticized German youth for its readiness to demonstrate for the persecuted in any country, except for the Jewish people when they are victims of terrorist attack and murder.

At its conference in June, the Zentralrat stressed the German Jewish communities’ solidarity with Israel and its great financial efforts on behalf of the state;
lamented the lack of adequate rabbinical and teaching personnel in the communities of the Federal Republic and of new blood for their institutions, and emphasized that the crucial aspect of communal work was the preservation of Jewish substance. In its Rosh Ha-shanah message, the Zentralrat explained that the self-sacrificing work of many leaders and members of the community could only partly compensate for the regrettable lack of rabbis, teachers, and Jewish learning. In November it criticized the speech of the German ambassador in the UN, as well as the UNESCO decisions against Israel and the Vatican peace prize award to that organization.

Werner Nachmann, chairman of the Zentralrat's board of directors, asserted that although the status of the Jews and their institutions in the Federal Republic were now normalized, they "must share in political responsibility and maintain close contact with democratic organizations." Unfortunately, few Jews were ready to go into politics. Zentralrat general secretary, Alexander Ginsburg, gave a bleak picture of the Jewish situation: "Culturally, the Jews of Germany still suffer from the impoverishment produced by persecution; the future of many overaged communities is more than doubtful. Jewish academic youth, grappling with the content and form of its existence, has so far not become a relevant factor in Jewish communal life."

In his Rosh Ha-shanah message to the Jewish community, SPD Chairman Willy Brandt spoke of "the almost habitual insecurity of living as a Jew in Germany." He said this "in full cognizance of the inner conflict of many of my Jewish friends," who were torn between a desire "for undivided loyalty to this state," and the temptation to embark on "an inner emigration from that state." It was, he said, "one of the obligations of our political behavior to remove this insecurity." Since years of political activity had taught him that the growth of a person's feeling of security and self-reliance was of his own doing, he would "like to give my Jewish friends courage to engage in politics much more actively than ever before. And this is not to add another lobby to the many already in existence, but for the sake of reinforcing the self-assurance of my Jewish fellow-citizens. Their contribution to the solution of current problems in German politics has thus far been small."

An agreement between the West Berlin senate and the Berlin Jewish community, which was signed in October and was to take effect on January 1, 1975, supplemented the January 1971 "Agreement for the Regulation of Question of Mutual Interest," assuring the financial support of the West Berlin Jewish community and its institutions. According to the senate, the existence and activity of a Jewish community are a matter of important public interest to Berlin.

In October the Munich Neue Jüdische Zeitung (Naie Yiddishe Zaitung) ceased publication because of financial difficulties.

Religious Life

At its January meeting, the Rabbinical Conference of the Federal Republic discussed whether rabbis should concentrate on religious questions, or should also
participate in political affairs. Rabbi Ernst Roth of Frankfurt was reelected chairman of the Conference. The fourth volume of the Rabbinical Conference's organ, *Udim*, appeared in the summer. The year-end meeting of the Rabbinical Conference, which took place in Zurich, Switzerland, was arranged also as a meeting with German-speaking rabbis from Switzerland and Austria. They discussed such common problems as the future replacements for rabbis and religious teachers, religious instruction, youth, conversions to Judaism, ecumenical religious services, and Christian-Jewish cooperation. Rabbi Fritz Elieser Bloch of Stuttgart was elected chairman of the Conference, to succeed Rabbi Roth.

**Jewish Youth and Religious Education**

According to a poll of Jewish youth in the Federal Republic, 80 per cent felt only emotional attachment to Judaism. The task of Jewish education was left to Jewish institutions, but neither religious instruction nor Jewish youth centers and groups could do it justice. There was no reason to believe that no young Jews would be left in Germany before long, since two-thirds of the youths interviewed said they would probably remain in the country. The majority of youths were ready to participate in community activities, but their elders failed to provide them with the necessary motivation to share in the work and the responsibility. Ninety per cent of respondents sought contact with other Jewish youths; 8 per cent of them for religious reasons.

Jewish youth-group members met with similar groups abroad, as in Austria and Switzerland, for discussions and seminars. In February young West German Jews came to West Berlin for discussions on Jewish identity, youth work, Jewish solidarity, and activity and propaganda on behalf of Israel. At a conference of delegates in November, the Bundesverband Jüdischer Studenten in Deutschland (Federation of Jewish Students) complained of disinterest in active participation in the Federation among Jewish students, as well as of the unwillingness of Jewish organizations to support the group's activities, and stressed the need to stimulate interest in Judaism and Israel.

**Antisemitism**

In April the Jewish cemeteries in Goettingen and Mainz were desecrated. While in Goettingen more than a hundred gravestones were overturned, in Mainz 98 stones were defaced with swastikas, SS runes, Stars of David, "Heil Hitler," and "Raus." Similar daubings appeared on the walls of the Mainz city hall and a bank building. Shortly thereafter, 22-year-old Willi Wegner, a noncommissioned officer in the German army, and seven other young right-wing extremists were arrested as suspects. Wegner, in whose home arms and ammunition were found, was charged with having attempted to reestablish the Nazi party and promptly discharged from the army. The investigation was taken over by the office of the federal prosecutor in Karlsruhe, which, in September, completed investigations on Wegner and three of
the codefiants: another noncommissioned officer, a student, and a customs official. Also desecrated were the cemeteries in Cologne (July) and Laudenbach in Lower Franconia (December).

In April the commemorative tablet of a Frankfurt synagogue was defaced with Nazi symbols. In May in West Berlin, a 29-year-old student, Hilmar Budde, was sentenced to five years imprisonment for an unsuccessful attack in 1969 on the city's El Al office, and other criminal acts. In September a Munich court sentenced a 57-year-old worker to seven months in prison and a DM 1,000 fine for agitating against the Jews and threatening a Jewish woman with murder. In November a Wiesbaden court sentenced a 25-year-old chauffeur to six months in prison and a DM 1,000 fine for smearing antisemitic slogans on a wall.

Publications


Personalia

Hilde Domin, German lyric poet, received the Roswitha Memorial medal from the city of Bad Gandersheim (Lower Saxony). The DM 20,000 cultural prize of the German Trade Union Federation was awarded to Professor Carl Landauer, economist and writer on the history of Socialism in Europe, and resident of California since 1936. The DM 10,000 Georg Büchner prize of the German Academy for Language and Poetry went to author Hermann Kesten, a resident of Rome and president of the PEN Center of the Federal Republic. The DM 8,000 Literature Prize of the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts went to the Berlin-born Israeli scholar and author Gershom Scholem for his work on the Kabbalah. The DM 10,000 Upper-Silesian Culture prize of North Rhine-Westphalia went to the Silesian-born author Max Tau of Oslo. For his efforts on behalf of interfaith understanding, Stefan Schwarz, chairman of the Jewish community in Straubing, Bavaria, received the
Federal Service Cross, First Class. For his contribution to the improvement of Franco-German relations, Alfred Wachsmann, chairman of the Jewish community in Baden-Baden and member of the Jewish Council of Baden, was awarded the French decoration "Officier des Palmes Académiques."

Kurt Horwitz, playwright and director, died in Munich on February 14, at the age of 76. Max Plaut, a banker, jurist, author, and Jewish communal leader, died in Hamburg on March 8, at the age of 72. Walter Gottheiner, since 1950 chairman of the Bonn Jewish community, former member of the Central Council of Jews in Düsseldorf, recipient of the German Order of Merit, First Class, and other awards, died in Bonn in March, at the age of 79. Siegmund Weltlinger, former member of the West Berlin legislature, city elder, leading champion of Christian-Jewish understanding, recipient of the Grand Federal Service Cross and other awards, died in West Berlin on May 18, at the age of 88. Joseph Wulff, historian, author of numerous books on the Third Reich, committed suicide in West Berlin on October 9, at the age of 62. Jean Mandel, member of the Bavarian Senate, chairman of the Fürth Jewish community and the Federation of Jewish communities of Bavaria, died in Fürth on December 25, at the age of 63.

Friedo Sachser
East Germany

A survey of the situation of the Jews in the German Democratic Republic (DDR) appeared in No. 3-4, 1974, of Emuna, the organ of the Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation in Frankfurt. Its author, Dr. Peter Kirchner, a physician, is chairman of the East Berlin Jewish community and cochairman of the Federation of Jewish Communities of the German Democratic Republic. According to his report, there are eight Jewish communities: Berlin, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Erfurt, Halle, Magdeburg, and Schwerin, with a total membership of 800. The president of the Federation is Helmut Aris, the chairman of the Dresden community. Of the 445 Jews of the East Berlin community, 314 are over 60 years of age, 11 are children, and 24 youths. Throughout the state, Kirchner wrote, Jews enjoy equal rights, including religious freedom, which is guaranteed by the constitution. Victims of fascism, for the most part old-age pensioners, receive from the state special pensions of 950 marks a month, significantly more than the average wage. They also receive special medical care and have the right to an annual stay at a health spa.

With regard to Israel, Kirchner said that while East German Jews approved of the founding of that state, they “cannot be silent” about the fact that they do not always understand or approve of its policies. In his view, Israel “has not understood how to resolve through negotiations the contradictions created by its establishment,” and especially those created by the 1967 war. “We think,” he continued, “that particularly people who themselves came . . . as refugees from their previous homelands must now summon up understanding for the Palestinian Arabs who became refugees through the establishment of the State of Israel.” The statement expressed hope that the Geneva conference would lead to “guarantees for the independence and sovereignty of the State of Israel within secure boundaries and a just solution for the Arab inhabitants of the country, as well as those who fled because of military conflicts.” Only thus, it said, will Israel’s continued existence in the Arab area be possible. The fact that no East German Jews have so far applied for emigration to Israel, Kirchner maintained, is regarded as proof that “after years of cruel persecution, they have found even in a German state . . . what they regard as a place for a peaceful and secure life.” The report concludes with “the well-founded hope that the Jewish community of East Berlin, even though the number of its members will decline in the coming years because of advanced age, will continue to exist and preserve the traditions of Judaism.”

Because of labor shortage, the Jewish communities are concerned about the future maintenance of the 130 cemeteries in the DDR. The largest, in Berlin-Weissensee, has 114,000 graves. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the DDR in October,
the Federation of Jewish Communities sent the following message to State Secretary for Church Affairs Hans Seigewasser:

Twenty-five years are not a long time in the history of mankind, but in this short period our Republic has developed into a strong bulwark of Socialism, humanism, and peace. . . . As equals among equals, the citizens of Jewish faith have taken part in the building of our Republic. By strictly adhering to the Potsdam Agreement, the DDR has banished antisemitism and racism from the thinking of its citizens, and our youth, as it must be in a Socialist and peace-loving state, is raised in the spirit of international understanding and humanism.

Seigewasser replied, in part:

As your High Holy Days approach we celebrate together the 25th anniversary of the founding of the DDR, a meaningful event also for the citizens of Jewish faith. They have learned, in a special way, that Socialism and peace, Socialism and democracy, Socialism and humanism constitute an indivisible whole, and are indestructible principles of our social development. With equal rights and equal duties they have taken part in the building of our new order and have found a peaceful and secure home in our socialist society, in which there is no room and no basis for racism and antisemitism. Together with you, I wish for a just solution of the conflict in the Middle East on the basis of Resolution 242 of the UN Security Council. Humanism and human dignity are the highest law as well as the reality in our state; because, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity party, we have successfully used the historical opportunity given us by the Soviet Union's destruction of Hitler-fascism.

When it exchanged ambassadors with the United States, the DDR declared itself ready to discuss compensation for United States citizens whose property had been confiscated before or after 1945, but stated that this did not imply basic recognition of an obligation of any kind to make reparation for Nazi injustice. This it continued to reject. Demands for damages by Poland were also rejected by East Berlin.

In August a delegation of the PLO executive committee, led by Yasir Arafat, visited East Berlin. An official communiqué issued on the occasion expressed the wish for closer cooperation, and declared that the German Socialist Unity party would support PLO as the only rightful representative of the Arab people of Palestine in its just struggle for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. When, in November, an Israel Communist party (Maki) delegation visited East Berlin, the Israeli and East German parties issued a joint communiqué calling for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab areas occupied in June 1967.

Friedo Sachser
Austria

The ÖSTERREICHISCHE VOLKSPARTEI (ÖVP; Austrian People's party), which won an absolute majority in the 1966 national elections to become the first conservative ruling government party in the history of the republic, remained in power only until March 1970. The single-party government of Chancellor Josef Klaus, which had replaced the 20-year “black-red” (People's and Socialist parties) coalition system, was soon faced with an erosion of public confidence.

The People's party, plagued by permanent infighting of its three main pressure groups—the farmers, industry, and the non-Socialist employees—failed to tackle the basic structural problems. An example of the wavering politics of the ÖVP government was the tax question. A reduction of wage and income taxes, announced with much publicity in 1967, was reversed six months later by steep increases.

In January 1968 Klaus reshuffled his cabinet. Vice-Chancellor Fritz Bock, Foreign Minister Lujo Toncic-Sorinj, Finance Minister Wolfgang Schmitz, Interior Minister Franz Hetzenauer, and two state secretaries were removed. The main reason for the move was rising criticism of the failure to reach agreement with the Common Market, the deadlock with Italy in negotiations over the Alto Adige (South Tyrol) controversy, and the deterioration of the country’s economic situation. All the ousted ministers had been involved with one or more of these key issues. Thus, Bock had negotiated with the EEC; Toncic and and Hetzenauer had failed to ease tensions with Italy, and Schmitz was partly blamed for the government’s unpopular economic policy. The new members in the Klaus cabinet included Hermann Withalm (Vice-Chancellor), Kurt Waldheim (Foreign Affairs), and Stephan Koren (Finance).

One of the most pressing issues in the late 1960s of Austria's foreign politics was the South Tyrol question (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 370). Negotiations on the “package deal,” which included concessions of a certain autonomy for South Tyrol as proposed by the Italian government in 1964, dragged on until 1969. In October of that year came South Tyrolean approval, and relations between Italy and Austria have improved considerably since then. The step-by-step implementation of the agreement was still in progress.

In the course of the four-year rule of the Klaus government, the opposition Socialists made steady gains in the provincial elections. After the Socialist setback in 1966, a party congress elected Bruno Kreisky as party leader. He followed Bruno Pittermann, now president of the Socialist International.

Backed mainly by provincial party leaders and supported by a brain trust of some 1,400 experts in various fields, Kreisky began to build for his party a more liberal image, especially geared to the middle class. The proposed reforms were to be in economic and social policy, education, health and environment, chief among them
a reduction in military service, of particular importance to some 400,000 Austrians who reached voting age in 1970, and the elimination of “glaring injustices” of the “antiquated” income and wage tax.

In the spring of 1970 a self-confident Socialist party took the initiative in the election campaign with such slogans as “It’s time for a change!” and “Give us a chance to build a modern Austria.” The People’s party campaign posters advertised Klaus as a “real Austrian,” a description aimed at Kreisky’s Jewish origin.

On March 1, 1970, 91.97 per cent of all eligible Austrians went to the polls. The People’s party polled 2,051,012 votes, the Socialists 2,221,981, the pan-German right-wing Österreichische Freiheitliche Partei (FPÖ; Freedom party) 253,425, and the Österreichische Kommunistische Partei (KPÖ; Communist party) 44,750 votes. The Socialists gained 81 seats and thus the relative majority; the conservatives’ seats were cut back from 85 in 1966 to 78; the Freedom party lost one seat and retained five.

Since the 1959 elections, the first after the 1956 revolt in Hungary, the tiny Communist party had failed to win a single parliamentary seat. A second setback for the party was the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops. Its leading ideologist, Ernst Fischer, was expelled from the party in 1969 after having strongly condemned the invasion. Hundreds of other intellectuals left voluntarily. About one-third of all party members was purged in the aftermath of the invasion, relegating the party to its present virtual political insignificance.

The 1970 elections, and the subsequent formation of a Socialist minority cabinet, were another taboo-breaking political event in Austria’s postwar history. Kreisky’s cabinet was the first minority government since the end of World War II; for the first time in Austria, a predominantly Catholic country, the Socialists gained more seats in parliament than the People’s party, and for the first time, a Jew by birth became chancellor.

Kreisky has been regarded as one of the ablest politicians of contemporary Austria. After spending two months in prison, he was forced to leave Austria in 1938. He went to Stockholm and, after the war, became the first Austrian diplomatic representative there. His political career in Austria began in 1951. As secretary of state, from 1953 to 1959, and subsequently, as foreign minister until 1966, he was chiefly responsible for the country’s foreign policy. He used to say, “There are two things I can never achieve in Austria because of my Jewish origin: to become Socialist party leader or the nation’s chancellor.”

The Socialist government barely had time to enjoy its victory before it ran into trouble. In May Simon Wiesenthal, director of the Documentation Center of the Association of Jewish Nazi Victims, revealed that Agriculture Minister Hans Öllinger had been an officer in Hitler’s Elite Guard (SS); Minister of Interior Otto Rösch and Minister of Transportation Erwin Frühbauer had Nazi pasts. Although Kreisky pledged full support of Öllinger, the latter resigned in May 1970 for health reasons. At a party congress in June, Minister for Education and Arts Leopold Gratz attacked Wiesenthal, claiming that the Center had created a “private police and
informers' organization in Austria," and questioning "whether our state can tolerate private revenge organizations."

A special election was held in October for the 472,000 voters in three Viennese districts because of fraud committed in the general elections by the extreme right-wing National-Demokratische Partei (NDP), a tiny splinter group and counterpart of the West German neofascist NDP. Unable to muster the required 200 signatures in a district to run a candidate, NDP forged 73, thus invalidating the vote. The Freedom party, which in the March elections had been only 73 votes short of a sixth parliamentary seat, gained this seat in the special election by a narrow majority of 537 votes. The number of Socialist and People's party seats remained unchanged.

Another important election was held in April 1973 when President Franz Jonas, a Socialist, was reelected by 52.79 per cent of the electorate for a second six-year term. The People's party candidate, former Foreign Minister Kurt Waldheim and at the time ambassador to the UN, polled 47.21 per cent of the votes. On January 1, 1972, Waldheim became Secretary General of the UN.

The Socialists interpreted the good showing in the presidential elections as a sign of Austria's pro-Socialist leaning. In July 1971 Kreisky asked parliament to dissolve itself to clear the way for general elections in the fall. In the campaign, the Socialists stressed the achievements in the one-year rule of their minority cabinet: They had enacted a new electoral law giving greater equality to all parties; cut down military service from nine to six months (the bill was passed by the combined votes of the Socialists and the Freedom party), and abolished a ten per cent surtax adopted by the previous Conservative government.

The elections, held on October 10, saw a turnout of 92.44 per cent of the electorate. The Socialist party polled 2,280,142 (50.04 per cent) votes, the Conservatives 1,969,809 (43.12 per cent), the Freedom party 248,432 (5.45 per cent), giving them 93, 80 and 100 seats, respectively, in the lower house of parliament. The Communists polled 61,756 (1.35 per cent) votes, again short of the minimum required for a seat.

In the 1971–1975 period, the invigorated Socialists began to institute some of the planned reforms. While on some reform bills, like those for new labor and penal codes, all parties reached compromises, others led to highly controversial parliamentary and public debates. This was especially true of the reforms of the state-run Austrian Radio and TV (ORF) and the abortion law, both of which met with stiff opposition, especially from the People's party. Socialist intentions to democratize ORF raised misgivings among Conservatives that this would mean a "red" mass medium. The abortion law legalizing termination of a pregnancy in the first three months aroused the indignation of Catholics. Its opponents rallied behind Aktion Leben (Action Life), a private organization which circulated a petition for a plebiscite on the law that was to go into effect early in 1975. Although well over 800,000 signatures were collected, chances for the abrogation of the law were rather slim, since the Verfassungsgerichtshof (constitutional court) upheld its constitutionality.

An even more explosive domestic issue emerged in the 1970s—the problem of the
Slavic minorities in Carinthia. The southern part of Carinthia had been a trouble spot since the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, when Yugoslav troops attempting to annex the area were fought off by Austrian volunteers. In a 1920 plebiscite, a majority of its population decided to remain Austrian. Under the 1922 Peace Treaty of St. Germain, Austria retained that area. When the Nazis occupied Austria in 1938, thousands of Slovenes were deported as "unreliable elements" and replaced by German-speaking people, with the result that Carinthia had the highest percentage of National Socialists in all of Austria.

Austria's State Treaty of 1955, which restored full sovereignty to Austria after ten years of Allied occupation, provided, among other things, for the installation of bilingual road and town signs and the maintenance of bilingual schools in the mixed population area of Southern Carinthia. In 1972, after the Austrian parliament had voted to implement these provisions, German-speaking extremists tore down the bilingual signs. The right-wing Socialists, who had held the majority in Carinthia since World War II, put the blame for this on the Landeshauptmann (provincial administrator), who had pledged the implementation of the provisions. Under his successor, Leopold Wagner, the Socialists steered a tougher course against the Yugoslav minority. The deteriorating situation brought sharp reaction from neighboring Yugoslavia which charged the Austrian government with failure to live up to the treaty. Chancellor Kreisky rejected the charge, but said that the clause on bilingual road signs could not yet be implemented for political reasons. During the campaign for the Carinthian provincial elections in March 1975, in which the Socialists retained their majority, Wagner made imprudent remarks that attested to the controversial character of the situation and drew international attention to it: "I think the SPÖ has been punished enough with the minority problem. I also think that my policies are appreciated in nationalistic circles. Although I was never a 'napola' [political school for Nazis] student, I was nevertheless a high-karate Hitler youth. However, there is no doubt that I now am a social democrat."

The years 1973 and 1974 also brought changes in Austria's political leadership. Felix Slavik, the mayor of Vienna, resigned because of the growing criticism from the people as well as the rank and file of his party. The immediate cause was the so-called "preserve green Vienna" affair, involving a project to cut down 76 trees in an upper-middle-class section, which was opposed by the local residents and finally sparked a vociferous anti-Slavik campaign by the city's mass-circulation dailies. His successor was the Socialist parliamentary whip, Leopold Gratz, the education minister in Kreisky's first cabinet. A professional politician without municipal "know-how," Gratz led the Vienna Socialists to their greatest postwar political triumph in the October 1973 elections, by increasing their share of the popular vote from 56.9 to 60.2 per cent, and their seats in the 100-seat city council from 63 to 66.

On April 24, 1974, President Franz Jonas died at the age of 74. He was succeeded by Rudolf Kirchschläger, a former career diplomat who had served as foreign minister in Kreisky's cabinet.
Economy

The general economic situation showed six years of virtually uninterrupted boom conditions, with visible signs of a slowdown by mid-summer 1974. The gross national product rose by 7.8 per cent, 5.8 per cent, 7.1 per cent, and 5.5 per cent, respectively, in the years 1970 to 1973. In 1972 only Japan had a higher growth rate.

The worldwide inflation also hit Austria, but the rate could be kept at a reasonably low level. In 1974 it was 9.4 per cent; West Germany (6.5 per cent) and Switzerland (9 per cent) were the only other countries to keep it below the 10 per cent mark. The effects of the "oil shock" were not felt too dramatically, since the nationalized Österreichische Mineralölverwaltung AG (Austrian Oil Administration) could meet the most urgent demands by increasing its output capacity. However, the rise in crude oil prices in December 1973 had accelerated the price increases already under way.

In 1973 the Austrian schilling was revalued upward twice—by 2.25 per cent in March and by 4.9 per cent in July—to shield the economy from the impact of rising prices. Since March of that year, the exchange rate of the schilling has been determined by dealings on the open market.

Because of the rapid expansion of Austria's economy the unemployment rate was among the lowest in all of Europe. It was reduced by 2.8 per cent, to 1.6 per cent, in 1973. (It must be noted that Austrian classification methods tend to overstate this figure. By international standards, it could be put at 0.6 per cent.)

In July 1972, after almost ten years of efforts, Austria, a founding member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) signed a free trade agreement with the European Economic Community. It recognized the special status of Austria as a neutral country, guaranteeing freedom of action in relations with third countries; the right to withdraw from the agreement at any time, and the complete abolition of customs and trade barriers for commercial and industrial goods between Austria and its trading partners no later than July 1, 1977. The main obstacles to the agreement had been the Soviet Union's view that it was incompatible with the terms of the Austrian State Treaty and with Austria's obligations as a neutral country, as well as Italy's refusal before 1969 to vote for the agreement in an attempt to influence negotiations on South Tyrol. The provisions on relations with third countries applied mainly to Communist countries, particularly to the Soviet Union. Austria was the first Western country to conclude long-term agreements with the USSR, which resulted in a considerable expansion of trade.

Middle East Policy

Austria supported UN Security Council Resolution 242, which, according to a 1971 statement by then Foreign Minister Kirchschläger, in the general debate on the Middle East crisis, "has created the basis for a solution of the Middle East crisis." His government, he said, viewed partial agreements as a possible first step
to an eventual over-all settlement. Kirchschläger paid an official visit to Israel in April 1972. He had two meetings with then Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban, in which both emphasized the existing good relations between the two countries.

In July 1973 Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohammed Hassan el-Zayyat arrived for a four-day official visit to Austria. He said at a press conference that Egypt was looking for a "third door" that would allow the settlement of the Middle East conflict without the use of force. During the mid-July Middle East debate in the Security Council, Austria, along with 12 council members, backed the draft resolution that deplored the continuing occupation of Arab territories by the Israeli armed forces and, for the first time, mentioned "legal aspirations" of the Palestinian people (AJYB, 1974-75 (Vol. 75), p. 158). On August 1 Israel Ambassador to Austria Yitzhak Patish conveyed to Austrian Secretary General for Foreign Affairs Walter Wodak his government's "disappointment" and asked for an explanation of Austria's apparent pro-Arab attitude. After the meeting, Wodak explained that Austria considered the resolution as the only possibility to end the deadlock in the Middle East.

After the 1973 Yom Kippur war cease-fire, Austria, acting on a request by the United Nations, sent some 600 volunteers from the Austrian army to serve in the UN Emergency Force, first in Egypt and later in the buffer zone between Syrian and Israeli forces on the Golan Heights. Eight Austrian officers had served as UN observers along the cease-fire lines after the 1967 six-day war.

In March 1974 Kreisky led a delegation of the Socialist International, composed of members of the Swedish, French, Italian, West German, Dutch, Japanese, and Austrian Socialist parties, on a fact-finding mission to Israel, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. The purpose was to sound out the "possibilities for a permanent solution of the Middle East conflict."

At a dinner honoring Syrian Premier Mahmoud el-Ayyubi, who came to Austria in September 1974 on an official visit, Chancellor Kreisky reiterated Austria's desire to maintain good relations with all countries in the Middle East, but insisted that it was not prepared to sacrifice good relations with Israel for good relations with the Arab countries. "Israel," he said, "has created a modern state in the Middle East. It would be incompatible with our civilization if we did not recognize that fact."

There were, of course, differences of opinion between Israel and Austria, especially on the Palestinian question. Commenting on Austria's abstention in the UN General Assembly vote on a permanent Palestinian representation in December 1974, the new Israel Ambassador to Austria Avigdor Dagan said, "the in-between stand is not always the most courageous." Kreisky's reply was that his country did not take "a pro-Arab line in the world forum"; that a "solution of the problem without a compromise on the question of the Palestinians is impossible."
The Palestinian terror attack in Marchegg on September 28, 1973, further strained relations between Israel and Austria. Two Palestinian terrorists kidnapped three Soviet Jewish emigrants and an Austrian customs official at a railroad station and took them to the Vienna airport before the police could intervene. They demanded that the authorities allow them to fly to an unspecified Arab country, where the three Jewish hostages would be exchanged for Arab prisoners held in Israel. The terrorists claimed to belong to the "Eagles of the Palestinian Revolution," an elite group of educated former members of al-Fatah.

The two abductors also demanded that the transit of Soviet Jewish emigrants through Austria should be stopped. In the course of the negotiations, in which the ambassadors of Egypt, Libya, and Lebanon assisted, the Austrian government settled for a compromise. A statement that came out of an extraordinary meeting of the cabinet was read over the radio shortly after midnight. It said in part: "Considering the fact that the security of Soviet citizens emigrating in groups from the Soviet Union to Israel could be endangered while in transit through Austria, the government has decided to stop the facilities granted now or in the future for this purpose, such as temporary accommodations of these persons in the camp at Schönau." Shortly thereafter, the hostages were released by the terrorists, who were flown out of the country aboard a private plane piloted by two Austrians who volunteered for the job.

In a radio broadcast shortly after the take-off, Kreisky said the decision had been made with a "heavy heart"; that his "foremost consideration" had been to save the lives of the hostages. "The most important thing was to ensure that nothing irreparable was done." In an interview with the Israeli television 12 hours later, Kreisky emphasized that the decision did not imply that those with a valid visa would not be permitted to travel through Austria. Asked in which way the situation had changed, he replied that Austria will have to consider closing Schönau as a transit camp. "It has been in grave danger before," he said, "although this has not been generally known. We are not in a position to let Austria become a kind of secondary theatre of operations."

In fact, the Austrian authorities had received several warnings and threats regarding Schönau. In January 1973 six Arabs were arrested, three in Vienna and the others at the Austro-Italian border. All six were members of the Black September organization, who had been planning an attack on the camp. The suspected terrorists were sentenced to four months in prison on charges of fraud, and were then asked to leave the country. In a precautionary move, the ministry of interior had ordered increased security at the camp as early as June 1972, with some 100 gendarmes assigned to around-the-clock duty. By Austrian standards, this had to be considered an extraordinary measure, if one considers that altogether 523 gendarmes are responsible for the entire province of Vorarlberg with its 271,473 inhabitants and some 35,000 resident immigrant workers.

Kreisky further stressed that Austria had made it possible for "hundreds of
thousands of emigrants” to enter Austria and that his government would continue to live up to its humanitarian commitment. According to official statistics, 82,070 Soviet Jewish emigrants came through Vienna in transit to Israel between 1967 and the end of 1973, and 20,402 in 1974.

While the decision of the Austrian government was sharply criticized in the foreign press, the majority of Austrians approved of the move. A public opinion poll showed 58 per cent thought the decision was the right one; only 22 per cent believed that it was not.

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, who at the time of the terrorist incident addressed the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, came to Vienna on October 2 to persuade Kreisky to change the decision, but failed. One day later, Egyptian Tourist Minister Ismail Fahmy visited Vienna and delivered an official letter of thanks from President Anwar al-Sadat, expressing satisfaction with the Austrian government’s decision.

In the aftermath of these events, however, it became clear that the decision to close Schöna posed a far greater problem than anticipated. The emigration camp was first moved to former army barracks in Wöllersdorf, 40 kilometers south of Vienna, and then, in autumn, to a Vienna suburb. To the embarrassment of the government, the residents of the area strongly protested. Supervision of the facility was transferred from the Jewish Agency to the Red Cross. Kreisky again referred to the closing of Schöna when he returned from the Middle East in March 1974. He had informed the Arab governments, he said, that Austria would do nothing to curb the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel.

Antisemitism

Of some 2,000 letters that poured in to the chancellor’s office praising the government’s humane decision in the Marchegg incident about ten per cent were antisemitic in content. Yet Kreisky maintained, “Today, there is no more antisemitism in Austria. People are just talked into this. I have never felt any antisemitism anywhere.”

In its November issue, the liberal Vienna weekly Profil published the findings of a public opinion poll that clearly contradicted Kreisky’s remarks. They showed that 70 per cent of all Austrians above the age of 16 years had antisemitic feelings. Of these, 24 per cent had “strong” antisemitic feelings; 35 per cent could not imagine marrying a Jew; 45 per cent believed that a Jew who does something good only acts in his own interest; 21 per cent felt that it would be best if there were no Jews in Austria. There were, of course, differences which were determined by age, education, and party membership. Generally, there was less antisemitism among the young, better educated, and members of the Socialist party. The strongest antisemitic trend was detected in rural areas and among the members of the right-wing Freedom party.

Although not even the Freedom party, which has mostly former Nazi sympathiz-
ers in its ranks, would dare follow an open antisemitic line, it cannot be denied that there is a latent antisemitism at least among some Austrian politicians. During a parliamentary debate in February 1972 on the architects of proposed construction of a UN center in Vienna, two People's party deputies, Johann Haider and Walter Suppan, interrupted the debate with such exclamations as “only Jews” or “Is this also a Jew?” In July 1973 Hans Klement, vice-chairman of the Viennese section of the Freedom party, attacked the party's leader Friedrich Peter, a former SS Obersturmbannführer, for favoring a coalition with the Socialists. In an interview, Klement, who had been a member of Austria's Nazi underground movement before the Nazi takeover in 1938, said that some “subconscious antisemitism,” together with a “wide ideological gap,” would prevent him from working with a Socialist Jewish politician. He resigned a week later, when Peter dissociated himself from these remarks.

It was a newspaper series, “The Jews in Austria,” that, more than any other event, sparked a heated debate on the subject of antisemitism. On Palm Sunday 1974, the first article appeared in the Vienna mass-circulation daily Neue Kronen-Zeitung. Purporting to be a documented history of the Jews, especially in Austria, the series contained a number of factual errors; quoted from a disproportionately large number of antisemitic publications, and used controversial figures, as for example those attempting to show the “Judaization” of the arts, literature, politics, and other areas. The main source was Ernest van den Haag's Die Juden, das rätselfhafte Volk (“The Jews: An Enigmatic People”), which received strongly critical reviews in West Germany.

The publication was preceded by an aggressive advertising campaign. Huge posters showed the Austrian flag with the Star of David in the middle and a caption reading, “The Jews in Austria—since decades a taboo in this country.” Billboards featuring a rabbi in the genre of Stürmer caricatures were placed all over Vienna. Other ads asked: “Is there a Jewish character?”, “Are Jews more intelligent than ordinary people?”, or simply, “What is a Jew?” The series immediately drew protests. But there were also letters to the editor that voiced approval or more often, contained antisemitic tirades.

The majority of the other newspapers condemned the series. Manfred Scheuch, chief editor of the Socialist Arbeiter Zeitung said: “In Austria, antisemitism survived even its victims, the Jews.” The spectrum of critical voices reached from the conservative weekly Wochenpresse to the Communist Volksstimme, which rated the series as antisemitic. Other critics pointed out that the series distorted facts or simply contained many serious errors.

Reimann attacked his critics in his daily column in the Kronen-Zeitung: “This hysteria of frightened people is the product of an agitation of a very few Jews in this country, who are interested in the continuing existence of antisemitism for personal advantage.” In the same vein, he stated in one of the introductory remarks to the series: “One of the main causes of antisemitism is found in the Jews themselves”; it is “their desire to be different and to be separated from non-Jewish people.”
Reimann, now a top columnist of the paper, was an illegal member of the Nazi party in 1936, but later joined the German Freedom Movement, an anti-Nazi resistance group. In 1943 he was sentenced by a Nazi court to ten years in prison for high treason. In 1949 Reimann became cofounder of the Union of Independents, which attracted mostly former Nazis and later became the Freedom party. Rudolf Antoni, chief editor of the government newspaper *Wiener Zeitung*, commented: "Reimann comes from the nationalistic camp. . . . It is necessary to say this because the author writes certain things which someone else, having different opinions, would have written differently."

The Austrian Press Council finally took action in response to protest by the Jewish community and sharply condemned the series as "apt to activate potential antisemitism." Minister of Justice Christian Broda said he was "horrified" at the series. Editors of the Austrian radio and television called it "irresponsible." Pressure from various organizations finally grew so strong that the *Kronen Zeitung* stopped the series after several installments.

**Nazi Trials**

In the last three years, prosecution of Nazi criminals virtually came to a standstill in Austria. Although courts had conducted preliminary proceedings against 800 persons in 1971, there were no trials in 1973 and 1974. The only legal action was taken by the Supreme Court, which squashed acquittals, ordered new trials, or, as in the case of Franz Novak, upheld the verdict handed down in the last trial. To a certain degree, the Novak case was a barometer for all Nazi trials in Austria. Novak, Adolf Eichmann's chief transport officer, had been sentenced in 1964 to eight years imprisonment for participating in the deportation of 400,000 Hungarian Jews. It was only after three more retrials that the Supreme Court, in January 1973, upheld the last court's seven-year sentence. Altogether, procedures against Novak required 11 years.

Another case that dragged on endlessly was that of Franz Murer, who was acquitted by a court in Graz in 1963 of the charge of responsibility for the murder of thousands of Jews in Vilna. One year later, the Supreme Court ordered a new trial, during which the prosecution discontinued further action.

The new criminal code of 1974 is expected to slow down the prosecution of Nazi crimes even more; for it contains a provision that will be advantageous to those who had committed crimes in countries where a statute of limitations made prosecution impossible. Another obstacle is that the Interior Ministry department dealing exclusively with Nazi crimes was dissolved and its activities taken over by another department.

Between 1967 and 1972 several important trials took place. Walter Deljaco, a former SS-Obersturmführer, had been leading the respectable life of a master builder in Reutte (Tyrol) from 1952 until the start of action against him. Fritz Karl Ertl, a former SS-Untersturmführer, carried on the same trade in Linz (Upper Austria).
Both were said to be responsible for the planning and installation of gas chambers. Both were acquitted because the jury believed their argument that they were not aware of the real purpose of chambers at the time of construction.

Another trial that ended in acquittal was that of Johann Gogl, a former SS man who had joined the Mauthausen camp personnel in 1942 and soon became one of its most sadistic members. He was charged with the murder of 47 paratroopers (39 Dutch, seven British, and one American), 13 political prisoners, and three other inmates. His acquittal of all charges drew protests in Austria and abroad.

Restitution

There were no significant changes in restitution laws in the period between 1967 and 1975. A law was in preparation which will entitle all people who between March 1933 and May 1945 had been persecuted for political or racial reasons and received no restitution under any other law to payment of 15,000 Austrian schillings (about $1,000).

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish population further decreased in the past seven years. In 1974 the total number of registered Jews in Vienna, Lower Austria, and Burgenland was 7,311; some 500 registered Jews lived in the other communities. An estimated 2,000 Jews were not registered with the community organizations. The total number of Jews living in Austria can thus be put at close to 10,000.

Of the registered Jews, about 66 per cent were over 50 years old. In 1973 there were only 17 children aged between five and ten. In the same year, 19 persons returned from the United States, but 24 persons emigrated to Israel. There was a total decrease of 243 persons in 1972-73. All these factors indicate a further decline of the Jewish community.

Communal Activities

In the 1972 elections of the Kultusgemeinde (Vienna Jewish Community) the Poale-Zion/Bund Werktätiger Juden (League of Working Jews), representing Zionist and Socialist politics, gained 14 seats; the Orthodox groups, 3; the Bund Jüdischer Verfolgter des Nazi Regimes (Association of Jewish Nazi Victims), led by Simon Wiesenthal, 3; the Zionist bloc, 4 seats. Dr. Anton Pick was elected president, Edmund Reis and Josef Heilpern vice-presidents.

In 1972 the community offices and the home for the aged moved into a new and modern building. The home for the aged, which cared for about 150 persons, was combined with a 40-bed geriatric clinic, the first consolidation of this kind in
Austria. In spring 1975 Kirchschläger visited the new Elternheim, the first Austrian president to visit a Jewish home for the aged.

**Education and Culture**

More than 30 children attended a kindergarten, which was built in 1973. Some 250 children attended two Talmud Torahs. The Kultusgemeinde was working on a youth exchange program with Israel.

A number of books, essays, and scholarly dissertations, most of them historical in content, were published in the last seven years. In *Das Österreichische Judentum: Voraussetzungen und Geschichte* ("The Austrian Jews: Assumptions and History"; Jugend und Volk, Vienna, 1974), the authors—Kurt Schubert, a professor of Jewish studies at the University of Vienna, Anna Drabek, Nikolaus Vielmetti, Wolfgang Häusler, and Karl Stuhlpfarrer—give an objective historical account of the fate of Austrian Jews from the Middle Ages to World War II. The book was generally considered the scholars' answer to the *Kronen-Zeitung* series.


**Personalia**

Dr. Anton Pick, president of the Kulturgemeinde, received the Gold Decoration of Honor for Services to Austria in April 1975.

Heinrich Sussman, one of Austria’s most prominent Jewish artists, widely recognized painter, cartoonist, and stage designer in Vienna, Berlin, and Paris, celebrated
his 70th birthday in September 1974. A survivor of Auschwitz, he had suffered such a severe shock that he could not paint for 15 years. His best known works are the windows in the Jewish burial hall of the Zentralfriedhof (cemetery) depicting scenes from Auschwitz, a collection of etchings, “Ecco homo,” on Nazi death camps, and another entitled, “Anatevka.”

Peter Friedlinger
There were no changes in the Soviet leadership, although Leonid I. Brezhnev’s periodic absences from Moscow evoked repeated conjectures regarding his political standing and the state of his health. While there may have been serious differences within the Politburo on foreign policy and internal administration, and a generational conflict between the older leaders and the relatively younger members, at the end of 1974 the old leadership was in control of Party and state affairs. There were also reports about the downgrading of some of the younger leaders, particularly former KGB boss Aleksandr Shelepin, who recently was in charge of the trade unions and whose fortunes were said to be declining. As for the “collective leadership,” three men were clearly on top: Secretary General of the Party Brezhnev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Aleksei N. Kosygin, and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Nikolai Podgorny. While Brezhnev’s role was that of primus inter pares, it is significant that Kommunist, the Party organ, pointed out in November 1974 that the collective leadership should insure the Party against possible “subjective efforts” in solving political and economic problems, an apparent allusion to the handling of state affairs by the late Nikita Khrushchev.

There were no Jews in the 16-member Politburo, nor among the seven nonvoting candidate members. While no changes occurred in the highest echelon of the top policy body, there were some replacements in the secondary leadership group. Yekaterina Furtseva, minister of culture and former member of the Party Presidium, whose anti-Jewish bias was well-known, was reprimanded for a questionable financial transaction involving the building of her dacha (summer home) outside of Moscow. She was later replaced as minister of culture by Pyotr Demichev, a Politburo candidate-member and a rigid hardliner. Anton Kochinian, Party head of the Armenian Republic, also was relieved of his post, reportedly because of his inability to deal effectively with the rising tide of nationalist feeling in that area. Similar changes were reported to have been made in the leadership of Georgia.

Dissidence

The authorities continued to fight dissidence, while at the same time maintaining a policy of reconciliation with the Stalinist past. During the summer, clearly with
the blessings of the Kremlin bosses, *Molodaia Gvardiia*, a conservative magazine known for its super-nationalist stance and overt antisemitism, published a new novel by Ivan Stadniuk, which dealt sympathetically with Stalin. Ignoring the purges and atrocities which marked his rule, the author portrays Stalin as a "loving father of the people." It was thus in keeping with the current Kremlin line of liquidating Khrushchev's destalinization and restoring a rehabilitated Stalin to Soviet history. Moscow liberals were disturbed by the publication of the novel.

In early 1974 Kremlin leaders had organized a systematic campaign against Nobelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, whose massive study of Soviet crimes, *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918–1956*, had been published abroad. Solzhenitsyn insisted that it was necessary that the true facts about Stalin's regime be made known to the Russian public. He appealed to Russian youth to reject the lies contained in official accounts of the Stalin era. Reluctant to arrest Solzhenitsyn and thus create a hero-martyr for dissidents, the Kremlin decided to expel him. On February 12 Solzhenitsyn was seized in Moscow and forcibly put on a plane bound for West Germany, where he was received by his friend and host, the German Nobelist Heinrich Böll. In an attempt to justify Solzhenitsyn's expulsion, Moscow simultaneously unleashed a barrage of propaganda depicting him as a pro-Nazi traitor.

The expulsion provoked sharp reaction both in Moscow and Western Europe. In Moscow, the poet Evgenii Evtuchenko protested the expulsion in an open letter, and was himself sharply criticized by the authorities. Vladimir Voinovich, a Soviet writer and one of the first to come to Solzhenitsyn's defense, was expelled from the Writers Union. A statement challenging the Moscow authorities and defending Solzhenitsyn against the slanderous accusations of the official press was issued by Roy Medvedev, the well-known dissident and Marxist author of *Let History Judge*, a study of the Stalin era.

Andrei Sakharov, head of the Moscow Human Rights Committee, circulated an essay which pointed out that in 1974 some 1,700,000 persons were in Soviet prisons and camps. At the same time, many intellectuals, writers, and artists abroad, among them Italian, Belgian, and other European Communists, joined in a protest against Solzhenitsyn's expulsion. After his arrival abroad, Solzhenitsyn addressed a 51-page open letter to the leaders of the USSR, asking them to grant freedom of religion and of artistic expression to the peoples of Russia, to liquidate the camps and put an end to police brutality. He made it clear that he understood that power would remain in the hands of the Communist Party and that the regime would maintain its authoritarian form. His primary interest, he said, was the fate of the Russian and Ukrainian people. He suggested that measures be taken to develop the northeastern Siberian region of the Soviet Union, where, he said, the future of Russia lay.

The letter created a stir among Soviet dissidents because of its acceptance of authoritarian rule, its focus on Russian religious and national aspects, and the implied rejection of Western political structures, indicating a return to some of the
principles of 19th-century Slavophilism. Many dissidents, including Andrei Sakharov, publicly expressed their disagreement with the position defended by the author of *Gulag*. After Solzhenitsyn's arrival in the West, an acrimonious debate arose between him and an earlier exile from Moscow, Zhores Medvedev, who together with his brother Roy in Moscow, represented what might be called a "free Marxist" opposition to the Soviet regime.

Soviet authorities continued to harass the dissident opposition, forcing the departure of many intellectuals and writers considered dangerous to the regime. Among the writers who went abroad were Vladimir Maksimov, Victor Nekrasov, and Anatolii Krasnov-Levitin. Levitin, who was of Jewish origin, converted to Christianity and became a notable exponent of Greek Orthodoxy. Nekrasov, author of many award-winning works on World War II, was interested in the Jewish tragedy at Babii-Iar and had participated in a 1969 commemoration of the event. Among the political dissidents to leave the USSR was Pavel Litvinov, grandson of Maksim Litvinov, the last Jewish foreign minister of the USSR. Upon his arrival in the United States he showed no special interest in Jewish affairs or the problems of Soviet Jewry.

Soviet authorities maintained strict control in all sectors where dissidence might present particular danger. Lidiia Chukovskaia, daughter of the late writer Korneii Chukovskii and herself a well-known novelist, was expelled from the Moscow Writers Union for her defense of Sakharov. Father Dmitrii Dudko, a Moscow priest who attracted wide attention by his sermons on Christianity and Soviet society, was transferred by the ecclesiastical authorities from the Moscow St. Nicolas Church to a rural parish to restrict his activities.

However, despite rigid control, the authorities failed to suppress *Samizdat* and its important underground publication, *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytii* ("Chronicle of Current Events"). Nor were they able to break up a group of nonconformist artists who, despite intimidation and harassment by KGB, staged an outdoor exhibition of their works in Moscow in September. In October, Valerii Kosolapov, editor of the liberal monthly *Novy Mir* ("New World"), was replaced by the Moscow Writers Union's chief bureaucrat, the poet Sergeii Narovchatov. Thus the magazine, which, under its late editor Aleksandr Tvardorskii, had published Solzhenitsyn's celebrated *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, was now in the hands of a Party apparatchik. At the same time, and without serious objection by the authorities, many Muscovites openly honored the memory of Boris Pasternak, author of *Doctor Zhivago* and recipient of the Nobel Prize for literature, who had been the target of an attack by Khrushchev. *Literaturnaia Gazeta* reported (March 27) that a prize had been established in honor of the late writer Aleksandr Fadeev, who had headed the Writers Union during the campaign against "cosmopolitanism" and ferociously attacked the victims of officially-propagated slander.

Piotr Grigorenko, a fighter for human rights, and Iurii Shikhanovich, a dissident Soviet mathematician, were reported to have been released from mental hospitals to which they had been committed.
Economic Planning and Nationalities

The USSR has been engaged in complicated negotiations with the Soviet-bloc nations on economic planning and assignment of financial burdens among the various parties. Whatever the decisions, these countries, which had been able to raise their standards of living, clearly would have to make sacrifices to avoid friction with Moscow. Behind these continuing negotiations was the thorny question of how much managerial freedom should be given to industrial units in East European countries where relative freedom exists. The Soviet Union also continued to press for a trade agreement with the United States (p. 160). The USSR was importing over two billion dollars' worth of Western technology annually which was badly needed to improve and modernize the lagging Soviet economy.

There were signs of continuing tension in relations between the various national groups in many areas of the Soviet Union, which resulted partly from the migration of many Russians to minority republics in the Asiatic parts of the USSR, or to Baltic countries. Historically, the situation in the Caucasian and other areas has been a complicated one. Many of the nationalities—Georgian, Armenian, Bukharian—have resented Russian tutelage, and particularly the breakdown of their traditional ways of life due to the technical bureaucracy imported from Moscow. Objections to this type of colonial policy have been frequently heard among local Communist officials, too, and manifestations of "local nationalism" were treated harshly.

In the fall of 1974 a series of trials took place in Armenia, in which 11 young men were sentenced to prison for participating in illegal activities of the National Unity party of Armenia. There had been another trial in June, and other judicial proceedings were reported to be in preparation, all involving illegal Armenian nationalist activities. In other areas, and especially in Lithuania, there have been subtle restatements of local national identification through the revival of national folk art and research into local history.

Foreign Relations

It was obvious that the Kremlin considered China its greatest enemy. Soviet leaders have recently been especially concerned over Chinese Communist influence on the policies of the Third World and other countries, including Chile and Portugal. They were disturbed about China's overtures to the European Common Market, as well as about Chinese influence in Asia, which clashed with Soviet aims. While continuing to preach "peaceful relations" with China, the USSR maintained some 45 divisions along the 4,000-mile-long Sino-Soviet border, the site of the historical territories of non-Russian national minorities. It was obvious that in arranging for normalization of its relations with the West, the Kremlin hoped to obtain more freedom in exercising its options in the Sino-Russian conflict, and in addition had the important political advantage in the peculiar relative distribution of power among the United States, USSR, and China. In the Middle East conflict, Moscow continued to be overtly pro-Arab (p. 154). In relations with the United States, it
favored continuing the policy of détente, as Brezhnev clearly indicated to President Nixon on his visit to Moscow in June (p. 143).

At the same time, the Moscow Communist leaders initiated a campaign to win friends among the Communist parties outside the USSR and the socialist and workers' organizations in the West. At the preliminary conference of 28 Communist parties, held in Warsaw in October, the Soviet delegation intimated that the Kremlin was ready to go to the All-European Congress of Communist Parties, where differing views and concepts of Communism would be represented. It further advocated that the pre-World War II strategy of “popular fronts” with democratic and left-wing non-Communists be encouraged in all countries where such alliances were possible.

Soviet-Israeli Relations

While there were continuing reports of diplomatic contacts between Moscow and Jerusalem, Soviet leaders maintained a strongly pro-Arab and rigidly anti-Israel stand. The Soviet Union called for a Palestinian state as part of a Middle East settlement. Speaking on the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko stressed that the Middle East situation was still “fraught with danger.” He called for the resumption of Geneva talks and for the immediate return of all “Arab lands occupied by the aggressor.” After an official visit in May 1974 by Premier Abd al-Salem Jallud of Libya, Kremlin leaders pledged to give every kind of assistance to the Palestinian guerrilla movement fighting for its just cause. The Soviets continued to supply the Arabs with sophisticated, modern weapons. At the same time, the Soviet press, radio, and television disseminated their biased presentation of events in the Middle East, including discussions of the 1973 Yom Kippur war in which Israel was called the aggressor. They continued to accuse Israel of committing atrocities against Arab women and children. Soviet propagandists again and again used the image of “Nazi Israel” plotting with China against the Soviet Union. On January 11, 1974, Sovetskaia Kultura stated in connection with a visit by Soviet workers to Egypt that “Zionism possesses substantial capital and it can decide the fate of governments and presidents. It controls the information media and organizes subversive activities in many countries.”

Jewish Community

No new information was available on Jewish population of the Soviet Union. There were varied estimates, ranging from the official 1970 Soviet figure of some 2,150,000 to the 3,500,000 suggested by recent émigrés. Until circumstances permit a clear definition of who is a Jew in the Soviet Union, the figure, based on the 1959 Soviet census, and allowing for an approximate 8 per 1,000 increase in 1974, would seem to be some 2,700,000— or 2,680,000, if one takes into account the 20,000 Jews who
left in 1974 for Israel and other countries (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], pp. 496–97, 562–63). Sovetish Heymland (No. 3, 1974, Moscow) quoted, without comment, the American Jewish Year Book world Jewish population figures, including the 1973 estimate of 2,648,000 Jews in the Soviet Union.

Jews lived in some 100 territorial units of the Soviet Union. They ranked fifth in population, after the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Tatar populations. In many areas, however, particularly in some areas of the RSFSR, there were no Jews at all.

According to recently published data, a significant number of Jews continued to be among senior Soviet academic personnel. In 1973 Jews held 14 per cent of all doctoral degrees in the Soviet Union. A decree of August 28, 1974, prohibited citizens from changing the nationality designation entered on their internal passports at the age of 16. In cases of mixed marriage, the individual (at the age of 16) may choose the nationality of either parent. (A regulation, announced in December, required Soviet citizens in rural areas, who had hitherto been exempt, to obtain internal passports. This will make it easier for them to leave their villages.)

Communal and Religious Life

Jewish communal and religious life continued to deteriorate. There were no Jewish schools, religious or secular, no bar-mitzvah preparation classes, and very few mohalim. There were only a few rabbis in the country, and some of them did not have the background to give religious counseling to the college-educated Soviet Jew. The large Jewish communities of Kiev, Odessa, and Leningrad were without rabbis. In summer 1974 Rabbi Iakov Fishman of Moscow informed Israel's Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren that the Moscow Yeshivah Kol-Iakov had reopened, with 18 adult and ten younger students. There were no further reports on the activities of the yeshivah. However, the Soviet government was said to have given permission for ten Soviet Jews to go to Budapest for rabbinical training at the only seminary in Eastern Europe. Thus far it was known that two had left for Budapest (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 497).

The precise number of synagogues in the Soviet Union was not known. The official 1965 figure of 97 seemed no longer valid, especially in view of the emigration of many religious Jews. Information on religious activities generally was difficult to obtain. The number of Greek Orthodox churches now functioning in the Soviet Union was not known; estimates ranged between 3,500 and 4,500.

In December Efraim Kaplun, president of the Moscow Jewish religious congregation, resigned and was replaced by Mikhail Tandetnyi. There was no interference with the preparation of matzot in the large cities. The situation in the provinces depended on local officials, who were not always sympathetic to Jewish needs. The Moscow Jewish community baked about 100 tons of matzot. Leningrad, too, had the necessary Passover supplies. Passover services were held in Moscow, Leningrad,
Kiev, Odessa, Kishinev, Vilna, Riga, and other cities. In Moscow, they were conducted by Cantors Iakov Gramer and Solomon Kleinman.

Despite the continuing negative attitude of the authorities, many older and some younger Jews continued to show a strong attachment to Jewish tradition. While this attachment may have been in part an expression of a desire for national identification, much of it represented a general religious revival, a groping for spiritual values to relieve drabness and boredom. For many years, on the day of important Jewish festivals, large numbers of Jews, old and young, have assembled around the synagogues in Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities, dancing, singing, and following the services conducted inside the prayerhouses. On October 9, 1974, masses of Jews outside the Central Choral Synagogue in Moscow danced in the streets in celebration of Simhat Torah. There was no interference by the local police, although in some instances the celebrants were asked to disperse because they were blocking traffic around the synagogue. In Lvov (formerly Polish Galicia), police interrupted a Sabbath service conducted shortly before Rosh Hashanah in a shtibl and confiscated the Torah scrolls and prayerbooks. The organizers of the service were fined for spreading "religious practices and corruption" among the youth.

There was still no central Jewish religious coordinating body in the Soviet Union. While there was increasing contact with Jewish religious groups outside the USSR, particularly with rabbis in the United States, Soviet Jews were not able to arrange for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. There was still dire need of Jewish religious articles and prayerbooks, which could not be obtained in the country.

Conversions

A phenomenon unprecedented in the history of Russian Jewry was the substantial number of conversions of Jews, particularly intellectuals, to Greek Orthodoxy. In the recent past, two great Jewish Russian literary figures, Boris Pasternak and the poet Osip Mandelstam, had converted to Christianity. Mandelstam's wife, Nadezhda, author of the well-known Hope Against Hope memoirs, also converted. Anatolii Krasnov-Levitin, the foremost Christian writer, is of Jewish origin. Some Jewish dissidents who had been regarded as Jewish activists and who left Russia have professed the Greek Orthodox belief, among them the poet Aleksandr Galich. Melik Agurskii, a dissident and activist and son of Samuil Agurskii, an erstwhile leader of Evsektsiia, stated in Moscow in November that he had converted to Greek Orthodoxy, but continued to regard himself as a Jew and a Zionist. It was his belief, he said, that the real renaissance of the Jewish people was related to acceptance of Christianity. The writer Mikhail Meerson-Aksenov also converted to Christianity. Judging from the statements and writings of these converts, they knew nothing of Judaism. However, the very fact that they found it necessary to convert, although they lived in an atheistic state, bears witness to a profound spiritual crisis of the Jewish intellectual.
Antisemitism and Discrimination

Despite official denials, anti-Jewish bias has become an organic part of Soviet society. Not only non-Jews but also some Jewish intellectuals used objectionable Jewish stereotypes. Some Jewish dissidents who have emigrated to the West have described Jews in a peculiar negative manner in their writings. This negative image of the Jew prevalent in Soviet society may have contributed to the decision of some recent Jewish émigrés to convert to Greek Orthodoxy.

No anti-Jewish laws were enacted in the Soviet Union, but it was obvious that the authorities rigidly curtailed Jewish participation in many important areas of Russian life. Only six Jews were elected to the Supreme Soviet in 1974. Beniamin Dymshits, a deputy premier minister, and the academician Julii Khariton were elected to the 767-member Soviet of the Union. Lev Shapiro, first secretary of the Party in Birobidzhan; Lubov Groisman, a dressmaker from Birobidzhan; Henrik Zimanas, chief editor of Kommunistas in Lithuania, and Aleksandr Chakovskii, editor of the Moscow Literaturnaia Gazeta, were elected to the 750-member Soviet of Nationalities. (In 1937, under Stalin, 47 of the 1,143 deputies were Jews.) There were no Jews in the top ranks of the Party, or the army, or in foreign affairs posts, or, for that matter, in any department the authorities deemed “sensitive.” It was difficult for Jewish functionaries to get promotions, and a numerus clausus limited the admission of Jewish applicants to universities. Jewish graduate students at the end of 1973 numbered 3,456, as compared to 4,945 in 1970.

Anti-Jewish writings continued to appear in Moscow, Kiev, and other cities, some of them quite vicious. In April 1974 the Kiev Ukrainian monthly Liudyna i Svit called the “Judaic religion . . . intolerant toward [other peoples] . . . identical with Nazi racism.” The October 12, 1974 Moscow weekly Ogonek (issued by Pravda) carried a review of a book on Israel under the title, “Ideology and Practices of Brutality,” in which reviewer Dmitri Zhukov said, among other things, that the structure of “Zionist organizations is identical to that of gangster groups;” that “at the end of the last century, a large majority of the capital and industry in the developed countries fell into the hands of the Jewish bourgeoisie.” He further maintained that “Israelis raped little [Arab] girls.” This type of propaganda has become part and parcel of Soviet “literature” and seems to be sanctioned, indeed inspired, by the authorities. On November 25, 1973, Lev Kornilov asserted in a broadcast from Moscow that the Zionists believe the Jewish army should control the entire world. The well-known scholar, Professor Efim Etkind, was dismissed from the Herzen Institute in Leningrad for being a “Jewish nationalist” whose works on poetry did not reflect the ideals of “patriotism” and “fatherland.” Novy Mir of September 9, 1974, published a review of New York left-wing writer Paul Novick’s book, The National and Jewish Question in the Light of Reality, by the well-known critic and propagandist V. Bolshakov. He attacked Novick for recognizing the existence of a Jewish nation, which, according to Bolshakov, was nothing but a figment of the imagination of Jewish clericals and, indeed, a Zionist-imperialist
weapon, and a reactionary obstacle to assimilation—the only proper solution to the Jewish question.

In a recurrence of so-called "economic crimes," a Moscow court sentenced to death Mikhail Leviev, an employee of a Tadzhikistan shop in Moscow, who was accused of embezzling state funds. According to Leviev's family, his non-Jewish codefendants received only prison terms. Shortly before his arrest, Leviev, who was diabetic, had retired from his job and applied for a visa to Israel.

**Jewish Resistance**

Soviet authorities continued their efforts to liquidate Jewish resistance, but without much visible success. Some 30 Jewish activists were arrested at the time of Nixon's visit to Moscow, most of them without warrants or formal charges. Jews were arrested in many cities outside Moscow, mostly where requests for exit visas had been denied. In Kishenev, 17 Jews were held by the police. Some of the arrested responded by going on a hunger strike. According to reports, many Jewish dissidents went into hiding to escape arrest and police brutality.

In Moscow, a number of Jewish dissidents who had lost their jobs after applying for exit visas were told they faced charges of "parasitism" unless they found other employment. Among them was Sinologist Vitalii Rubin, who had been offered a teaching post at Columbia University, New York, but was prevented from leaving the Soviet Union. A group of Jewish scientists, who had lost their jobs and were denied exit visas, arranged a Seminar on Collective Phenomena and the Application of Physics to Other Fields of Science, to be held on July 1-5. As the date approached, the police took into custody Professor Aleksandr Voronel and several others who were to participate, thus thwarting the efforts of the Jewish scientists.

In the meantime, Soviet authorities freed Silva Zalmanson, who had been serving a ten-year sentence in Potma in connection with the Leningrad trial, and she left for Israel. After many hardships, the well-known dancer Valerii Panov and his wife Galina were given exit visas and departed for Israel.

For months there was conjecture on how many Jews and other Soviet citizens would be permitted to leave the USSR (p. 170; also AJYB, 1974-75 [Vol. 75], pp. 199-234). Some Soviet dissidents, among them Roy Medvedev, warned that too much pressure from the West might prevent, rather than promote, the process of liberalization in the Soviet Union; that although the Kremlin was interested in expanding trade and credits, it would not be willing to pay the price of tolerating interference with internal policy and administration.

Soviet-Jewish emigration to Israel continued, but the 1974 total was 45 per cent lower than the year before (20,000, as compared with 35,000 in 1973). According to reports, the number of Soviet Jews who preferred to go to Western countries, such as the United States and Canada, rather than to Israel, has been increasing: some 4,000, or about 20 per cent of all 1974 emigrants. Among the factors contributing to this shift may have been Soviet harassment of would-be emigrants to Israel and
conditions in Israel: the economy, threat of war, and the difficulties of adjustment, particularly for professionals.

The problem of free emigration from the USSR became a matter of serious concern to the authorities. In 1974 there were several demonstrations at Party offices and the German embassy by Soviet citizens of German origin—the so-called Volga Germans and residents of Latvia and Estonia—who demanded the right to leave the Soviet Union. Altogether some 40,000 applications for exit visas were made by the Volga Germans and others.

Culture

Jewish cultural needs continued to be ignored by the authorities. There were no Jewish schools in the Soviet Union, no specialized Jewish agencies, no legitimate Jewish theater, and no Jewish newspapers, except for the monthly Sovetish Heymland and the provincial, recently expanded Birobidzhaner Shtern. But despite the absence of official encouragement and the emigration of many individuals who had been active in Jewish cultural work, Jewish secular cultural activities were pursued in many places.

The Vilna Yiddish Folk Theater expanded its activities: its drama department was directed by Iudl Kats and Boris Landau, its vocal ensemble by Emil Janovskii, its jazz group by Iasha Magid, and its dance ensemble by Nikolai Margolin and Raisa Svichova. The Moscow Yiddish Drama Ensemble, directed by Felix Berman, made an extended tour of Soviet cities, playing with great success in Astrakhan, Saratov, Penza, Kazan, and Kuibishev. Its repertoire included Sholem Aleichem's Tevye der milkhiger. Among actresses appearing in Jewish plays were Polina Einbinder, Ana Sheveleva, Marina Gordon, and Lea Kolina. The 75th anniversary of the birth of Beniomin Zuskin, great actor and close colleague of the murdered Shlome Mikhoels, and the 90th anniversary of the birth of the well-known theater critic Jeshua Lubomirskii were noted by Sovetish Heymland (No. 6, 1974).

Many painters and sculptors chose Jewish subjects for their works, which were often exhibited in cities throughout the Soviet Union. Among these artists were Mikhail Gurevitch, Josef Chaikov, Shlome Gershkov, Meir Axelrod, Israel Siberman, and Mendel Gershman.

Four new books in Yiddish became available: Die Mishpoche Mashber ("The Family Mashber"), by Der Nister; Lebn un likht ("Life and Light"), by Shire Gorshman; Dos vort ("The Word"), by Shifre Kholodenko; and Bam sheyter fun yorn ("The Years"), by Itche Borukhovitch. Thus, between 1959 and 1974, 51 Yiddish books have appeared in the USSR; none were published between 1948 and 1959.

At a plenary meeting conducted by Sovetish Heymland, editor Aron Vergelis stated that its most important task was to reflect contemporary concerns of Soviet Jews. (Yet, the monthly continued to print attacks on Jewish intellectuals and artists who had left for Israel.) Sovetish Heymland was host to an Israeli delegation visiting
Moscow at the invitation of Pravda, and to representatives of the Soviet-Israel Friendship Society. Both Israeli groups emphasized the need to establish closer contacts between Soviet Yiddish writers and Israeli "progressive" circles.

Leib Wilsker's doctoral dissertation (candidate) on the language of the Samaritans appeared in book form in 1974 under the imprint of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Birobidzhan

On its 40th anniversary, Birobidzhan, which had been established as a Jewish autonomous region, showed few signs of its original purpose. The Jewish population was about 15,000, in a total population of some 165,000. The amateur Yiddish Folk Theater was still in existence. A group of its dancers and its orchestra performed in a Moscow television program marking Birobidzhan's anniversary. There was the newly expanded Birobidzhaner Shtern (p. 381), the Sholem Aleichem Library, and some Yiddish radio broadcasts. But the young people did not know Yiddish, and it was difficult to maintain or promote Jewish activities under these circumstances. According to the 1970 census, only some 2,000 persons in the region indicated Yiddish as their mother tongue; for some 1,700 it was the second language. The secretary of the regional committee of the Party was Lev Shapiro, one of the Jewish deputies in the Supreme Soviet of Nationalities.

Commemoration of the Catastrophe

The authorities continued to discourage commemoration of the Nazi murder of Jews. On December 9 the Soviet police dispersed a gathering of Jews at Rumbuli, near Riga, who came to commemorate the anniversary of the Nazi massacre of the Jews. After the Arab terrorist attack on Qiryat Shemona, a group of Kiev Jews was prevented by the police from placing a wreath on the site of the Babii Iar massacre. The police also prohibited memorial services for the victims of Babii Iar, although a group of 20 later received permission to lay a wreath, but without inscription. On July 28 Kovno (Lithuania) Jews observed the anniversary of the Nazi massacre in the Kovno ghetto. Buna Gutkind of Kovno read a poem written for the occasion.

Personalia

In a Moscow cemetery, a monument was erected to honor the late Yiddish writer, Zalman Wendroff. Itsik Kipnis, the well-known Yiddish writer, died at the age of 80. Aleksandr Dymshitz, the Soviet literary critic and life-long follower of the Party line, died in Moscow on January 1, 1975.

Leon Shapiro
Czechoslovakia

IN THE PERIOD under review (1970-74) Czechoslovakia, now in the seventh year of Soviet occupation, continued to move rapidly toward complete identification with Kremlin policies. The Communist party (CP), from which all elements even remotely associated with the Prague Spring's "Socialism With a Human Face" (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 401) had been eliminated—except for its ailing figurehead president, Ludvík Svoboda, and its general secretary Gustav Husák who added the office of president to his functions in May 1975—reflected the mounting isolation of a single-party government, which was based on a CP membership of 900,000 out of an 11-million population of over 15-year-olds. Claims of over-all consolidation in the economic, social, and cultural areas, and in foreign relations went hand in hand with a continuous stream of exhortations to workers, shop stewards, and teachers regarding their "socialist responsibilities," with reports on unfulfilled planning quotas, shortage of housing, a rising "economic-crime" rate and what, in terms of Communist orthodoxy, were seen as shortcomings in education, research, the arts, and literature. The public media strove hard to balance facts and government-produced fiction by underlining the military, economic, and social convulsions in the capitalist world. The vast majority of both Czechs and Slovaks outside the CP remained unconvinced that shortcomings in the country must be attributed to the failures of a deviationist leadership of the late 1960s, which, they were urged to believe, had brought the country to the brink of disaster, requiring "salvation" by the USSR.

Soviet occupation apart, the malaise of the civilian population grew as a result of increased surveillance by the state security apparatus and paramilitary organizations, and supervision by confidants, not to speak of the streamlining of legislation according to party lines and the transfer of a substantial part of the judiciary to a system of people's judges.

As in the 1950s and 1960s, the Czech and Slovak mass media reflected mounting indifference, corruption, and bribery. The housing shortage continued, while leading party loyalists were able to acquire second homes. Durable and consumer goods displayed at national and international trade fairs were not necessarily available for home consumption. Cultural policies had little impact on literature, the theatre, and the arts in general. Aside from Party literature, a substantial part of the books published consisted of new editions of Czech and Slovak classics and works of pre-1939 authors who had not been banned. A good many recognized writers, as well as scientists, historians, and physicians of the post-World War II period, had left Czechoslovakia. Opposition to the regime remained considerable, as indicated by frequent "Letters to the Editor" and other features in the media, which, though carefully worded, took issue with many official positions.
Middle East Policy

Opposition to government attitudes applied in particular to policy on the 1973 Yom Kippur war. The people did not accept the official line of Israeli "aggression" or "imperialist aims" in the Middle East. In communications to the media, they pointed to the fact that both the USSR and Czechoslovakia voted for the establishment of Israel in 1948; that Czechoslovakia supplied arms and offered military training facilities to the nascent State of Israel before and after 1948; that Israel policy was determined by considerations of survival rather than aggression.

Relations with Arabs

The establishment, however, was primarily concerned with building and expanding trade relations with Arab and African countries and with the "trouble spots" around the globe. Comings and goings of government, trade-union, and CP delegations to and from Czechoslovakia were frequent. This flow of interchange reached its peak during the oil crisis of 1973. Long before the Yom Kippur war, however, what were described as trade unionists from ten Arab countries spent four weeks of "revolutionary practice training" in Czechoslovakia. Thousands of Arab students had already entered Czech and Slovak universities and technical colleges. To facilitate their studies, an Arab-Czech and Czech-Arab dictionary was published in Prague in 1974, and a number of books on Arab countries made their appearance. Indicative of the number of Czech technicians in Arab lands was the evacuation from Egypt alone of 480 Czechs, including 126 so-called tourists, to Bulgaria on October 17, 1973. On this occasion the official Czechoslovak news agency reported that "Czechoslovaks remaining in Cairo, Beirut, and Damascus" were safe and well, and that 15,000 Egyptian "guest workers" were expected to come to Czechoslovakia.

The official attitude to the Middle East conflict was also reflected in a continuous flow of pro-Arab propaganda, vilifying Israel, world Jewry, and the "World Zionist conspiracy," and charging them, among other things, with responsibility for the Prague Spring. Arab-language broadcasts to Asia and Africa were increased from two to two and one-half hours daily during the three years ending 1973. Czech- and Slovak-language broadcasts of 90 minutes daily were introduced in 1973 for industrial workers in those areas. In 1974 Prague permitted the establishment of a Palestine Liberation Organization office at the Communist-controlled International Organization of Journalists, to which, after a visit by Yasir Arafat in May 1975, a general office of the PLO was added. In March 1974 the Czech Red Cross provided aid, including medical supplies, food, and blankets, to the PLO. Seven hundred children from Socialist countries, as well as from Algeria, Egypt, and Syria, spent their holidays in the summer of that year at an international peace camp in Czechoslovakia.
Aid to Arabs

In 1974 an Arab-Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and an Arab Section at the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce were established in Prague. At the start of 1973, official Czechoslovak sources reported that in the 25 years ending 1972, exports to Asian and African countries totaled Kč 2,458 million, while imports amounted to Kč 1,488 million. Exports in machinery, equipment, and tools to the two areas came to Kč 1,540 million, or almost three-fifths of the export total. In the lead, with hardware, were the Skoda plant of Plzeň and the Armament Works of Brno. After having supplied Egypt in 1973 with a number of pontoon bridges, which were later used in the Suez Canal crossings, the ČSSR signed an agreement with that country to increase trade volume in 1974 by 50 per cent. Items included were metallurgical products, equipment for a petro-chemical plant, pumping stations, soil-moving machinery, mills, and a power distribution system for 52 switching stations. By the end of 1974 Syria had received 18 turbo-sets and all component parts for an undefined industrial plant. Apart from the reconstruction, at a cost of Kč 190 million, of the Homs I oil refinery, which was destroyed in the October war, Czechoslovakia has contracted for the construction of Homs II and Homs III. Skoda was working on the expansion of the Syrian metallurgical and engineering industries at an undefined cost, while other trade agreements with Syria included the construction of a $100 million sugar refinery, other industrial plants, and road building projects.

Reaction at Home

The grand scale of foreign aid did little to soften the frustration of Czechs and Slovaks, who were unable to make an adequate selection of shoes, fresh vegetables or fruit, much coveted spare parts for a car or TV set, a new apartment, or a house. The Prague establishment kept a sharp watch for possible scapegoats as a means of diversion. The first targets—in chronological order—were those who had left the country during the Prague Spring and later. At the close of 1970 they were advised that “criminal charges” were being brought against them; that, in the absence of privately practicing lawyers, they had to avail themselves of the services of official legal counsel bureaus against fees up to $150, and that, if they refused to do so, their relatives in Czechoslovakia would be approached by the authorities. At the same time, these “illegal refugees” (most of them had left the country with valid passports and exit permits which Czech consulates refused to renew after Soviet entry) were threatened with confiscation of any property they may hold. Protests in the West moved Husák to revoke these measures three months later. He insisted that neither he nor Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal had been aware of such demands which, he said, were “not very reasonable since it could not be expected that anyone fleeing to the West would pay for legal representation.” Nevertheless, proceedings in absentia before criminal courts continued for some time after publication of this statement.
The Prague government returned to the “illegal refugees” on February 22, 1973, when President Svoboda, to mark the 25th anniversary of the advent of Communist power in the country, announced an amnesty for “illegal refugees as defined in . . . the criminal code, provided they returned or shall return to the territory of the ČSSR before December 31, 1973.” It applied to the 90,000 refugees believed to have fled after the Soviet invasion (including an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 Jews), but excluded those who, in spite of Husák’s retraction, had been tried in absentia and sentenced to prison terms of up to five years, confiscation of their assets and/or dwellings, and forfeiture of wage and pension claims. Only a few hundred were believed to have availed themselves of the amnesty; statistics on returnees have never been published.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Emigration

During the peak years of emigration (1968–71), some 4,500 Jews left Czechoslovakia with the help of the Joint Distribution Committee and HIAS; several hundred others went through Vienna en route to Britain, Switzerland, and the Federal Republic of Germany; another 850 left for Israel. There were also those, not accounted for by statistics, who went abroad without the aid of official Jewish organizations. Some emigration was still possible in 1971, but it was easier to leave from Slovakia than from Bohemia or Moravia. The authorities imposed an emigration tax ranging from $1,000 to $2,300, which, they said, constituted a refund of state expenditures for the education and professional training of the emigrants. Substantial payments also had to be made for the release of personal property. Even so, exit visas were refused to relatives of “illegal emigrants,” which made the reunion of many families impossible.

Demography

According to experts, the emigration of 6,000 Jews in 1968–71 has reduced the Jewish population of Czechoslovakia to 9,000. In fact, it can be safely estimated that no more than 8,000 registered Jews were now left. The number of Jews by origin, who were not registered with the Jewish community, could not be established.

The International Council of Jews from Czechoslovakia in London, representing former Czechoslovaks in 16 countries of the free world, attempted to establish the age structure of Jews in Czechoslovakia on the basis of birthday announcements and obituaries published in Věstník (“Gazette”), the Prague Jewish monthly, during the year ending December 31, 1974. Of the 204 persons whose birthdays were recorded, 81 (approximately 40 per cent) were in the 50–65 age group: 16 were 50 years old; one was 56; 36 were 60, and 28 were 65. No birthdays were announced for Jews under 50. Of the remaining 123 persons, 56 were in the 70–75 bracket; 43 were
between 76 and 84; 21 were 85–90; two were 94 years of age, and one was 101. Of 152 obituaries, 23 did not give the age of the deceased. Thirty (23 per cent) of the remaining notices indicated ages between 45 and 64; 51 (40 per cent) between 65 and 74, and 50 (39 per cent) between 75 and 96. In the same period, Věstník carried only one announcement of birth; only one religious marriage ceremony was conducted, and the “first bar-mitzvah in a decade” was reported from Slovakia.

Community Activities

Until the end of 1971, the Jewish community in Czechoslovakia was permitted to have contact with Jewish organizations in the West on religious and cultural matters; but communal leaders were not permitted to attend Jewish conferences in the West, and, since the beginning of 1972, an number of Jewish delegations from Western countries were refused access to Czechoslovakia.

At the end of 1971 the International Council of Jews from Czechoslovakia inquired about the state of the community. According to information supplied by the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Bohemia and Moravia, religious services were conducted in all existing communities on the Sabbath and on all festivals. (It was believed that some 6,000 Jews attended synagogue and memorial services, with those in Slovakia showing a stronger commitment to Jewish tradition.) No rabbi was available after the death of Dr. Richard Feder in 1970. Each community had its own cemetery of which it took care. There were, however, “about a hundred” abandoned Jewish cemeteries in localities from which Jews had been deported by the Nazis; no one could effectively look after their maintenance. The Jewish community of Brno (responsible for the communal life in Southern Moravia) declared that religious services were being held in that city, “with the participation of members from neighboring localities” on the Sabbath and all festivals. Fourteen cemeteries were still in use, of which “six were used more frequently” while the others were “in a state of desolation and decay and cannot be maintained, chiefly for lack of funds and manpower.”

In response to the same inquiry, the Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia claimed that communal life was continuing in 23 localities, with daily services in Bratislava and three other towns, Sabbath and High Holy Day services in 11 localities, and only High Holy Day services in seven localities. The number of abandoned Jewish cemeteries was put at 600. The town of Galanta had a rabbi; religious functionaries, including shohatim, were said to be available in four towns. Kosher meals were served privately in Bratislava, at the restaurant of the Košice community, and, during the tourist season, at Piešťany.

Church and State

The small Jewish community continued to be affected by the intensification of atheist propaganda and antireligious measures. In 1971 communal organizations appealed for donations of prayerbooks, which were “out of print” in Czechoslo-
vacia. Religious literature and the Bible were at the time listed by the Communist press among “pornographic” items seized by customs officials. Beginning in 1971, according to a Czech Ministry of Education and Culture directive, “religion no longer forms part of school curricula and [religious instruction] is permitted only in special school premises upon application by both parents and subject, [and only if] conducted by reliable teachers.”

Since 1973 fund raising “in churches, prayer houses and other localities designated for worship” was permitted only with prior approval by the authorities, provided it was “not in contravention of the foreign policy aims of the ČSSR; constitutes no danger to public order, and is socially, culturally, and otherwise beneficial.” Voluntary Jewish communal taxes were raised in 1974 by the Jewish communities of Prague, Hradec Králové, Kladno, Kolin, Náchod, Pardubice, Podebrady, Příbram, and Trutnov, all in Bohemia.

In Czechoslovakia, Judaism is one of 18 religions to which the constitution pays lip-service in a rather ambiguous fashion:

Freedom of religion is guaranteed. Everyone can adhere to a religious denomination or be an atheist, and can observe religious rites, except where this is in contravention of the law.

The application of this principle was defined by then Czech Minister of Culture Jaroslav Hájek in the February 1972 issue of Nová Mysl, monthly organ of the Czech Communist party. In his view,

Marxist ideology is in direct contradiction to the philosophical foundations of idealistic religious thought ... since the religious faith of the overwhelming majority of denominations is based on bourgeois and petit-bourgeois doctrines serving the reactionary class as a medium to influence the broad masses of religious people who, so far, have had inadequate opportunity to discard their religious prejudices.

The minister insisted that the state would continue a “religious policy meeting the requirements of religious citizens who form an indivisible part of our Socialist society.” At the same time, he made it clear that churches and synagogues “cannot represent the social or other extrareligious interests of their members,” and were “not entitled to organize public lectures or cultural activities, for instance.” In 1949 the state had taken upon itself “the administration of all congregational property and the payment of emoluments to all religious functionaries who, with the consent of the state, are working as ministers in the administration of religious congregations and in institutions for the education of ministers.” Ministers, while “remaining employees of their congregations and religious organizations,” were sternly reminded that,

... in matters of emoluments, holiday arrangements, social security and other contractual commitments relating to their office, they are dependent on the regional national committees [i.e., local CP organizations] of their permanent place of residence. Appointments of ministers and other religious functionaries
depend on the prior consent of the state, available only to those who are politically reliable and otherwise comply with civil-service requirements.

In a passing allusion to the diminishing size of the Jewish community, Hájek made no reference to the Holocaust, but merely pointed to the "higher average age and, in recent years, emigration." He conceded that between 1966 and 1970 (which includes almost two and one-half years of Soviet presence) the number of children receiving a religious education throughout the country had risen from 22 to 34 per cent: from 13 to 22 per cent in the Czech lands and from 38 to 52 per cent in Slovakia. No facilities for the education of Jewish children or training of rabbis were available during the period under survey.

Antisemitism

Even if the continuous attacks on Zionism and Israel, which followed the Kremlin pattern, were disregarded, the preoccupation of the mass media with matters Jewish was in stark contrast to the shrinking Jewish community. In this respect, Czechoslovakia remained in the lead among East European countries, with the Czech press, radio, and television outdistancing their Slovak counterparts. Jiří Bohátka (believed to be the pen name for an editorial team of "specialists on the Jews"), who had replaced J. F. Kolár after the latter's promotion to the post of director of the People's Publishing House (formerly World of the Soviets) in Prague, brought a considerable volume of inventive venom to his new task. In a broadcast series at the turn of 1971-72, also reprinted in Tribuna, Czech Jews were charged with having collaborated with the Nazis in organizing the emigration of a Zionist "élite" to Palestine, a move the Nazi leaders allegedly expected would cause trouble between the British and the Arabs. In exchange, according to the charge, Zionist leaders had agreed to the "quiet deportation of all other Jews" to concentration camps and the gas chambers.

In mid-1972 Benjamin Eichler, since 1955 chairman of the Union of Jewish Communities in Slovakia, was dismissed from his post following a campaign in Tribuna alleging, among others, that he had, during the summer of 1968, organized courses for young Zionists in Yugoslavia and participated in unspecified "Histadrut training centers" in Israel. Eichler was permitted to leave Czechoslovakia for Canada in 1973. In the autumn of 1972, Vilém Benda, a half-Jew and since 1962 director of the State Jewish Museum in Prague, was dismissed from his post for refusing to comply with directives to present the period of Nazi occupation as one of cooperation between the Czech Zionist leadership and the Nazis. Upon his return to Prague from a visit to Israel in 1968-69 to discuss cooperation in research, Benda publicly pressed for the restoration of the ancient Pinkas synagogue with its memorial tablets to the 77,000 Nazi victims from Bohemia and Moravia, which continued to be affected by damp rot and underground moisture from the Vltava river. He was replaced by Erik Klima, a non-Jew formerly in charge of the banned-book section at the University of Prague library. Since then, the State Jewish
Museum has not been accessible to Jewish researchers from Western countries or to the Jewish community in the country.

The anti-Jewish campaign continued with a three-part feature by Bohátka in the *Tribuna* of August 1972, also carried on radio and TV, which purported to investigate the members of the Council of Elders, the Nazi-controlled representative group of the Jews during the occupation. Bohátka's conclusion was that "Zionist screams about antisemitism are a cover for the treacheries of the past and present, which this movement committed against Jewish citizens," and that the Zionists interned in Terezín concentration camp were the "Jewish henchmen of the Gestapo." Bohátka paid special attention to Czech Jews who were no longer alive to defend themselves, or had left the country before and after the war. These had allegedly been associated with the "Police Section of the Council of Elders." Another three-part serial on Prague radio in November 1972 dealt with what was supposed to have been the influx in 1967–68 of a large number of Israelis of Czechoslovak origin as tourists:

They had received special training from the Israeli intelligence service and several indisputable facts reveal that they interfered in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs in 1968. Zionist bodies helped finance the overthrow of the Socialist order in Czechoslovakia. It is estimated that some 400 million dollars were spent on "Operation Czechoslovakia."

English-language broadcasts also attacked the Jewish religious communities for having demanded in 1968 to "maintain contact with foreign organizations," which was described as "an effort to speed up reactionary internal development by demonstrative support from abroad," as well as for their attempt "to enforce the holding of celebrations to mark the millenium of the arrival of Jews on the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia." Reference was made to two former staff members of the Israel embassy in Prague, said to have been "maintaining for a long time relations with Czechoslovak citizens of Jewish origin and receiving espionage information from them," and to the "strange death" of Charles Jordan, executive director of the Joint Distribution Committee, which had been "attributed to the Czechoslovak police." Bohátka described Jordan as an "outstanding Zionist," who had been "sent to Czechoslovakia to bring about a change in the country's foreign policy at a time when it was no longer possible for the Zionists to conduct their activities under the cloak of the Israeli embassy."

In a Slovak-language broadcast at the beginning of 1973, Bohátka charged that Jewish historians, journalists, and research students from Israel, Austria, and the United States, who were touring the country "on the pretext of researching the history of Czechoslovak Jewry," pilfered Czechoslovak archives and "removed documents proving cooperation between Zionist organizations and the Nazis... as well as other evidence on secret relations, during the period of the Nazi protectorate, between the Gestapo, the Nazi-directed 'Jewish Council of Elders' in Prague, and the 'Jewish Central Office' for Slovakia." Visiting researchers, he asserted, also made special efforts to "establish evidence of the innate antisemitism of the Czech and Slovak nations."
Jewish Defense

The Prague Jewish leadership urged international Jewish organizations abroad not to make a public issue of antisemitic attacks. Against the advice of the International Council of Jews from Czechoslovakia that the request of the communal leadership be disregarded since it was made under pressure, Jewish leaders in the West abided by it. The sole breach of the silence surrounding Czechoslovak Jewry was a resolution adopted by the British Section of the World Jewish Congress in November 1972. It protested the "continuous vilification of members of the Czechoslovak Jewish community, among them those who are citizens of Israel or of Western countries, on construed charges of cooperation with the Nazi occupants in the deportation of Jews described as 'non-committed,' allegedly to enable a 'Zionist elite' to emigrate to Palestine," expressed concern at the plan to transform the State Jewish Museum of Prague into an "anti-Zionist-slanted museum," and urged the Czechoslovak government to "give serious consideration to the long-range consequences of this campaign." The Czechoslovak embassy in London refused to transmit the resolution to its government.

At a later stage, Jewish leaders in Prague had manifestly reappraised the community's position in the country and its mounting isolation. At a meeting in Prague in the spring of 1973, marking the 30th anniversary of the dissolution of the Prague Jewish community, Frantisek Fuchs was reported by Vestnik to have declared:

We are witnessing a tendency to clear the assassins and the collaborators and to prevent their punishment, even to promote the theory of Jewish complicity in the Nazi crimes. We must repudiate such efforts. The attitude of Jews during the period of persecution cannot be judged by Nazis or antisemites, nor by those who were bystanders, but only by those who lived through this period or who, in fact, came to our rescue. . . . The [Jewish] leaders then did not betray us, but fought to the best of their abilities with those who organized the resistance.

Fuchs also remembered "with gratitude and pride those who, without hesitation, joined the Czechoslovak forces abroad and were killed in action, or injured on the battlefields of Europe and Africa . . . as well as those who fought on the political and cultural fronts against the Nazi murderers; also the martyrs of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt, of Treblinka and of other annihilation and concentration camps."

This bold stand drew an immediate attack from Bohátka, who asserted in the Tribuna that Fuchs had fallen victim to the "historically fictitious . . . legend of a united and suffering Jewish people under Nazi occupation," and chided him for holding views "as though he, himself, had never been a prisoner at the Terezín camp." Bohátka insisted that "Terezín was a town of class warfare, where the majority of assimilated Czech Jews waged a war for the survival of the Czech nation against the Nazi leadership and the collaborationist Zionist self-administration and its executive, the 'Council of Elders.' "

A few weeks later, Tribuna's attack on the Jewish leadership took an ominous course. It insisted that a statement made by Fuchs after Warsaw Pact troops entered the ČSSR, as reported in Vestnik of April 1968, asserting that "the Council of
Jewish Religious Communities was representative of Jewry not merely in the religious but also in the political sphere,” was in violation of state law. In fact, Vestnik had published six demands listed in a declaration by the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Bohemia and Moravia adopted on April 7, 1968. The first urged rehabilitation of the victims of the political trials of the 1950s and public denunciation of the use of antisemitism in the proceedings; the fourth demanded that, in the future, “international political events not be permitted to threaten the situation of our Jewish community.” The others were completely nonpolitical (AJYB 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 406-07). Fuchs was also attacked by Bohátka for having said that “no Jew can agree to the physical annihilation of the population of Israel, for which there have been so many calls of late,” ascribing such views to the growing impact of Zionist propaganda on “some elements of religious Jewry.” He repeated the charge of a “secret deal” in exchange for Zionist “collaboration with the Nazis,” and deplored that the murder of the Jews of Europe was now being exploited “for despicable deals of shady business.” After having been handed over to the Nazis, he said, these Jews “reappeared after the war on the credit side of the Zionist movement.”

It should be noted that the government-sponsored campaign insinuating the delivery of Jews by Jews to the Nazi gas chambers and concentration camps reached its peak while Czechoslovakia was negotiating an agreement of détente and trade cooperation with the Federal German Republic and was having talks with the United States and Great Britain for the release of gold confiscated from the Nazis when American troops entered Czechoslovakia. The campaign could have been an attempt to discourage compensation and reparation claims by Czechoslovak Nazi victims who were ineligible for compensation under the German laws either because they were unable to prove German nationality or “cultural background,” or because they left Czechoslovakia after the 1965 cutoff date set by Germany. If the guilt of the Nazis was mitigated, or entirely eradicated, by lending credence to the canard that Jews (or “Zionists” in Communist parlance) had cooperated in the victimization of their fellow-Jews, one embarrassing item valued at hundreds of millions of dollars could be scratched from the agenda of the Prague-Bonn talks. In fact, the issue of reparations apparently did not come up, and the 260,000 Jewish victims of Nazism have since become an indistinguishable component of the 360,000 “Czech victims of Nazi persecution.”

Elimination of Leaders

The press campaign against Jewish communal leaders to which Benjamin Eichler of the Union of Jewish Communities in Slovakia had fallen victim in 1972, was followed in August 1974 by the elimination (styled as “resignation”), in short succession, of František Fuchs; Ota Heitlinger, secretary of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech Lands, and Pavel Kollmann, chairman of the Prague Jewish community. Both Fuchs and Heitlinger had been members of the CP
for some time. Heitlinger had been expelled from the party in 1971, but was reinstated later because he claimed to have established a Communist cell when serving in the Czechoslovak armed forces in the West. Expelled for the second time in 1972, he was working at the end of 1974 as a street cleaner in Prague. Fuchs was succeeded by Bedřich Bass and Ota Heitlinger by Rudolf Illis, editor of Věsník, of the German-language communal quarterly, Informationsbulletin, and of the community's annual almanac. Arno Steiner, vice-chairman of the Prague Jewish community, was appointed its acting chairman, and František Kafka took over the chairmanship in January 1975.

Political Prisoners

Hubert Stein and his wife Milada Kubiašová, Jewish victims of the Slánský trials (AJYB, 1954 [Vol. 55], pp. 288–92) who had been sentenced in 1971 to 12 and 10 years imprisonment, respectively, on charges of "espionage," were still in prison at the end of 1974. Stein had been recalled from Ankara, where he was trade counsellor in the Czechoslovak embassy, to appear in the Slánský show trials. A long prison sentence imposed on him in 1953 was commuted by the 1962 amnesty. In 1971, two Slovak Jews, Stefan Grosz and Jan Weiss, were among six men sentenced in Košice from four and one-half to nine and one-half years in prison on charges of having "terrorized a woman for her positive attitude toward the Soviet Union."

Publications

Věsník continued publication as a monthly, but was put on a strict subscription basis since 1972. It reaches the West with a delay of up to two months. The German-language Informationsbulletin (mimeographed) is chiefly devoted to publicizing government support of the Jewish community for the benefit of the German-language Jewish press in the West. In its cursory surveys of the Czech press, antisemitic and anti-Israel attacks have been ignored. Judaica Bohemiae, a biannual of the State Jewish Museum now edited by a non-Jew, is devoted to the early history of the Jews in the Czech lands.

The following books on Jewish subjects were published in Czechoslovakia since 1971: Jan Heřman and Milada Vilimková, History of the Prague Synagogues; Ota Pavel, Death of the Beautiful Roebucks; Norbert Frýd, The Bottle Mail or the End of the Last Century; Václav Kaplicky, In the Name of the Law; Josef Suchý, The Light of Eliah; Ivan Olbracht, Biblical Stories (illustrated by Gustav Doré); Jan Heřman, Memories of the Prague Ghetto; Pavel Grym, The Night the Golem Rose; Andrej Romanak, Fortress Terezín; Vojtěch Sailer, We Were Three Doctors (memories of a group of physicians at Terezín); Dr. Richard Feder, Life and Bequest; Zikmund Winter; Pictures (new edition); František Gottlieb, Window to Window; Norbert Frýd, Three Little Women; R. Bednářik, Cemeteries in Slovakia; Jan Tibensky, Slovak History in Word and Pictures. A novel by Alexej Pludek, Vabank, with strong antisemitic and anti-Israel passages, was published at the end of 1974.
Authors of Jewish origin blacklisted for publication in Czechoslovakia since 1971 include Ludvík Aškenázy, Eduard Goldstücker, Ladislav Grossmann, A. J. Liehm, Ivan Klima, Elmar Klös (coproducer of the Oscar-winning Shop on Main Street), Karel Šiktanc, Jan Štern, Oldřich Šuler, and Lucien Wichs. Jewish authors who left Czechoslovakia during 1971–1974, or were expelled, include Gabriel Laub, Ota Pavel, and Friedrich Uttitz (now editor of the weekly Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung in Düsseldorf).

Personalia

Leo Haas, last of the group of Jewish painters at the Terezin concentration camp to survive, was awarded the Order of Labor on his 70th birthday in Prague in 1971. Ladislav Löwy of Liberec, a member of the Jewish synagogue choir, was awarded the title of Physician Emeritus in 1972. Karl Frank Koch, 82, was awarded the Yad Vashem medal of the Righteous Among the Nations in 1972 for his help to Jews in Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia.


Karl Baum
Yugoslavia

In February 1974 Yugoslavia adopted a new constitution, the fourth since World War II, which was designed to promote the realization of a socialist society. This was to be accomplished through a system of self-management based on the active participation of worker-delegates in economic planning, distribution of income, investment, and in other decision-making. The constitution provided for a parliament with two elected chambers, one to be composed of 30 directly elected deputies from each of Yugoslavia's six constituent republics, and 20 from each of the two autonomous provinces. The other chamber was to be chosen indirectly, by the elected regional assemblies.

At the tenth congress of the Yugoslav Communist party, held in Belgrade in May 1974, 82-year-old Josif Tito was elected head of the party (League of Communists) for life. In his address to the congress, he reiterated the "nonalignment" policies pursued by Belgrade since it broke with Stalin some 25 years ago, stressing that it would continue its policy of friendly relations with all nations, regardless of their political systems. Accordingly, it negotiated, and in 1974 reached, an agreement with West Germany according to which Yugoslavia was to receive credits totaling DM 750 million linked to war reparations. While delegates from Moscow were now welcomed not only as observers but as participants in the congress, Belgrade leaders made it quite clear that this did not mean a drift toward the Kremlin. Tito did emphasize, however, that "imperialist circles" were intensifying their cold-war tactics against Yugoslavia; and the Communist press pointed out that, despite differences, there was a strong bond of common objectives between Yugoslavs and the Soviets.

At the same time, Tito was installed as Yugoslavia's president for life. His election signified recognition of his leading position in the nation. It also met the need for having at the head of the state a man of indisputable standing, who could impose unity on the various national groups which, of late, were becoming restless and seeking solutions to political problems within their ethnic frameworks.

In fact, there had been debate for some time about the relationship between the autonomous republics and the central government. The question arose after the 1971 unrest in Croatia, during which many arrests were made in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, to quash what Belgrade leaders regarded as a secessionist movement of the traditionally independent-minded Croats. It was not unexpected that Croatia became the focus of national tension, in view of the long history of animosity between Serbs and Croats. It should also be remembered that, during the Second World War, Croatia with its extremist fascist leadership was especially favored by the Nazis. Croatian demands now centered on more economic autonomy and political freedoms.
During 1973 the old conflict between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria over the Macedonians (living in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and Greece) assumed serious proportions. Bulgaria claimed priority to their national allegiance, and Yugoslavia accused the Bulgarians of abandoning the spirit of socialist solidarity. Apparently, the situation was eased by the Soviet Union, which sent Prime Minister Aleksei Kosygin to Skopje, capital city of the contested region, to calm the volatile local population.

While the 23-member collective presidency under Tito (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 423) continued the established line of "its own Yugoslav way to socialism," party leaders recently appeared to be steering the country away from the relatively liberal attitudes of the past, and toward doctrinal conformity and a more rigid application of state control. Not only were such Western influences as television and movies frowned upon by the authorities, but the press was repeatedly attacked for what the party deemed to be its unhealthy aping of the ways of the West. The government imposed stricter censorship on publications and initiated a noisy campaign against all "enemies of socialism." Many scholars—even Marxist writers and teachers—among them the notable Belgrade professors Mihajlov, Markovic, and Lubomir Tadic became targets of official displeasure. Mihajlo Mihajlov, a well-known writer of Russian descent who had been persecuted for his writings in the past, was again arrested in 1974 and sentenced to prison for publishing his unorthodox socialist views in the English and Russian emigre press. In 1973 the authorities had denied his request to go to the United States where he was to have participated in a California symposium on "Problems of Forbidden and Discouraged Knowledge."

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

The Jewish population of Yugoslavia stood at about 6,000. Some 1,500 Jews lived in Belgrade, 1,200 in Zagreb, 1,100 in Sarajevo, 250 in Subotica, 300 in Novi Sad, 200 in Osijek, 120 in Split, and 100 in Skopje.

**Communal and Religious Life**

Jews in Yugoslavia enjoyed all rights and privileges granted to other citizens, and their interests as a minority were protected by law. Communal activities were organized around the Federation of Jewish Communities, which greeted with much pride the new state constitution guaranteeing freedom to all nationalities (Jevrejski Pregled, January-February 1974). Lavoslav Kadelburg, the foremost Jewish leader, for many years served as president of the Federation; its secretary was Lucy Petrovic. With the approval of the government, the Federation maintained close ties with the world Jewish organizations, including the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and the American Joint Distribution Committee. It was also affiliated with the European Council of Jewish Organizations and the World Jewish Congress.

Partly because of ideological considerations and partly because of the deteriora-
tion of religious life after World War II, the Federation was essentially a secular organization that dealt only peripherally with religious matters. A lack of trained rabbis made the maintenance of religious activities difficult. Children received no formal religious training, nor were bar-mitzvot celebrated. Sabbath and holiday services were held in some of the larger cities; but these were mostly conducted by learned laymen and in some cases by cantors. In the Zagreb Jewish home for the aged, religious services were provided for Jewish residents. A Jewish calendar for 1974–1975 was issued by Rabbi Cadik Danon. Social activities received support from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

Cultural Activities

The Federation tried to stem the decline of the community by sponsoring a broad range of cultural activities. It coordinated youth clubs in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo, and maintained kindergarten facilities in Belgrade and Zagreb. Educational work was also carried on in Subotica, Novi Sad, Split, and elsewhere. Special winter seminars of five or six days’ duration were offered, attracting some 30 participants. Jewish educational programs were provided in summer camps, which were also attended by groups of children from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. An important aspect of the educational program was that it continued to draw young lay leaders from the local communities.

The Federation maintained a Central Judaica Library with research facilities for interested scholars. Much time and energy were devoted to the Jewish publishing program. Jevrejski Pregled (“Jewish Review”), Kadima, a magazine for youth, and Jevrejski Almanah (“Jewish Almanac”) continued publication. The Jewish Historical Institute was engaged in a research project covering many social aspects of community life. In 1973 the Institute issued the 350-page second volume of Zbornik (“Anthology”), edited by Professor Andrija Gams, Dr. Lavoslav Kadelburg, and others (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 70], p. 425), dealing with the situation of the Jews in Yugoslavia during the Nazi period. Among its valuable material is a list of Jewish medical personnel murdered by the Nazis. The Jewish Museum continued its activities. In Belgrade and Zagreb, Jewish choirs presented programs of Jewish music. Some of the Federation’s cultural endeavors were subsidized by the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

Relations with Israel

Although Yugoslavia broke relations with Israel after the six-day war of 1967, authorities did not interfere with the Jewish community’s support of the state. Yugoslavia continued its political friendship with the Third World and the Arab nations. However, Marshal Tito was reported to have expressed interest in efforts to promote a solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict, in a meeting with Dr. Nahum Goldmann who visited Belgrade in September 1974.

Leon Shapiro
The aftermath of the Yom Kippur war dominated practically all aspects of life in Israel during 1974. The sporadic fighting that continued across the uneasy cease-fire lines was brought to an end by agreements on the disengagement and separation of forces, with Egypt in January, but with Syria not until the end of May. Reserves mobilized in October 1973 went back to their normal occupations, after spending unprecedented periods of often six to seven months in uniform. Terrorist outrages against towns and villages near the Lebanese border took a heavy toll, especially in the first half of the year, and precautions were intensified all over the country.

After the conclusion of the disengagement agreements, efforts were made to get negotiations going on a further interim agreement with Egypt. Israeli representatives went to Washington for discussions with the United States government; President Richard M. Nixon's visit to Israel in June was followed by several visits from Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. The organization and methods of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) were reviewed in the light of the lessons of the war and they were reequipped with massive aid from the United States.

After the Labor-Mapam Alignment's electoral losses, Prime Minister Golda Meir had considerable difficulty in reforming her cabinet, and it collapsed after a few weeks as the result of widespread demands for Defense Minister Moshe Dayan's resignation following the publication of the Agranat Commission's interim report. The formation of Yitzhak Rabin's cabinet, more than half of whose members had not held ministerial office before 1974, marked a turning point in Israel's political history.

The first few months of Rabin's premiership were overshadowed by serious economic difficulties, which called for painful measures of austerity and retrenchment, and by the impact of several financial scandals that came to light during the period. On the whole, however, the gloom following the shock of Yom Kippur 5735 was gradually giving way to a spirit of sober realism.

Defense and Disengagement

The Disengagement Agreements

As 1974 opened, clashes continued between the Israeli forces and the Egyptians in the south and the Syrians in the north across the ill-defined cease-fire lines.
1974-75 [Vol. 75], p. 532). Israel protested to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim against frequent Egyptian and Syrian violations. By mid-January 30 Israeli soldiers had been killed and 119 wounded in such incidents.

With the Kneset elections over, the discussions on the disengagement of forces on the southern front (AJYB 1974-75 [Vol. 75], pp. 533-34) were resumed. Defense Minister Moshe Dayan flew to Washington at the beginning of January to present Israel's views to Henry Kissinger, and reported on his return that a measure of understanding had been reached.

On January 9 the Egyptian-Israeli military working group at Geneva adjourned and Kissinger came to the Middle East for a remarkable campaign of personal diplomacy. After general discussions with President Anwar al-Sadat in Aswan, starting the next day, he flew to Israel for intensive consultations with Mrs. Meir, Dayan, and Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon. He continued to shuttle back and forth three times more between Jerusalem and Aswan until, on January 17, an agreement was announced. It was signed on the following day at Kilometer 101 on the Suez-Cairo highway by Lieutenant General David Elazar, chief of staff of IDF, and his Egyptian counterpart, General Mohammed Abd al-Ghani Gamasy, under the chairmanship of Major General Enzio Siilasvuo of Finland, chief of staff of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF). On the same day, Mrs. Meir and Sadat countersigned identical letters from President Nixon setting out the details of the troop reductions in the Canal Zone to be undertaken by both sides. To ensure that both sides adhered to the disengagement terms, the United States also signed separate secret agreements regarding aid with Israel and with Egypt.

The published agreement provided for scrupulous observance by Egypt and Israel of the cease-fire on land, at sea, and in the air. There were to be three parallel zones, each about six miles wide, east of the Suez Canal, with the center strip as a buffer zone occupied by UNEF with about 7,000 men. In the two outer zones each side would be limited to 7,000-8,000 men and 30-40 tanks, all heavy equipment being pulled back several miles west of the Canal on one side, and several miles east of the Mitla and Gidi passes on the other. Egypt thus regained control of all her territory west of the Canal and the whole of its east bank, while Israel was able to build a new line on the Mitla and Gidi passes. The disengagement was to be completed within 40 days. Actually the last Israeli troops completed their withdrawal on March 3, a day ahead of time. The agreement was regarded only as a first step towards "a final, just and durable peace," in keeping with the provisions of Security Council Resolution 338 and within the framework of the Geneva Conference. According to unpublished agreements, Egypt would prepare the Suez Canal for reopening and restore civilian and commercial life in the Canal Zone cities. It was also understood that when the Canal was reopened, cargoes to and from Israel, though not Israeli ships, would be allowed to pass through it.

In a TV interview the following night, Dayan said the agreement was an indication that "this time the Egyptians really wanted peace," and Prime Minister Meir told the Kneset on January 22: "There is no alternative to this agreement but the
renewal of war." Menachem Begin, leader of Likud, bitterly attacked the agreement as "a unilateral withdrawal" and a betrayal of Israel's security. Lieutenant General (Reserves) Ariel Sharon, who had led the Israeli forces that crossed the Canal, told a protest meeting: "Our victorious army is pulling back under the leadership of a defeated and defeatist government from an area for which we paid thousands of lives and for which we got nothing."

On the Golan Heights tension continued unabated, with frequent artillery exchanges and air clashes culminating in an air battle on April 19 in which two Syrian Migs and two Israeli Phantoms were shot down. There was also heavy infantry fighting on April 12–14, the first since the war, for the peak of Mount Hermon, which had been reoccupied by the Syrians. Israeli casualties between the cease-fire and the conclusion of the disengagement agreement totaled 54 killed and 126 wounded.

The most serious obstacle to negotiations with Syria was its refusal to release a list of POWs or to allow them to be visited by the Red Cross, and on January 13 the Israeli cabinet announced that Syria must comply with the Geneva Conventions before talks could begin. There was also strong sentiment in Israel against giving up any part of the Golan Heights, whose importance for Israel's security had been underlined by the Syrian advance in the first few days of the Yom Kippur war. In February Golda Meir told a delegation of settlers from the area that she regarded the Golan Heights as an inseparable part of Israel and could not conceive of any withdrawal from the 1967 cease-fire lines there. It took over four months to overcome these obstacles.

Attempts through diplomatic channels to get agreement on conditions for opening the talks led to charges by the Likud that the government was retreating from its stand by engaging in indirect negotiations before the POW question had been settled. Begin declared in the Kneset on February 13 that there should be no talks until the prisoners were actually freed.

After preliminary discussions with the Egyptian and Saudi Arabian foreign ministers in Washington, Dr. Kissinger went to Damascus on February 26, and came to Jerusalem the next day with the list of Israeli POWs in Syria and an assurance that the International Red Cross would be allowed to visit them. The list contained only 65 names; 18 soldiers believed to have been in Syrian hands were not included. On February 28, after talks with President Sadat in Cairo, Kissinger returned to Jerusalem for the Israeli ideas on the disengagement agreement, which he submitted to President Hafez al-Assad in Damascus the next day. At the time, the first Red Cross visits for the Israeli prisoners took place.

The situation, however, remained extremely tense. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko held a series of talks with Assad and Sadat between February 27 and March 2, and an ensuing joint Soviet-Syrian communiqué stated that Syria was entitled to use any means to restore the Israel-occupied territory; that Israel's refusal to withdraw from all occupied territories might threaten peace in the Middle East and in the entire world.
At an extraordinary cabinet meeting on the evening of March 5, the chiefs of staff and intelligence reported distinct indications that Syria might be intending to start hostilities on a large scale. More information along the same lines was received during the meeting and on the following day, and the Defense Forces took precautionary measures.

On March 11 Foreign Minister Abba Eban went to the United States to present the Israeli proposals, which were based on a withdrawal to the post-six-day war cease-fire line (known in Israel as the "purple line"). This was rejected by the Syrians, and Dayan flew to Washington on March 29 with proposals described by Dr. Kissinger as a useful basis for talks. But no further progress was made until Kissinger himself went to the Middle East at the end of April. His mission began with meetings with Gromyko in Geneva, President Houari Boumedienne in Algiers, and President Sadat in Alexandria. For the next four weeks, after meeting the Israelis on May 2 and the Syrians the following day, he was almost constantly on the move between Jerusalem and Damascus, with visits in between to other Arab capitals and, on May 7, a talk in Nicosia with Gromyko, who twice went to Damascus that month. Throughout this period, the Syrians continued artillery, air, and other attacks, at times making Kissinger's mission appear hopeless.

Meanwhile Likud launched a national campaign, actively supported by Golan Heights settlers, to oppose any withdrawal from the Purple Line. During the last days of the negotiations, Kissinger was booed by demonstrators on his arrival at the prime minister's office.

The major last-minute differences centered on the Syrian demand for the return of the town of Quneitra and Israeli insistence that three strategically important hills west of the town be retained. Finally, the disengagement agreement was signed by Israel and Syrian military representatives at Geneva on May 31, within the framework of the Egyptian-Israeli military working group set up at the beginning of the Geneva Conference; the Syrians, who had not taken part in the conference, nominally formed part of the Egyptian delegation. The agreement provided for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces to the Purple Line, except for the area of Quneitra, where they would hold the hills west of the town. A narrow buffer zone east of the Israeli lines, under Syrian civilian administration, would be held by a United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) of 1,250 men. On each side of this zone, the Israeli and Syrian forces would be thinned out in three parallel zones, with limitations on the number of troops and the quality of armaments permitted in each zone. All wounded prisoners of war were to be exchanged within 24 hours of signature and the rest immediately after agreement on the details (which was concluded on June 5).

Terrorism Continues

Palestinian Arab terrorists, together with other terrorist groups, were involved in a number of outrages abroad, such as the abortive raid on an oil refinery at Singapore
Two particularly brutal massacres by Palestinian terrorists took place in towns near the Lebanese border, populated mainly by new immigrants. In both cases, the groups claiming responsibility declared their aim was to frustrate efforts toward a Middle East settlement. On April 11 three terrorists broke into an apartment building at Kiryat Shemona and killed 18 people, including 8 children and 5 women, before being killed by Israeli troops who stormed the room in which they were barricaded. Ahmad Jabril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command said it carried out the act.

Several hours later, Israeli troops raided six villages in southern Lebanon suspected of harboring terrorists. Defense Minister Dayon declared: "If Kiryat Shemona cannot live in peace, then the whole of southern Lebanon will not live in peace." On April 25 the UN Security Council condemned the Israeli raid, as well as "all acts of violence, especially those which result in the tragic loss of innocent lives," but without specific reference to the Kiryat Shemona massacre. Israeli representative Yosef Tekoah described the resolution as "a gross miscarriage of justice."

On May 15, three Arab terrorists broke into a house at Ma'alot, three miles from the Lebanese border, and shot a man and wife and their child. They then seized a school where over one hundred Safed children on a school trip were asleep, and held them and some of their teachers as hostages. They threatened to blow up the school and kill all the children unless their demand for the release of 26 terrorists held in Israel was met by 6 PM. After meeting in emergency session, the Israel cabinet announced the terrorists would be released to save the lives of the children.

However, the Arabs refused to negotiate with the Israeli authorities until the arrival of a code word from Damascus. Shortly before the deadline, Israeli troops stormed the school in a last minute attempt to save the children; the terrorists opened fire, killing 20 children and wounding 70. Responsibility for the massacre was claimed by Na'if Hawatmeh's Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Dayan declared the government had no choice but to storm the building. The only way to deal with the terrorists, he said, was "to make it quite clear that they will be killed."

Public opinion was deeply shocked at the massacre. President Ephraim Katzir and Deputy Prime Minister Ygal Allon were mobbed at the funeral of the victims. There were widespread calls for the death penalty for convicted terrorists, partly as a deterrent and partly to forestall demands for the release of imprisoned terrorists. Great uneasiness was felt about the efficiency of the security arrangements, and the general agreement was that the civilian population must play a larger part in the defense of their communities. Much disquiet was voiced at the action of four adults accompanying the school children, who had made their escape and left their charges behind.

A committee to conduct a public inquiry was appointed by Prime Minister Meir. Its report, submitted on July 10, criticized the security arrangements and the han-
dling of the negotiations by the full cabinet. Prime Minister Rabin, who had taken office in the meantime, told the Keneset that the functions of the army and the police in combating terrorism would be more clearly delineated and the standing orders concerning young people's excursions would be overhauled.

The terrorist organizations continued to send small groups into Israel for indiscriminate killing. Many of these were intercepted by soldiers and killed or captured before they could do damage; but in several instances they succeeded in killing civilians before they were detected by local civilian defense forces, who summoned help from the army. In no case were there negotiations with the terrorists. The main incidents were:

Naharyia, July 24: Three terrorists arrived by sea, stole into the town, and were intercepted by a Civil Guard patrol; but they broke into a house, killed a woman and her two children, and wounded the husband before being killed by the army. They were members of al-Assifa, the military wing of al-Fatah.

Beit Shean, November 19: Three terrorists of the Hawatmeh group broke into an apartment house and killed two women and two men. Two civilians fired at them until the security forces came and killed them. Several local men broke into the room and threw the bodies of the terrorists to the angry crowd, which began to set fire to them before the police could intervene. The act was severely criticized by government representatives, members of the rabbinate, and the press.

Rihaniya (a Circassian village), November 30: Two terrorists broke into a house and killed a man and wounded a woman. The house was surrounded by armed villagers and the terrorists, who belonged to al-Fatah, surrendered to the army.

Throughout the year, Israeli forces crossed the border into southern Lebanon to strike at terrorists bases. Operations were sometimes stepped up after particular outrages; but Israeli spokesmen made it clear that the army would not restrict itself to reprisals, that it would take any necessary action to combat the continuing terrorist war against Israeli towns and villages.

There also were a number of attempts to plant bombs in urban areas, especially in Jerusalem. Due to greater public vigilance, most of them were found and dismantled. The increased terrorist activity, however, was a heavy burden because of the need to step up army patrols, strengthen border fences, and organize a volunteer Civil Guard all over the country. Legislation was also enacted requiring teachers and parents to take turns at school guard duty. Even at Yom Kippur services at least one armed member of each congregation stood guard. Civilian casualty figures on the Lebanese border indicated that these efforts were effective: 43 killed and 84 wounded between the cease-fire and May 31, 1974, compared with 7 killed and 5 wounded from June 1, 1974 to February 1, 1975.

A sensation was created by the arrest, on August 8, of Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, since 1965 head of the Greek Catholic Church in Jerusalem, on charges of exploiting his immunity from customs examinations to smuggle arms and explosives into Israel for al-Fatah. At his trial, which opened in September, he was defended by the Arab lawyer Aziz Shehadah, with the French lawyer Roland
Dumas as consultant. The court rejected claims based on diplomatic immunity and the special status of East Jerusalem, and, in December, sentenced him to 12 years imprisonment.

**Negotiations Continue**

Satisfaction at the conclusion of the agreement with Syria, two days after the Rabin government took office (p. 411), and the return of the Israeli prisoners of war was marred by POW reports of systematic maltreatment and torture while in prison. Still, Israel adhered to the agreement, completing the withdrawal and redeployment of its forces on June 25.

In presenting his cabinet to the Keneset on June 3 (p. 410), Prime Minister Rabin said that Israel would continue to strive for true peace. It would seek to advance toward peace through separate, partial agreements with Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon to ensure pacification by thinning out the forces, reducing the danger of a flare-up or a surprise attack. No "further element" (such as the Palestine Liberation Organization), he stated, could be a party to the negotiations. Rabin repeated Golda Meir's pledge that should the question of territorial concessions in Judea and Samaria arise in negotiations for an agreement with Jordan, the nation would be given the opportunity to express its views in a general election before such an agreement was signed.

Efforts to achieve further progress started with a visit to Jerusalem by UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, on June 5, and a state visit by United States President Nixon, on June 16–17. Nixon asked Israel's leaders to choose "the right way" of statesmanship and to recognize that "continuous war was not a solution for Israel's survival." At the same time he assured them that United States efforts to improve relations with the Arab world would not lessen American friendship and support for Israel.

A joint statement issued at the end of the visit underlined the "unique" relationship between the two countries and American readiness to conclude long-term arrangements for aid to Israel (reportedly, some $1.5 billion a year in arms and $1.2 billion in economic assistance until the end of the decade). America also offered to help Israel build a nuclear power station.

The United States offer to supply a similar nuclear reactor to Egypt was widely criticized on the ground that it might enable Egypt one day to produce nuclear weapons. Foreign Minister Allon said there was no need for panic in view of United States assurances and the fact that the operation of an Egyptian reactor would be internationally supervised. On June 19 a vote of no confidence in protest against Allon's attempt to minimize the danger, submitted by Likud and the NRP (National Religious party), was defeated in the Keneset, by a vote of 60 to 50.

When Defense Minister Shimon Peres visited Washington in June to discuss arms supplies, America agreed to sell Israel more advanced planes as answer to the Mig 23s that Russia was supplying to Syria, and to write off $500 million more of the
arms aid given during the Yom Kippur war as a grant, so that Israel owed altogether $1.5 billion out of the $2.2 billion in arms supplied. According to Peres, the agreement was not conditional on further concessions or withdrawals.

Foreign Minister Allon stated on July 5 that Israel was ready for "substantial territorial compromises" to achieve peace, but would not return to the pre-1967 borders, a move which would be "an invitation to disaster." Before his return to the United States for a discussion of the next move, the Israel cabinet devoted a full session, on July 21, to the problem of the Palestinian Arabs. It reiterated that Israel was ready to work for a peace agreement with Jordan along the lines of the Alignment's election platform (AJYB 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 535), and the government's Basic Principles, i.e., the existence of only two states, Israel and to the east, an Arab state, which would express the identity of the Jordanian and Palestinian Arabs (i.e., satisfy their national aspirations) and live in peace and good neighborliness with Israel. While Israel continued to prefer talks for another partial settlement with Egypt, it was ready to talk with Jordan too, if circumstances permitted.

Commentators pointed out that in a recent joint statement President Sadat and King Hussein, while recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative group of all Palestinians, excluded "those residing in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan," although there was ambiguity as to whether the latter included the Arabs of the West Bank.

There was some controversy over a July 12 statement by Information Minister Aharon Yariv that Israel might negotiate with the PLO "if the PLO announced that its 1968 Palestine Covenant was no longer valid, declared its readiness to start negotiations acknowledging the existence of a Jewish state here in Israel, and announced the cessation of all hostile actions against Israel." Two days later Prime Minister Rabin declared that Israel did not intend to recognize a "Palestinian entity" or to negotiate with terror groups who wanted to liquidate Israel.

There were reports of a Jordanian proposal for a disengagement agreement based on a 10-kilometer withdrawal by Israeli forces from the River Jordan and the return of Jericho to Jordan. This was unacceptable to Israel, particularly since no peace settlement was involved and the government had committed itself to holding a general election before agreeing to withdraw from any part of Judea and Samaria. One of the ideas canvassed was said to be the return of much of the West Bank to Jordanian civil administration, without a withdrawal of Israeli forces.

Allon, when he was in Washington on July 28 for talks with Kissinger on the next steps in the negotiations, stated that Israel did not ignore the problems of "Palestinian identity" and would insist that it be solved "as part and parcel of an over-all peace agreement between us and the Arab countries, particularly Jordan." Israel, he indicated, would be prepared to compromise on territory in Judea and Samaria, in spite of Jewish historical rights, in order to achieve peace.

The resignation of President Nixon brought no apparent change in American relations with Israel. On August 10, shortly after taking office, President Gerald Ford wrote to Rabin promising "to meet all the commitments undertaken by the
United States toward Israel" and stressing "the continuation of long-range American support in all matters pertaining to Israel's defense and economic well-being." Rabin was reassured regarding arms supply, which he discussed with Ford personally on August 10. After his return from Washington, Rabin stated that, while Israel was ready to advance toward peace by gradual steps if the Arab states announced a policy of nonbelligerency, it would make no further withdrawals "unless we get substantive political, diplomatic and economic concessions from them."

President Sadat rejected the idea of a declaration of nonbelligerency in an interview televised on August 22. He declared that he would sign a peace agreement with Israel only together with the Syrians, Jordanians, and Palestinians, and only after Israel had returned all "occupied land" including Jerusalem and the Palestinian question had been settled. He had asked the Palestinians to join the Geneva Conference, he added.

In mid-October Kissinger made another effort to start the negotiations, with visits to Egypt, Jordan, and Israel, and announced a later return to the Middle East to work out a "concrete and definite" groundwork for further negotiations. When he came back on November 5–8, he suggested as the next step further discussions on a second-stage settlement between Israel and Egypt.

The PLO was advanced to center stage, at the expense of Jordan, when a summit conference of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and the PLO held at Rabat, Morocco, on October 30 affirmed "the right of the Palestinian people to set up an independent national authority under the leadership of the PLO in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on any liberated Palestinian land."

On November 5 Rabin again told the Knesset that Israel would not negotiate with terrorist organizations whose declared aim was its destruction, and that the Palestinian question must find its solution within the framework of Jordan. A new interim arrangement with Egypt, he stated, must establish "a continuing situation of nonbelligerency with political and economic overtones involving mutual commitments."

The Israeli press and public were indignant when, on November 13, Arafat was given a reception worthy of a head of state by the UN General Assembly. Although Arafat's speech to the delegates left no doubt that the PLO aimed at the disappearance of Israel, the November 24 General Assembly resolution granted observer status to the PLO and recognized "the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means" in line with the UN Charter.

In the meantime tension was rising on the Syrian border owing to continued massive Russian arms supplies and Syrian threats to oppose the extension of UNDOF's mandate at the end of the month. In view of the danger of a military flareup, the Israeli Defense Forces on November 15 carried out a partial mobilization in the north; the Syrians then agreed to the extension of the UN Force's mandate, which was approved by the Security Council on November 29. Summing up the situation on the same day, Prime Minister Rabin said that a failure of
Kissinger's step-by-step method (which involved negotiations between Israel and each Arab state separately) would bring enormous pressure for the resumption of the Geneva Conference, which was likely to end in deadlock because of Arab demands for the participation of the PLO and the extremist positions usually adopted whenever several Arab states were represented at the same time.

On December 8 Allon again went to Washington to discuss prospects for a settlement with Egypt. According to press reports, a 50-kilometer pullback of Israel forces in Sinai was envisaged, a key question being whether the Giddi and Mitla passes and the Abu-Rudeis oilfields were to be included. On his return four days later, Allon said Israel was waiting for Cairo's response to the Israeli proposals.

On December 15 Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy dropped a bombshell when he declared there would be no peace unless Israel suspended Jewish immigration for 50 years and agreed to the borders specified in the UN partition plan of 1947, or agreed to be absorbed in the PLO's "secular Palestinian state." Allon condemned the proposals as "absurd from beginning to end," and Israel's public opinion unanimously treated them as unworthy of serious consideration. The Likud called for the abandonment of the "illusions spread by government spokesmen" that peace could be reached by stages and called for no more withdrawals without peace treaties with the Arab states. At the end of the year, however, hopes for further negotiations with Egypt were reawakened by the cancellation of Brezhnev's scheduled visit to Egypt, Syria, and Iraq.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Domestic Discontent

The results of the general elections did not put an end to the widespread feelings of *malaise* that followed the shock of the Yom Kippur war (AJYB 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 534). As demobilization of the reserves went on, a number of nonparty protest movements, led by citizens who had fought in the war, sprang up. They had no positive programs, but called for a rethinking of military, political, and social policies, concentrating on the demand for the resignation of Defense Minister Dayan. A new political movement, Shinvi (Change), was formed under the leadership of Professor Amnon Rubenstein, a prominent radio and TV commentator.

The shock to public confidence in the Israel Defense Forces was reinforced by the "War of the Generals," which focused mainly on the personality of Major General Ariel Sharon, who had returned to civilian life as a leader of the Liberal party. Major General Shmuel Gonen, commander of the southern front at the beginning of the war, charged Sharon with disobeying his orders during the fighting; Sharon attacked Chief-of-Staff Lieutenant General David Elazar and his predecessor, General Haim Bar-Lev, now minister of commerce and industry. Deputy Chief-of-Staff Major General Israel Tal resigned on March 19 after 32 years of service because, he said,
he now had only advisory functions and had received no assurance of future promotion.

**Golda Meir's Last Cabinet**

The results of the Keneset election of December 31, 1973, placed serious difficulties in Mrs. Golda Meir's way when she tried to reconstitute the government coalition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Number of Seats</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>8th Keneset</strong></td>
<td><strong>7th Keneset</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Labor-Mapam Alignment</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arab lists affiliated to Alignment</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Likud (Herut, Liberals, etc.)</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Religious Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torah Religious Front (Agudat Israel and Poale Agudat Israel)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent Liberals</td>
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<td>New Communists (Rakah)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Rights Movement</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moked (New Left and Communists)</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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*26 Gahal (Herut-Liberal Bloc), 3 State list, and 2 Free Center.

bIsrael Community Party (Maki), which joined Moked in 1973.

*cUri Avneri (Meri--Radicals), Shalom Cohen (Israel Democrats) and Avner Sciaky (ex-NRP).

The Alignment’s 54 seats and the Independent Liberal party’s four did not constitute a majority in the Keneset, and the National Religious party (NRP), with 10 seats, presented the following conditions for rejoining the coalition: 1) formation of a national unity government, including the Likud; 2) no withdrawal from any part of Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip; 3) an amendment to the Law of Return recognizing only conversions conducted according to the halakhah (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], pp. 437–38). The support of Shulamit Aloni’s Civil Rights Movement, with three seats, would have produced a bare majority, but Mrs. Meir was not expected, for personal reasons, to seek Mrs. Aloni’s cooperation. NRP’s veteran leaders were inclined to compromise, but in the face of vehement opposition from its young guard, the party asked the Chief Rabbis to rule on the possibility of compromise on the question of “Who is a Jew.” The Chief Rabbinate Council ruled that NRP was not to join the coalition if its demands for amending the Law of Return were rejected.

Another crucial issue was the question of Moshe Dayan’s future. Demands for his removal as defense minister came from left-wing and “dovish” circles, as well as from popular protest movements that accused him of responsibility for Israel’s unpreparedness at the beginning of the Yom Kippur war. A campaign against
Dayan, started by a 33-year-old reserves officer, Motti Ashkenazi, was supported by a crowd of some 4,000 who on February 17 demonstrated across the road from the prime minister’s office. Opposition to him voiced at meetings of the Labor party’s governing bodies prompted Dayan to declare on February 19 that he could not serve in the next cabinet in view of the feeling within the party. Shimon Peres was expected to follow his example.

The controversy within the Labor party came to a head on March 3 when Mrs. Meir submitted to a meeting of party leaders proposals for a minority government, with Yitzhak Rabin as new minister of defense and three portfolios to be given to NRP. After a heated debate, Mrs. Meir said she would resign, but in response to further appeals agreed to continue to form a government.

The turning point came late on March 5, after the cabinet had heard of the Syrian threat in the north (p. 000). Dayan and Peres agreed to remain in the cabinet in view of the imminent danger, and NRP came to a similar decision the following day. Mrs. Meir presented her government to the Kneset on March 10 and received a vote of confidence—62 to 46 votes, with 9 abstentions. There was no change in the key cabinet posts, but seven of the 21 cabinet members were new.

**New Cabinet Takes Over**

Mrs. Golda Meir’s cabinet proved to be shortlived. From the beginning there was unrest in NRP. The young members continued to campaign against participation in the coalition, and on March 30 Social Welfare Minister Michael Chazani announced his resignation. The following day a new crisis was sparked by the publication of the interim report of the Agranat Commission (AJYB 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 534), which dealt with developments leading up to the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war. The commission cleared Prime Minister Meir and Defense Minister Dayan of blame. Failure to foresee the imminence of the Egyptian and Syrian attacks, despite unmistakable signs on the ground, it found, was due to the IDF Military Intelligence Department’s overconfidence that its appraisal of Arab intentions and strategy was correct and the fact that the civilian authorities had no other sources of information.

The commission blamed Elazar for incorrect assessment of intelligence information and inadequate preparedness of the armed forces, and recommended that he relinquish his post. It further recommended that Chief of Military Intelligence Eliahu Ze’ira and three other senior intelligence officers be transferred to other posts, and that Major General Gonen be relieved of active duty pending the completion of the inquiry into his role.

The commission proposed, to ensure independent evaluation, the appointment of a special advisor to the prime minister on intelligence matters; the expansion of the foreign ministry’s research department; and establishment of a research department for the counterintelligence organization. It also suggested the clarification of division of authority among the prime minister, defense minister, and chief of staff and the formation of a small cabinet committee on defense. Elazar resigned under protest; he was succeeded by Major General Mordecai Gur.
ISRAELI CABINETS, 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prime Minister</th>
<th>G. Meir (Labor)</th>
<th>G. Meir (Labor)</th>
<th>Y. Rabin (Labor)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Z. Sharef (Labor)</td>
<td>*Y. Rabinowitz (Labor)</td>
<td>*A. Ofir (Labor)</td>
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<td>*S. Rosen (Mapam)</td>
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<td>*A. Yariv (Labor)</td>
<td>*G. Yaakobi (Labor)</td>
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<td>Without portfolio</td>
<td>I. Galili (Labor)</td>
<td>I. Galili (Labor)</td>
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* New ministers
a Also Development
b Held pro tem by Prime Minister
  Coopted on October 31
d Resigned November 5
The Agranat Commission's exoneration of Dayan met with widespread, fierce criticism in which some Labor Alignment circles joined. The Ahдут Ha'avodah and Mapam factions, supported by the editor of the Histadrut organ Davar, called for Dayan's resignation in keeping with the principle of ministerial responsibility. The ex-Rafi group, on the other hand, insisted that if Dayan went the entire cabinet should resign. Faced with the possibility of a serious split, Mrs. Meir on April 11 submitted her resignation.

It was clear that Finance Minister Sapir would be unopposed if he sought the Labor party's nomination for the premiership, but he refused to do so, or even join the new cabinet, and backed Yitzhak Rabin for the post. For the first time in the party's history, two candidates were proposed: Rabin and Information Minister Peres. On April 22 the Central Council elected Rabin in a secret ballot by a vote of 298 against the unexpectedly high vote of 254 for Peres, whose status was much enhanced by the obvious extensive support from outside the ex-Rafi faction. Rabin's nomination signalled the transfer of power to what he called "the sons of the founding generation," who were either sabras or had spent most of their life in Israel. Shulamit Aloni (CRM) resigned in protest against the adhesion of NRP.

In his attempt to form a new government, Rabin immediately ran into difficulties with NRP, which renewed its demand for the Law of Return amendment. Efforts at compromise failed, and on May 19 the Central Committee authorized Rabin to form a government with the narrow majority of 61 members: 54 Alignment, four Independent Liberal party, and three Civil Rights Movement.

In Rabin's cabinet Peres (ex-Rafi) took over the defense portfolio, Yigal Allon (ex-Ahdut Ha'avodah) replaced Eban as foreign minister, and Joshua Rabinowitz, former mayor of Tel Aviv, was minister of finance. There were five new ministers, making 12 out of 21 who had not held office at the beginning of the year. Three posts were held open for NRP. The new government was severely criticized by Dayan, who objected to its "dovish" character, and by Eban, who resented being replaced. The ex-Mapai group was disturbed at being excluded from the three top foreign and defense policy-making positions (Rabin himself did not belong to any faction). On June 3 the Keneset gave the government a vote of confidence, by a vote of 61 to 51.

Toward the end of August, the majority factions in the National Religious party began to move toward rejoining the coalition. The negotiations were lengthy; agreement was finally reached with conditions almost identical with those on which NRP had joined the Meir government. The cooption of Yosef Burg as minister of interior, Yitzhak Raphael as minister of religious affairs, and Michael Chazani as minister of social welfare, was approved by the Keneset on October 31 by a vote of 59 to 52.

Economic Difficulties

Israel had economic problems, although there was no unemployment or serious dislocation. On January 28 the government reduced subsidies on basic foodstuffs,
whose cost had risen from £250 million in 1970–71 to an estimated £1.8 billion in the 1974–75 fiscal year as a result of the rise in world prices. To compensate for this move, the cost-of-living allowance and allowances to large families and dependents of soldiers were increased.

Reservists who had served for at least 75 days received job security, priority in housing and university admittance, free vocational training and, if self-employed, loans to ease their return to business. In the main, these arrangements worked well, and there were no widespread complaints of difficulties in returning to civilian life.

On January 28 Finance Minister Sapir introduced a supplementary budget totaling £11.323 billion, an increase of the original estimates by over one half, to cover the cost of the war and price increases. Defense now accounted for 50 per cent of the total budget and 40 per cent of the GNP.

The budget for 1974–75, presented in the Knesset on March 15, totaled £35.35 billion, over 75 per cent more than the original estimates for the previous year. The largest item was £15 billion for defense—a cut of some £5 billion in the original estimate. Allocations for social services were also increased: housing by 64 per cent, education by 54 per cent, health by 43 per cent, and social welfare by more than 100 per cent.

Rabin's new government was almost immediately compelled to impose further severe economic measures to counteract a growth of almost £4.5 billion in expenditure and a total rise of 21 per cent in prices within five months. The new austerity program announced on July 2 included a levy on imports, a tax on property, higher purchase taxes on luxuries, and an increase in the compulsory defense loan. Almost £1 billion was cut from the budget allocations to the ministries. The Histadrut, led by Yeruham Meshel, who had been elected Secretary-General in March, refused to agree to the withholding of part of the cost-of-living allowance increase due in July; the government imposed instead an additional compulsory loan on incomes. Allowances to the lower-income groups were raised again to compensate for expected price increases. It appeared at first that these measures were having a salutary effect: during the next four months prices rose by only about 1 per cent monthly.

A second major economic problem came to the fore, however: the widening of the trade gap (the expected deficit for 1974 was $3.3 billion, more than three times that in 1972) and the impoverishment of foreign currency reserves—largely because of the rise in the cost of arms imports from $700 million in 1972 to $2,350 million in 1974, and the continuing increase in world fuel and commodity prices.

Further drastic measures were therefore announced on November 10. The Israeli pound was devalued by 43 per cent, from £4.20 to £6 to the dollar. Subsidies were cut on petroleum products and staple foodstuffs, trebling the price of sugar, doubling that of margarine, and raising the cost of bread by 80 per cent, of dairy products by 60–70 per cent, and of eggs by 60 per cent. The government cut its expenditures by another £1 billion during the remainder of the fiscal year. A six-month ban was imposed on the import of automobiles and other expensive
consumer goods. Taxes on travel, capital gains, and land improvement were raised. As before, old-age pensions, welfare payments, and children's allowances were increased, while the cost-of-living allowance was raised beginning in December. The Histadrut agreed to extend existing labor contracts for another six-month period.

The announcement of the new austerity program called forth an angry response from some sectors of labor: there were riots in the Hatikva slum quarter of Tel Aviv and demonstrations at Histadrut headquarters. But the uproar quickly died down.

There was wide agreement on the need for fundamental reforms in the tax system and the wages structure. The high income tax undermined incentive to hard work and penalized honest reporting of income. Widespread attempts had been made to circumvent high taxes by increasing the proportion of wages being paid in the form of tax-free allowances for professional literature, travel costs and others, so that nominal wages were a very poor reflection of the real situation. A campaign was launched by the government, Histadrut, and employers to make 1975 a "productivity year."

On December 11 agreement was reached between Israel and the European Economic Community (EEC) for a customs union: Beginning in 1976, Israeli industrial goods were to be admitted to the EEC countries without tariffs, while their industrial exports to Israel would be duty-free for a period of 15 years. Israel's infant industries could receive tariff protection for a further five years.

A number of financial scandals aroused considerable controversy and public uneasiness. On July 9 the Bank of Israel seized the Israel-British Bank, which was in danger of not being able to meet its liabilities. The insolvent bank's manager, Joshua Bension, was convicted on January 8, 1975, of stealing $47 million of the bank's funds and transferring them to other companies belonging to its owners. Moshe Sanbar, governor of the Bank of Israel, was criticized for having deposited $30 million of its assets with the Israel-British Bank's foreign associate and for having failed to deal with the IBB's irregularities in time.

Toward the end of September it became known that the Israel Corporation, formed for investment in Israel by European Jewish financiers headed by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, was involved in the concerns of Tibor Rosenbaum, a Swiss Zionist leader and banker whose International Credit Bank was in serious difficulties. Michael Tzur, managing director of the Israel Corporation, was dismissed for investing without authority $23 million of the funds of the corporation and its Israeli subsidiaries in some of Rosenbaum's companies registered in Vaduz, Lichtenstein. Zvi Rechter, managing director of Solel Boneh, the Histadrut construction company, was also accused of irregular transactions with Rosenbaum and charged, on January 22, 1975, with fraud and breach of foreign exchange regulations.

Ze'ev Kariv, managing director of Mekorot, the national water corporation, was charged on October 20 with falsifying the balance sheets of Vered, a Mekorot subsidiary for water research and development abroad (AJYB, 1972 [Vol. 73], p. 571). Israel Shubinsky, former managing director of Autocars Ltd. which was
investigated by the Keneset Committee on Economic Affairs, was acquitted of charges of bribing public officials (AJYB 1972 [Vol. 73], p. 571); other charges against him were dropped for lack of evidence.

Population and Immigration

The population of Israel at the end of 1974 was estimated at 3,402,000: of whom 2,888,000 were Jews and 514,000 non-Jews including 368,000 Muslims, 85,000 Christians and 41,000 Druses and others, compared with 2,834,500 Jews and 497,000 non-Jews (corrected estimates) at the end of 1973. Of the growth in the Jewish population, 87 per cent was due to natural increase.

There was a considerable drop in immigration: from 54,676 in 1973 to 32,700 (about the level of 1969–71) including 8,700 temporary residents, in 1974. The largest decline was in the number of arrivals from the Soviet Union: from 33,000 to 17,000. The percentage of Soviet Jewish emigrants arriving at the transit center in Vienna who opted to go on to places other than Israel grew from 8 per cent at the beginning of 1974 to 36 per cent at the end of the year. There was also a decrease in the number of immigrants from the United States: from 4,440 in 1973 to some 3,000 in 1974. Immigration from the United Kingdom went up from 740 to 830.

Estimates of the number of yordim (emigrants from Israel) during the year ranged from 8,000 to 17,000.

Personalia

Giora Lotan, sociologist and administrator, first director of the National Insurance Institute, died in Jerusalem on January 1, at the age of 71. Joseph Serlin, Liberal party leader and former minister of health, died in Tel Aviv on January 13, at the age of 67. (Note: included by error in 1973 review.) Siegfried Moses, first state comptroller, died in Tel Aviv on January 15, at the age of 86. Umberto Nahon, Jewish Agency official and leading member of the Italian Jewish community in Israel, died in Jerusalem on January 15, at the age of 67. Karel Salomon, composer and broadcasting pioneer, died in Jerusalem on January 15, at the age of 76. Meir Margalit, veteran actor, died in Tel Aviv on January 29, at the age of 68. Abd el-Aziz Zuabi, deputy minister of health and leading member of Mapam, died in Nazareth on February 14, at the age of 48. Major-General Kalman Magen, divisional commander on the Egyptian front, died in Tel Aviv on March 10, at the age of 45. Professor Victor Gottheiner, noted cardiologist, died in Tel Aviv on March 31, at the age of 75. Rabbi Isaac Arieli, talmudic scholar, awarded the Israel Prize in 1966, died in Jerusalem on April 25, at the age of 84. Phinehas Schneersohn, veteran pioneer, one of the defenders of Tel Hai, died in Tel Aviv on May 27, at the age of 81. Ted Lurie, editor of The Jerusalem Post, died in Tokyo on June 1, at the age of 64. Abraham Moses Fuchs, Yiddish writer, died in Tel Aviv on May 29, at the age of 83. Raphael Eliaz, Hebrew poet, died in Holon on June 9, at the age of 69. Rabbi Amram Blau, leader of the Ne'ture Karta, died in Jerusalem on July 5, at the
age of 74. Benjamin Eliav, journalist and writer, died in Tel Aviv on July 27, at the age of 65. Ludwig Blum, landscape artist, died in Jerusalem on July 27, at the age of 83. Reuven Rubin, artist, died in Tel Aviv on October 30, at the age of 81. Erich Sternberg, composer, died in Tel Aviv on December 17, at the age of 86. Jacob Geri, industrialist, former minister of commerce and industry, died in Tel Aviv on December 19, at the age of 73.

MISHA LOUVISH
SOUTH AFRICA did not escape the impact of worldwide inflationary forces and leaping increases of oil prices; but its underlying economic strength, vast mineral resources, and the higher gold price in the free market contributed to its stability and steady growth.

However, changes in the status of the neighboring Portuguese territories of Mozambique and Angola, the threats held out by guerrilla and terrorist activities of African "liberation fighters" North of Rhodesia, as well as the moves by the United Nations to expel South Africa vitally affected the internal security of South Africa, presenting the country with basic challenges.

In consequence, political life was in considerable ferment. There was widespread recognition that the established order would have to undergo change in the direction of removing patterns of living based on race or color. Significant changes have already taken place, some superficial, others more profound, and the process is likely to gather momentum.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Civic and Political Status

Jews constituted just over three per cent of the white population; but their participation in national life, especially in the economic, cultural, and civic spheres, exceeded their numerical representation. Inhibitions felt a few decades ago under the shadow of political antisemitism have gone, and individuals now feel free to voice their views—not necessarily conforming to official policy—on the political, social, and economic issues of the country. This was reflected in the press, irrespective of political affiliation, which also gave considerable coverage to the role of individual Jews in industry, commerce, culture, art, and sport.

Radio and press extensively covered events in the Middle East, especially those affecting Israel, and revealed much sympathy and goodwill for Israel. Nevertheless, the same peripheral individuals and groups who propagated antisemitism in the past were still on the job. Among them were the notorious right-wing monthly South African Observer, edited by S.E.D. Brown, which regularly published tirades against Zionism and the "liberalism" of Jews, charging that Zionism and Communism were in league to undermine the position of the white peoples of the world. Significantly, the publication often criticized the prime minister and the government for their "liberal" policies. Die Afrikaner, right-wing Herstigte party which broke away from
the ruling National party some time ago, also continued to publish articles with a
definite anti-Jewish bias.

The parliamentary general election in April was free of any Jewish issues, except
in one constituency where a United party candidate was criticized, perhaps unfairly,
for his anti-Jewish record of a long time ago, and in some others where a scarcely
veiled appeal was addressed to Jewish voters to support Progressive candidates. On
the eve of the election, David Mann, chairman of the Board of Deputies, declared:
"It should not be necessary to reiterate that Jews, like all other citizens, participate
in this election as South Africans, and not as members of a particular community
or religious denomination. There are no Jewish issues in this election and it is wrong
for any newspaper, political party or candidate to suggest the contrary. I make an
appeal to all concerned neither to employ such tactics nor to be influenced by them."

After the elections, the state of the parties in the House of Assembly was 123
National party; 41 United party; and 7 Progressive party. There were six Jewish
members of parliament, five in the House of Assembly, (one Progressive, four
United) and one in the Senate (United Party).

The official community viewpoint on racial policies was stated in the following
resolution, adopted in May by the congress of the South African Jewish Board of
Deputies:

Whilst recognizing that, in regard to the racial and political problems of the Republic, there
is a diversity of outlook in the Jewish community as there is among our fellow South
Africans, we share with all those who dwell in our country the great challenge and
opportunity involved in establishing, on ethical foundations, a just, stable and peaceful
relationship between all races and groups in South Africa, which acknowledges the right
of all to live in dignity and security, to maintain their group identity and distinctive culture,
and to exercise the opportunity to advance in all spheres.

The Congress therefore calls upon every Jew to make his contribution to the promotion
of these ends in accordance with the teachings and precepts of Judaism, in his personal
attitudes and dealings and in the particular sphere of life and activity in which he is engaged.

This policy statement was identical with a similar one formulated two years earlier.
The existence of marked differences of viewpoint among Jews regarding Black-
White relations was evidenced in the general election when Jews opposed each other
as candidates of different parties.

Jews in their individual capacities in various walks of life, whether in parliament,
municipal councils, industry, commerce, or the professions, have been playing an
active part and making a significant contribution to the improvement of the lot of
the underprivileged. Various organizations, too, particularly branches of the Union
of Jewish Women and the sisterhoods of the Movement of Progressive Judaism,
have long sponsored social-welfare projects, without regard to race or creed. Rabbis,
as well, have on occasion taken stands on issues which they felt went beyond party
politics and involved principles of morality and individual conscience. In regard to
wages and work opportunities, the Board of Deputies recommended to all Jewish
institutions that they set an example by promoting wage and job opportunities for
black people in their own employ.

The active participation of Jews in civic affairs was evidenced by the fact that 16
Jews were elected mayors of their cities and towns, including Cape Town (David Bloomberg reelected); East London (David Lazarus); and Port Elizabeth (S. Rubin). Johannesburg had a Jewish deputy mayor (Max Neppe). Additions to the judiciary were Justice I.A. Maisels, who was appointed judge president of the Lesotho court of appeal, and Charles Nathan, appointed chief justice of Swaziland.

**Communal Organization**

Conferences of major national organizations held in 1974 reported creditable records of achievement without, however, revealing notable innovations or changes in policy. They reflected the continued determination of the organized Jewish community to strengthen Jewish life locally and also to provide maximum support for Israel. The *Report to South African Jewry, 1972–74*, issued by the Board of Deputies prior to its congress (May 28–June 1), recorded a wide range of activities in many segments of Jewish life—communal relations, public relations, youth, students, fund raising, participation in international affairs, and much besides.

It reported a new project, a Jewish community survey in cooperation with the Institute for Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, undertaken by the Board’s social research unit under the direction of Allie Dubb, acting director of the African Studies Institute, and Mervyn Cohen, lecturer in applied mathematics, both of them members of the academic staff of the University of the Witwatersrand. By means of a detailed questionnaire administered orally to nearly 2,000 Jewish households in South Africa’s main urban centers, the survey aimed at eliciting demographic information not obtainable from the official census statistics, including the incidence of intermarriage. It also investigated the nature and extent of Jewish identification as manifested in attitudes to Jewish education and communal institutions, and its findings will hopefully assist in future communal planning.

In a foreword to the report, David Mann referred to the Board having come “to the end of an era and standing on the threshold of a new chapter,” resulting from the retirement after long-time service of its two top officials. Gustav Saron, appointed secretary in 1936 and general secretary in 1940, retired at the end of 1974 and is now honorary consultant. Wrote David Mann: “He played a dominant role in converting the Board’s small office, almost entirely concerned with the protection of Jewish civic rights, into the prestigious organization it is today.” Jacob Morris Rich, the Board’s secretary from 1939 until his retirement in 1972, remaining in a consultative capacity, has now terminated his relationship with the Board to which, Mann stated, he made a major contribution, and “brought a high degree of efficiency.” Mann also recorded the enormous loss sustained by the tragic death in an accident of Max Greenstein, who, as the Board’s honorary treasurer for 24 years guided its financial affairs and also those of the United Communal Fund, “with an unerring sense of judgment, with unsparing effort and inspiring leadership.”

Denis Diamond, who has had a distinguished academic career as well as experience in Jewish communal service, has become the Board’s executive director. Lazar
Druion, since 1934 the Board's assistant secretary and now its financial director, was honored on the completion of 40 years of service. David Mann succeeded Maurice Porter as the organization's national president; Julius Rosettenstein, its vice-chairman for the past four years was elected chairman; Michael G. Fredman and Dr. Israel Abramowitz were elected vice-chairmen. The keynote address to the congress was delivered by Professor Howard Sachar of George Washington University, Washington, D.C., on the theme “Priorities for Diaspora Jewry.”

A few days later, the Union of Jewish Women held its national conference. With 68 branches and a total membership of almost 10,000, the Union is a coordinating body of women's organizations functioning in numerous fields: adult education, welfare, fund raising (it is responsible for the women's section of the United Communal Fund), and, notably, intergroup understanding and goodwill. A challenging survey by Leah Rosettenstein, its national president, criticizing schismatic tendencies in the community, especially between Reform and Orthodoxy, evoked some strong reactions. She propounded a program for participation in South Africa's major national concerns. Other officers elected to the Union's national executive council were Mrs. R. Norwich and Mrs. M. Stein, vice-presidents; Mrs. S. Spitz and Mrs. F. Kapelus, treasurers; Mrs. J. Cohen was immediate past president.

ORT (South Africa), at its biennial conference, had General Chaim Herzog, president of the Israeli ORT, as well as Mrs. Pat Goldring, president of the Women's American ORT, as guest speakers. The new national executive consisted of David Susman, national president; Basil Wunsh, national vice-president, and Richard Goldstone, chairman.

Coinciding with the 70th anniversary of the founding of its first lodge, the Hebrew Order of David which now had 36 lodges throughout South Africa, opened its new imposing national center in Johannesburg. It was officially opened by David Wacks, the Order's grand secretary. Its grand president was Lester Abrams.

**Religious Instruction in State Schools**

Religious instruction, as a compulsory subject in state schools, has caused much concern to the rabbinate, as well as to the Board of Deputies. The official syllabus clearly states that the required instruction must be explicitly “Christocentric,” the intention being to prepare the pupil to “accept Jesus Christ as his personal Savior.” Representations had been made to the authorities urging the automatic separation and withdrawal of Jewish pupils during religious instruction classes. The official reply of the minister of education was that this could not be done because, according to the education statutes, withdrawal can take place only on the request of a parent.

Accordingly, both the Board and the rabbinate sought to persuade Jewish parents to exercise their legal right and to request the withdrawal of their children from religious instruction classes by a letter addressed to the appropriate educational authority. However, many parents were reluctant to withdraw their children. They either feared discrimination, or, in some cases, deferred to the wishes of school
principals, who, in order to retain the unity of the classes, adjusted the syllabus in a way to avoid offending the beliefs of Jewish pupils. For the Jewish authorities, this was no satisfactory solution, for they believed the principals were defying the official syllabus. More important, there were schools in which Jewish children were in fact being exposed to Christocentric teaching. The call was therefore extended to all Jewish parents to withdraw their children.

A new problem emerged in the Transvaal province, when some principals, apparently acting on instruction by the director of education, did not permit withdrawn pupils to leave the classroom during the Scripture lesson, but sent them to the back of the room to do their own work. When this procedure was challenged as being noncompliance with the legal requirements, the authorities conceded that the right of withdrawal meant the actual physical withdrawal from the classroom. The remaining practical problem was how the withdrawn children were to be occupied during the class period of religious instruction. (The law expressly forbids the presence in a classroom of any person not on the regular teaching staff.) A number of Transvaal schools have now agreed that withdrawn Jewish pupils may be given special written assignments on Judaism, which have been prepared by the Jewish educational authorities in cooperation with the rabbinate.

**Fund Raising**

As in the past, there were many separate fund raising campaigns for local institutions. However, a change was made in the scope of the United Communal Fund, which thus far had assumed responsibility for only a portion of the educational budget, excluding some of the Jewish day schools (on whose behalf a separate campaign was launched). In view of the impending large-scale fund raising effort for Israel, it was decided that the United Communal Fund would now finance all Jewish day schools, including Yeshivah College in Johannesburg. Philip M. Klutznick of Chicago came to South Africa to launch the campaign; he was followed by the former Chief Rabbi of Johannesburg, Louis I. Rabinowitz of Jerusalem, and by Rabbi David Hollander of New York. Mendel Kaplan was national campaign chairman.

Although the campaign attracted some substantially bigger contributions, the total fell short of the enlarged goals because of the general economic situation, and also the over-all demands on the community, with resultant problems for several of the major participating organizations. In the Cape Province the United Communal Fund campaign reached the higher target which had been set.

**Religion**

Among South African-born young rabbis ordained overseas and appointed to local pulpits, were Louis Herring of Sydenham Highlands North Congregation in Johannesburg; Selwyn Franklin of the Durban North Hebrew Congregation; Benjamin Isaacson of the Reform Congregation in Johannesburg; and Shmuel Suchard of the Sandton Congregation of the United Hebrew Congregation, Johannesburg.
Several new synagogues were being built in Johannesburg and environs, in Linksfield, Sandton, and Edenvale.

There was occasional sharp controversy between Orthodox and Reform leaders sparked off by statements on behalf of the two groups on the issue of "Who is a Jew?" that flared up in Israel earlier in 1974.

In some quarters concern was voiced about Christian missionary efforts to convert young Jews on the campuses and elsewhere. Despite reports of some successes, there appears to be doubt about the seriousness of the problem.

Education

All Jewish day schools reported good progress, which was also reflected in the results of the matriculation examinations. In the Cape, a branch of the Herzlia primary school was opened in Milnerton, a suburb of Cape Town. In the Transvaal, in Benoni, the secondary Hillel Day School opened a primary school section, beginning with first grade.

The Yeshivah College of Johannesburg, the Orthodox day school, introduced a Yeshivah Gedolah program called the Solomon L. Bronner Rabbinical Academy. Intended primarily for lay studies, the program will be implemented by Rabbi A. Goldfein of the United States.

Rabbi Dr. A. Hilewitz retired from the principalship of the Rabbi J.L. Zlotnik-Avida Hebrew Teachers Training College conducted by the South African Board of Jewish Education. During his tenure, the college graduated more than 200 Hebrew teachers, many of whom now occupy senior posts in South Africa and abroad. He was succeeded by Rabbi Benjamin Zvieli of Israel.

New appointments to fill chairs of departments of Hebrew at the University of the Witwatersrand and at the University of Cape Town were Professor Simeon Lowy, formerly of Leeds, England, and Dr. Esra Shereshevsky, formerly of Philadelphia, Pa., respectively.

Youth

The youth movements associated with the South African Zionist Federation had an active year. Habonim, Betar and Akivah vacation camps were well attended, as were the movements' mid-year seminars. The annual leadership courses in Israel, sponsored by the Zionist movements as well as the Board of Deputies' youth department, took place as usual.

In Cape Town, a new youth center, named for the Albow Brothers who endowed it, opened in the vicinity of Gardens Synagogue. Its activities were guided by the Cape Council of the Board of Deputies.

Social Services

The effects of inflation and the slowing down of the economy were felt by most Jewish welfare organizations. The Witwatersrand Hebrew Benevolent Association
reported a substantial increase in the number of applications for interest-free loans, and in the amounts requested. All reasonable requests could be granted. The Johannesburg *Hevra Kaddishah* also reported growing demands for relief. It was concerned about escalating administration costs and charges for funerals and cemetery maintenance.

With funds raised in South Africa by the branches of the South African Jewish Ex-Service League, in cooperation with the South African branch of the Association for the Welfare of Soldiers in Israel, a hotel in Eilat, Israel, was to be converted into a recreation center for Israeli soldiers.

**Zionism and Relations with Israel**

In the aftermath of the Yom Kippur war, South African Jewry has drawn even closer to Israel. It followed with intense anxiety the diplomatic and political developments in the Middle East and Israel's serious economic problems. The community's concern was matched by the government's and the people's interest in, and goodwill toward, Israel, reflected particularly in press and radio coverage.

Press and public personalities saw significant analogies in the problems facing both countries in regard to actual or potential terrorism from the outside, and the attitudes and actions of the United Nations.

The closer ties between South Africa and Israel were exemplified by the elevation to full ambassadorial status of the Israeli diplomatic representative. The South African press, as well as the Jewish community, extended a warm welcome to Itzhak Unna, former Israeli consul general to the country, who returned to his new capacity of ambassador. Hopes for the upgrading of the Republic's representation in Israel have not yet materialized, but the consulate general in Tel Aviv, headed by Charles Fincham, has undergone considerable enlargement.

Further indications of closer ties between the two countries were seen in the establishment of the South Africa-Israel Chamber of Economic Relations; the steady growth of two-way trade and cultural relations, and visits back and forth of prominent personalities and experts in various fields. The visit in August of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra was an outstanding cultural success. Great public interest focused on the arrival of General Moshe Dayan and Mrs. Dayan as guests of the South Africa Foundation.

Among many lecturers from Israel were Miss Freda Keet, the broadcaster who launched the Women's Zionist Campaign; Max Fisher of Detroit, Mich., in his capacity as chairman of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency; and Professor Shimon Shamir, director of the Shiloh Center for East and African Studies. There was also a distinguished array of guests at the 33rd South African Zionist Conference in Johannesburg which included Michael Comay, former Israeli ambassador to the UN and to the Court of St. James, and Mrs. Joan Comay; Judge Joseph Herbstein, and other former South Africans now prominent in Israel; Professor Herman Baranover, famous scientist, and Charlotte Jacobson, chairman of the American section of the World Zionist Organization.
Convened in the year when the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Zionist movement in South Africa was being celebrated, the conference had a record attendance. Its deliberations covered the full range of Zionist activities in fund raising, aliya, youth work, adult education, and others. The delegates to the conference and the composition of the movement’s governing body continued to be determined according to an old party key; efforts of certain groups to substitute a “best man” executive have thus far failed. The current executive council of the South African Zionist Federation included Judge Israel A. Maisels, member of the Jewish Agency board of governors; Joseph Daleski, life president; Harry Trope, life vice-president; Edel J. Horwitz, president; Julius Weinstein, chairman.

The Israeli speakers gave a realistic report of Israel’s problems in preparation for the major fund raising effort which was to take place later in the year. The Women’s Section of the South African Zionist Federation continued to be the most vigorous branch of that body, as were the youth groups which were a great source of strength.

Culture and Publications

Cultural programs continued to be presented by various organizations on well-established patterns.

Books written by South African Jewish writers and published during the year included: South African Graphic Art and its Techniques, by F.L. Alexander; The Story of South Africa Painting, by Esme Berman; Take Now Thy Son: The Yom Kippur War, by Desmond Blow; Biblical Personalities and Archaeology, by Leah Bronner; Sighs in the Wind, by Aryeh Bustan, poems translated from the Spanish by Florence Friedman; a prize winning novel, The Conservationist, by Nadine Gordimer; The Naming of Johannesburg, by Niel Hirschon; From Breakfast to Madness, poems by Bernard Levinson; The Right to Look Human, an autobiography by Jack Penn, a plastic surgeon; JoBurg sisl, short stories by Barney Simon; Tzayten Dertzeylen (“Epochs Tell Their Story”), a volume of essays written in Yiddish by Levy Shalit.

Personalia

Max Greenstein, communal leader, for many years honorary treasurer of the Board of Deputies and United Communal Fund, died in an accident in Johannesburg in February, at the age of 72. Wilfred Kark, leading physician and prominent Zionist, died in Johannesburg in March, at the age of 65. Jeremiah Idelson, musician, composer of Jewish liturgical music, a founder of the Movement for Progressive Judaism in South Africa, died in Johannesburg in June, at the age of 80. Morris Mauberger, prominent industrialist and philanthropist, died in Cape Town in June, at the age of 84. Bernard Shub, well-known industrialist, died in Cape Town in July, at the age of 73. Joseph J. Friedman, judge of the Natal Supreme Court and communal leader, died in Durban in July, at the age of 66. Edgar Bernstein,
journalist, writer, long time editor of the South African Jewish Times and more recently deputy general secretary of the Board of Deputies, died in Johannesburg in October, at the age of 62. Paul Levy, head of the department of physiology, University of Witwatersrand and communal worker, died in Johannesburg in November, at the age of 51.

Gustav Saroo
Australia

Political Developments

The period under review (January 1, 1964 to May 1, 1975) has been one of fundamental change in Australia—economically, politically, and socially. In December 1972, after 23 years of government by the conservative parties of the Liberal-Country party coalition, the Labor party won the general elections. The new government immediately moved to alter the course of Australia's foreign policy. At the same time it introduced an extensive program of reform legislation in the areas of social welfare, education, civil rights, and consumer protection.

In foreign policy, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam announced, Australia would take a "less military, less racist, more neutral, more progressive" approach to international relations. In the first few weeks of the new administration, Australia withdrew all remaining troops from South Vietnam, abolished the draft, and established diplomatic relations with China, East Germany, North Vietnam, and North Korea. In the United Nations, the Australian delegates took the lead in denouncing South Africa and Rhodesia for their policies of racial discrimination and supported the liberation movements of Black Africa. There was also a much greater emphasis on Australian participation in international forums where issues of the environment, women's rights, and racial discrimination were discussed.

In its relations with immediate neighbors in the Asian region, the government declared it would avoid military involvement and emphasize political and economic cooperation. With the exception of a small communications unit, and some naval and air force assistance, Australia will have withdrawn most of its troops from Singapore and Malaysia by the end of 1975. In a series of visits to Peking, Tokyo, and other Asian capitals in 1974, Whitlam said Australia was trying to identify more closely with the developing nations of the Third World and to rid itself of the anti-Communism which had distinguished the previous government's foreign-policy attitudes. This meant that Canberra has moved much closer to Moscow as well as to Peking. In 1974 Australia became one of the few Western governments to recognize the Soviet Union's claim to sovereignty over the Baltic states.

In its policies on the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Labor party had a record of traditional support for Israel which had its origins in the significant role played by the then Labor government's Foreign Minister H. V. Evatt at the United Nations in 1947 and 1948. (Evatt was president of the UN General Assembly when Israel
was admitted as a member nation.) Leading Labor party spokesmen, including Whitlam, visited Israel regularly, and close relations had developed between the Histadrut and the Australian trade union movement. Until 1972 Australia's support for Israel therefore was bipartisan. But early in 1973 it became apparent that Australia was modifying its pro-Israel position as it tilted toward the Afro-Asian bloc at the UN. Many ministers in the Labor government also were outspokenly anti-American in their criticisms of United States involvement in Vietnam, and they called for greater independence from Washington's defense and foreign policies. Instead of the earlier predisposition to support the United States in the UN on Middle East issues, the newly-expressed desire for greater independence now contributed to a further decrease in any show of support for Israel.

The first manifestation of this change came in Australia's votes against Israel in the UN Security Council on resolutions condemning retaliation against Palestinian terrorist camps in Lebanon. But the strongest signs became evident during the Yom Kippur war of 1973, and thereafter. During the war the Whitlam government announced it would henceforth pursue an "even-handed and neutral" policy on the conflict. It refused to criticize Egypt and Syria for attacking Israel; it was not critical of the Soviet Union for supplying arms to the Arab states, but reproached both Washington and Moscow only after the American weapons resupply to Israel had begun, saying that both sides were equally to blame for the continuation of the conflict.

In May 1974 Prime Minister Whitlam publicly clashed with the leadership of the Jewish community at a breakfast meeting during the campaign for a general election that was called at mid-term. In his remarks he repeatedly equated the PLO raids on Kiryat Shemona and Ma'alot with Israeli retaliation, criticized Israeli settlement of the occupied territories, and warned the Jewish community that the local Arab community, now estimated to number between 80,000 and 90,000, was growing in numbers and influence and that the Jewish leadership would have to adopt a more flexible approach. In November 1974 Australia abstained from the UN voting on Yasir Arafat and the PLO, but its delegate, Sir Lawrence McIntyre, said that Australia would recognize any Palestinian state that might be established alongside Israel, and noted that the PLO had acquired a new status as representative of the Palestinians.

Early in 1975 Whitlam had to call off a proposed visit to Australia by a five-man delegation representing the PLO, after nationwide protests, many of them from Labor party ranks, threatened to exacerbate the political divisions within the government on the issue. At the time, Whitlam said he regretted the need to cancel the PLO visit and expressed the hope that its representatives would be able to come at some future time. In May 1975 two representatives of the General Union of Palestinian Students, a PLO affiliate, were granted entry to speak on Australian campuses during the student debates on a series of anti-Israel resolutions proposed by the extreme left-wing leadership of the Australian Union of Students. For the first time in Australia, a debate between supporters of Israel and of the PLO flared into
violence when Jewish demonstrators were attacked, and in some cases seriously injured, by left-wing and local Arab supporters of PLO. Shortly after the Palestinian students left Australia, the director of the PLO office in Cairo, Gamal el-Surani, was allowed to pay an official visit. Whitlam further underlined the shift in his thinking when he told parliament that he would be as happy to see the PLO representative as he had been to greet Pinhas Sapir, chairman of the World Zionist Organization, a month earlier.

Throughout the public debate, and in response to criticism from such influential spokesmen within his own party as R. J. Hawke, president of the Labor party and of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Whitlam insisted that Australia recognized Israel’s right to exist within secure boundaries.

In searching for explanations of the shift, some commentators have pointed out that while Australia was 70 per cent self-sufficient in oil supply, it was particularly dependent on the Arab oil producers for its crude oil imports which fuel its shipping and heavy industry requirements. This dependence was bound to increase.

Australia had been transformed from a mixed agricultural and industrial economy into one of the world’s leading resource exporters, largely as the result of massive mineral and energy resources discoveries during the 1960s and their exploitation by joint-capital ventures involving particularly Japan and the United States. There followed a rise in the standard of living of the Australian population to a point comparable with Canada, West Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. The boom ended in 1973–74 due to the international economic recession. This factor, combined with new limitations imposed by the government on investment from such traditional sources as the United States, forced Australia to seek alternative investment funds for the continued development of its resources and the financing of its ambitious domestic legislative programs. Thus during the week the first senior PLO representative was to come to Australia, the government announced a major long-term loan from Saudi Arabia, with A$250 million (approximately $330 million) as a first installment.

While these economic pressures would be equally applicable if the opposition parties were to return to government, the Liberal-Country party coalition has strongly criticized the Labor government’s policy of “even-handedness.” In April 1975 the opposition parties elected as its new leader Malcolm Fraser, a former minister of defense who had a long record of opposition to the Soviet Union and who committed his party to opposing the admission of PLO representatives to Australia so long as the organization’s objective remained the destruction of Israel.

In the domestic field, the government introduced legislation against racial discrimination, for fault-free divorce after 12 months of separation, public financing of all tertiary education and the abolition of student fees, and a wide range of assistance and subsidy programs for physically and culturally disabled minorities. During 1974 there was wide public debate on the proposed introduction of a bill of rights. Serious questions regarding the usefulness or merit of such legislation within the parliamentary system were raised by Jews and non-Jews alike. Following
strong opposition to many of its sections that were inadequately framed, the bill was returned to the attorney-general's office for revision.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

Reflecting the changes Australia has undergone in the last decade, the Jewish community has, in many ways, become a different one (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], pp. 347-51). Numerically, there was little change. While the Australian population passed 13 million (from 11 million), the Jewish population increased only marginally, from 67,000 to some 70,000. In fact, it declined in numerical strength as a percentage of the general population and in the ratio of births to deaths. Most Jews continued to live in the two main cities, Sydney (29,000) and Melbourne (35,000).

But there have been important sociological changes inside the Jewish community. The Australian-born component of the community now forms well over half of the total, compared with about 35 per cent in 1960. Since the influx of postwar refugees and migrants more than doubled the Jewish population, the growing percentage of Australian-born Jews had significant consequences for the self-image, leadership, and policies of the community, especially in relation to its participation in Australian society. Australian Jews are in a period of transition from the ethos of a European immigrant community to that of a religious-ethnic group with identifiable Australian characteristics. This is occurring at a time when the government and other influential sectors are recognizing the positive aspects of cultural diversity. During the 1950s and 1960s Australian official policy was to assimilate all immigrants and to create a homogeneous society. Only in the last three years have all political parties accepted "cultural pluralism" as a more realistic goal. Since one in three Australians is an immigrant, or the child of an immigrant, this change has already begun to influence the way Jews see themselves within the Australian context.

In the main, Australian Jews, too, have participated and shared in Australia's economic boom. Despite the difficulties in obtaining meaningful statistics in this area, those available show that generally Jews have been particularly successful in improving their socio-economic position during that period. Most Jews are self-employed businessmen, professionals, or are involved in the burgeoning academic-educational areas of employment. The community's affluence has grown markedly in a relatively short period, and this has shown itself in a number of ways. Jews have moved from the lower-middle-class, inner-city suburbs of the postwar immigrants to the middle- and upper-middle-class suburbs of prestige and affluence; community building activity, such as schools, synagogues, and community centers, has expanded; there has been a sharp increase in per capita donations to communal charities and to Israel, and there has been a noticeable growth in the size and scope of family celebrations, such as bar-mitzvot and wedding receptions.

The outward impression, then, is of a community success story. Many of the
individual successes are the more noteworthy because those who achieved them came to Australia as survivors without material possessions and without too many encouraging prospects. The fact that they made a considerable impact on Australia as entrepreneurs, building contractors, textile manufacturers, investors, and business innovators, was a source of confidence for the Australian Jewish community. Therefore, despite occasional outbursts of right-wing antisemitism from extremist groups, the continuation of entrenched anti-Jewish discrimination in private clubs, and the vestiges of prejudice directed against any "foreigners," Australian Jews until recently had felt secure, accepted, and sheltered from the uncertainties and anxieties of Jewish life in other countries.

The turning point from security to the beginnings of anxiety seemed to have coincided with the Yom Kippur war. It marked the beginning of a downturn in the economy and dramatized the political changes which have now raised questions about Australian attitudes to Israel and the Jewish community. The pattern of unprecedented inflation (16 to 20 per cent in 1975) and unemployment engendered within the Jewish community some feelings of vulnerability and fears of becoming a scapegoat. At the same time, the Jewish community has been critical of the "evenhanded and neutral" policy toward the Arab-Israel conflict pursued by the Whitlam government.

Since much of the tone of the Australian Jewish community's public attitudes is conditioned by a "survivor" mentality, its members, while sharing the current uncertainties with other Jewish communities, are affected to a greater degree. This finds expression, for example, in attitudes to intermarriage and assimilation. Although the available statistics indicated an intermarriage rate in Sydney and Melbourne of between 5 and 10 per cent, there was widespread apprehension that as the younger generation of Jews becomes more integrated in Australian society and continues its upward socio-economic mobility, this percentage will increase dramatically. Intermarriage was much more of a problem in the smaller communities such as Perth, Adelaide, and Brisbane, where the rate jumped as high as 30 to 40 per cent and where it has become the main preoccupation of communal leadership.

A final point may be made in this general characterization: Australian Jews suffer from "the tyranny of distance," a theme of considerable significance in Australian history. Despite improved communications and increased travel, they remain isolated from the mainstream centers of Jewish life in North America, Europe, and Israel. They tend, therefore, to be more provincial and parochial in their responses to the same dilemmas that confront Jewish communities elsewhere.

Community Organization and Activity

The central organization in each of the six states, the Board of Deputies, is affiliated with the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ). This national executive moves between Sydney and Melbourne every two years. While there is general agreement that this is an unsatisfactory arrangement, the tradition of rivalry
between the communities has persisted. In 1974 some of this rivalry was bridged by a new committee, known as the Australia/Israel Publications Committee (AIP), which was formed by joint initiatives of ECAJ, the Boards of Deputies, and the Zionist Federation of Australia. When B'nai B'rith and the Australian Union of Jewish Students joined later, AIP became the most representative communal framework for activities in the field of Israel public relations and information. Its role is similar to that of the Canada-Israel Committee and the America-Israel Public Affairs Committee. In part, the establishment of AIP was a response to the upsurge of anti-Israel propaganda, particularly on the campuses and in the trade union movement.

**Welfare and Social Services**

The most important changes in this area in the last decade were the greater involvement of professionals in welfare counseling and related activities, and the shift in emphasis from services directed toward the needs of immigrants to more general social services. The main developments were in child care, psychiatric services, and care of the aged. In child care, the Francis Barkman Homes (a congregate institution) was sold in 1965 and the children were moved into three separate houses based on family group units, each with "cottage parents" caring for eight children. An increase in psychiatric problems has led to the establishment of a rehabilitation center.

In both Sydney and Melbourne the sheltered workshops continued to be a key feature of the communal-welfare services, with some 150 persons participating. The biggest expansion took place in the care of the aged. In Melbourne, three new apartment blocks were built by the Jewish Welfare Society to accommodate 130 persons; B'nai B'rith built a block for 20; the Emmy Monash Home was enlarged to provide residential care for 40 and the Montefiore Homes to provide facilities for more than 250 residents. In Sydney, B'nai B'rith provided two apartment blocks; the Montefiore Homes increased their number of residents to over 170 and were planning to provide hostel accommodation for another 110 old people. Perth (4,000 Jews), the capital city of Western Australia, established facilities for the care of its elderly as part of its enlarged community center.

**Education**

The day-school movement continued to grow, particularly in Melbourne. In 1974 Mt. Scopus College, the largest Jewish school with an enrollment of 2,220 from kindergarten through secondary school, celebrated its 25th anniversary. In the last decade followers of the Lubavitcher Rebbe established two day schools—Yeshiva College for boys and Beth Rifka for girls, also with grades from kindergarten through primary and secondary grades and a total enrollment of more than 600 pupils. The Mizrachi movement's Yavneh College had over 250 primary-grade pupils; the Zionist movement's Bialik College more than 300 pupils, and the school of Adass Israel (Congregation of Hungarian Jews) had more than 60. In 1975
Yiddishists established Sholem Aleichem College, the first Yiddish-language day school in Australia. It grew out of the Yiddish-language afternoon schools, first established in the period immediately before World War II after the arrival of a considerable number of East European immigrants. In Sydney, Moriah College, the main school, had more than 500 students; a Lubavitch yeshivah school had 130. A new school, Massada College, was established on the North Shore; its enrollment was over 120. In Perth, Carmel College had grown from a student body of 23 in 1960 to more than 200. The communities in Adelaide and Brisbane, each numbering about 1,500, had no day schools. There were nine kindergartens in Melbourne, five in Sydney, one in Perth, and one opened in Adelaide in 1972. In the same year, the university of New South Wales (Sydney) opened Shalom College, the first Jewish residential college at an Australian university.

During the period of day-school expansion, there was a decrease in the number of children attending the part-time schools sponsored by congregations and other institutions. In Melbourne, for example, some 55 per cent of primary-school-age children now attended Jewish day schools; the percentage for secondary school was only about 37. The trend continued to favor the day-school movement, partly because of apprehension that anti-Jewish prejudice was on the increase in some private schools, and partly because state-sponsored education had acquired a reputation for low academic standards and inadequate facilities. The Labor government's policy of providing large subsidies to improve the state system and imposing cuts on the tax deductibility of private-education expenses has created a further strain on the already heavy financial burden of education carried by the Jewish community.

Synagogues and Congregations

In 1972 a new suburban community on the outskirts of Melbourne opened the North Eastern Jewish community center, which had developed around an Orthodox synagogue and was expanded to include classrooms, sports facilities, and a communal hall. It caters to the rapidly growing Jewish population in the newer northeastern suburbs and has grown from ten families in 1964, to 700 families in 1975.

A number of Melbourne synagogues, including the Caulfield Hebrew Congregation, Elwood Hebrew Congregation, Beth Mizrachi Congregation, Caulfield Beth Hamidrash Congregation and the St. Kilda Hebrew Congregation, completed extension and rebuilding projects. In Sydney, the South Head Synagogue, Rose Bay, and the North Shore Synagogue rebuilt their main facilities, and the Mizrachi Congregation, Bondi, built a new synagogue. In Perth, the Perth Hebrew Congregation (Orthodox) sold its synagogue and built another closer to the main center of Jewish population; it was opened in 1974. Temple David Congregation (Liberal) built its first synagogue after some years of meeting in private homes. In Canberra, the capital of Australia, the national Jewish war memorial center, which was opened in 1971, provided a synagogue for city's 400 Jews.

During the period under review, there has been a marked increase in Liberal
(Reform) congregations, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney, and the Australian Union of Progressive Judaism has grown in influence. Because there is no official Conservative stream in Australia, the congregational scene remains divided between Orthodox and Liberal, although some of the Orthodox congregations would fit more comfortably into the Conservative movement of American Jewry.

A significant development was the appointment of two Australian-born rabbis to major pulpits. In Melbourne, Rabbi John Levi succeeded Rabbi Herman Sanger as chief minister of Temple Beth Israel; and in Sydney, Rabbi Raymond Apple succeeded Rabbi Israel Porush as chief minister of the Great Synagogue.

**Adult Education and Cultural Activities**

The Yiddish-language Kadimah center completed a new building in Melbourne, which has a theatre where four Yiddish plays are annually staged by amateur and semi-professional groups. The continuing strength of Yiddish, despite a decline in the number of those speaking the language, remained one of the features of Melbourne's communal life. The Zionist movement rebuilt the Beth Weizmann (Melbourne) community center which houses the offices of its organizations from where most Israel-oriented activities are directed. The Hillel Foundation introduced a free university lecture series in Sydney and in Melbourne and provided seminar facilities for youth groups in rural areas near these cities for weekend camps and conferences.

In 1968 the *Australian Jewish Herald* of Melbourne, which had been publishing for 95 years, was forced to close down after a communal controversy over a columnist whose writings were consistently critical of Israel. This left the weekly English-Yiddish *Australian Jewish News* as the only Jewish newspaper in that city. In Sydney, Louis Klein, former president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, became the publisher of the *Australian Jewish Times*, which he subsequently merged with the *Sydney Jewish News*.

**Public Life**

The period under review saw the emergence of more Jews in political and public life. Moses Cass became the first Jewish member of the Australian cabinet when he was appointed minister for the environment in the Labor government. Cass held his portfolio when the government was reelected in May 1974. Joseph Berinson, another member of the Labor party, was elected to the Federal Parliament in 1969, and in 1975 became deputy speaker of the House of Representatives. Barry Cohen (Labor) was elected to the federal parliament in New South Wales. In 1974 Dr. Peter Baume became the first Jewish senator to represent the Liberal party in the Australian Senate. In Victoria, Walter Jona (Liberal) was appointed secretary to the State Cabinet, and in New South Wales Margaret Davis (Liberal), Derek Freeman (Liberal) and Paul Landa (Labor) were elected to the State Legislative Council. Sydney Einfeld, a former president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, was the deputy leader of the opposition in the New South Wales State Parliament until 1974.
and has retained his seat as a member of the Legislative Assembly. W. Kaye was appointed justice of the supreme court of Victoria and W. Stabey, Q.C., judge of the state's county court.

Prime Minister Whitlam appointed a number of young Jewish advisers to his personal staff: James Spigelman was named principal private secretary; David Solomon, press secretary, and Peter Wilenski, a former senior adviser, was appointed permanent head of the department of labor and immigration, the most senior public-service position to be held by a Jew.

**Personalia**

Sir Asher Joel (Sydney) was knighted for his public service activities, particularly for organizing the visit of Pope Paul and the opening of the Sydney Opera House in 1974. Other Jews were awarded honors by the Queen: Gerald Falk, Nathan Jacobson, Alec Masel, Nathan Beller, and Louis Klein received the Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.); Walter Lippmann, president of the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies, was made a Member of the British Empire (M.B.E.); Sir Peter Abeles and Sir Paul Strasser, two prominent business leaders, were knighted.

The death in Melbourne of Morris Ashkanasy in April 1971, at the age of 71, and of Leo Fink in September 1972, at the age of 72, marked the passing of a leadership era. Ashkanasy had been a president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies, and many other communal bodies. Fink had been a founder and president of the Australian Jewish Welfare and Relief Society.

**Sam Lipski**
In the absence of exact information on the Jewish population in the various countries, we presented below the best possible estimates for 1974. They were based on local censuses, communal registration, estimates of local informants, and data obtained from a special inquiry conducted in 1975 for the year 1974. Fifty-eight questionnaires were sent to major Jewish bodies in selected countries, requesting information on a) the number of Jews in the country, including nationals and refugees; b) figures for principal cities; c) source of the data and method used in arriving at the estimate. Responses were received from twenty countries.

These figures are of varying degrees of accuracy, are subject to a substantial margin of error, and will be revised when more precise data become available. It should be noted that some figures were taken from previous volumes, since there was no way of arriving at a valid new estimate. During the period under review, a substantial number of Soviet Jews emigrated to Israel, and a small number to the United States, Canada, and other Western countries.

In the tables below, figures obtained from the inquiry are indicated by an x.

**Distribution by Continents**

The estimated world Jewish population at the end of 1974 was 14,230,000. Of the total number, about 6,900,000 (some 48 per cent) lived in the Americas; over 4,080,000 (29 per cent) in Europe, including the Asian parts of Turkey and the

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1Canada: Canadian Jewish Congress; Colombia: Centro Israelita de Bogotá; Dominican Republic: Parroquia Israelita; Finland: Suomen Juntalaisten Seurakuntien Keskusneuvosto; Germany (F.R.): Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland; Honduras: Comunidad Hebreá de Tegucigalpa; Italy: Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane; Jamaica: United Congregation of Israelites; Japan: Jewish Community of Japan; Mexico: Mr. Tuvie Maisel; Netherlands: Nederlands-Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap; Norway: Det Mosaiske Trossamfund; Philippines: Jewish Association of the Philippines, Inc.; Rhodesia: Central African Jewish Board of Deputies; El Salvador: Comunidad Israelita; South Africa: South African Jewish Board of Deputies; Switzerland: Fédération Suisse des Communautés Israélites; Turkey: Grand Rabbinat de Turquie; United Kingdom: Board of Deputies of British Jews; Yugoslavia: Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia.
Soviet Union, and some 2,990,000 (21 per cent) were in Asia. Only some 184,000 (1.5 per cent) remained in Africa, and about 76,000 (0.5 per cent) in Australia and New Zealand.

**TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION BY CONTINENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe (including Asiatic USSR</td>
<td>4,081,325</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Turkey)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America, North, Central, and</td>
<td>6,899,045</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>2,989,510</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>184,390</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia and New Zealand</td>
<td>76,200</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,230,470</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Because sources and dates were not always identical, there may be discrepancies between figures given in the tables below and those in other sections of this volume.*

**Europe**

Of the more than 4,090,000 Jews in Europe, over 2,880,000 were in the Communist area, including an estimated 2,680,000 in the Soviet Union (p. 376). 2 There were

2The *Jewish Journal of Sociology* [London], Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1974, carried a piece on the Jewish population in the USSR, indicating that “one must view with reserve the widely circulated population estimates of the Soviet Jews by the *AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK*.” There is no need for such special appeals, since the *YEAR BOOK* has always been careful to point out that its population figures are estimates to be corrected, if and when better figures become available. The piece published in the *Journal of Sociology* is based on uncertain data, involves assumptions that should be tested and used with utmost discretion, and, in addition, shows a lack of familiarity with Soviet conditions. The author accepts the 1970 Soviet census (2,151,000 Jews) and constructs a rather elaborate statistical structure to explain this figure, although he, himself, asked the very pertinent question why the more detailed data on Soviet Jews was not published (except for RSFSR). The author also mentioned the “thorny conceptual problem, who is a Jew?”, but quite apparently it did not influence his conclusions. Maksimov, the well-known Soviet demographer, indicated that the decrease in the Soviet Jewish population shown in the 1970 census (5.2 per cent) was due to the “process of fusion of nations, which, under the conditions of a socialist society, has the character of friendship and bears no resemblance to assimilation in bourgeois society.” (*Istoriia USSR*, Moscow, No. 5, 1971). The matter is then to define properly who is a Jew, and not to engage in exercises in futility—which do not prove helpful in this very important question. It should be pointed out that if the official Soviet 1970 figures on the Jews are accepted without the necessary critical evaluation, the Jewish population in the Soviet Union will very soon disappear, at least statistically, obviously with grave consequences for the Russian Jews.
some 80,000 Jews in Rumania and 80,000 in Hungary. Only 8,000 Jews remained in Poland. About 1,200,000 were in non-Communist countries. France, with a substantial number of North African Sephardi Jews who came after World War II from Morocco and Tunisia, and later from Algeria, had a Jewish population of some 550,000, the largest in Western Europe. Great Britain had 410,000; Belgium, 40,000; Italy, 35,000; and Germany had 32,000: 26,500 in West Germany, 5,500 in East Germany. Of the total, 5,500 lived in West Berlin.

### Table 2. Estimated Jewish Population in Europe, by Countries, 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>2,350,000</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>7,530,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>9,760,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>8,620,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>14,560,000</td>
<td>14,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>5,030,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>4,660,000</td>
<td>1,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>52,130,000</td>
<td>550,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>78,950,000b</td>
<td>32,000bx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibraltar</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>55,930,000</td>
<td>410,000x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>8,970,000</td>
<td>6,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>10,430,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>3,030,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>54,890,000</td>
<td>35,000x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>320,000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>13,440,000</td>
<td>30,000x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>3,960,000</td>
<td>950x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>33,360,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>8,560,000</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>20,830,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>34,860,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>8,140,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>6,440,000</td>
<td>21,000x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>37,360,000c</td>
<td>30,000c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>249,750,000c</td>
<td>2,680,000c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>20,960,000</td>
<td>6,000x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes Asian regions of the USSR and Turkey.


*Includes West Germany, East Germany, and both sectors of Berlin.

**Reply to 1974 inquiry.
North, Central, and South America

The estimate of the number of Jews in the United States, made by the National Jewish Population Study, is 5,800,000, including all persons living in Jewish households. Canada had an estimated 305,000 Jews, and Central and South Amer-

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN NORTH, CENTRAL, AND SOUTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES, BY COUNTRIES, 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>22,130,000</td>
<td>305,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>54,300,000</td>
<td>37,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>210,400,000</td>
<td>5,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total North America</td>
<td>286,830,000</td>
<td>6,142,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>240,000</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>1,870,000</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>8,920,000</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curacao</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>4,430,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>3,860,000</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>5,540,000</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>4,440,000</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>2,780,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>1,980,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>2,010,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>1,570,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>1,060,000</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Central America</td>
<td>38,850,000</td>
<td>9,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and West Indies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>24,290,000</td>
<td>475,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>5,330,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>101,430,000</td>
<td>155,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>10,230,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>23,210,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>6,730,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>2,670,000</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>14,910,000</td>
<td>5,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>430,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>2,990,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>11,290,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total South America</td>
<td>203,510,000</td>
<td>747,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>529,190,000</td>
<td>6,899,045</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Table 2, note.
See Table 2, note.

ica some 747,000. There was migration of Jews from some of the countries of Latin America, but this has not yet substantially changed the Jewish population figures for the area.

Asia, Australia, and New Zealand

The Jewish population of Asia continued to increase. Of the 2,990,000 Jews in Asia, 2,888,000 were in Israel, whose total Jewish population was now larger than the estimated Jewish population of the Soviet Union. There were 80,000 Jews in Iran and some 12,000 in India. No other country in Asia, except Turkey and the Asian areas of the USSR, had as many as 5,000 Jews. Syria had 4,500 and Lebanon 1,800. The number of Jews in any of the other Asian countries did not exceed 500.

The Jewish population of Australia was estimated at about 72,000, that of New Zealand at 4,200.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>18,290,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>29,560,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>814,280,000</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>660,000</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>4,016,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>574,220,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>124,600,000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>31,300,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>10,410,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>3,402,000</td>
<td>2,888,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>108,350,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>3,060,000</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>66,750,000</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>40,220,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>2,190,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>6,890,000</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>6,060,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,844,258,000</td>
<td>2,989,510</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See Table 2, note.  
*See Table 2, note.
TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>13,130,000</td>
<td>72,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>2,960,000</td>
<td>4,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16,090,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>76,200</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See Table 2, note.*

**Africa**

The Jewish population of Africa was very small, except for South Africa where it remained at about 118,000. The process of gradual liquidation continued in the North African Jewish communities. Only 40 Jews remained in Libya, 500 in Egypt, 1,000 in Algeria, and 8,000 in Tunisia. Morocco had 31,000 Jews. The Jewish communities of the Maghreb, which were among the old Jewish settlements, were disappearing.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN AFRICA, BY COUNTRIES, 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>15,770,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>35,620,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>26,080,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>12,480,000</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>2,160,000</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>16,310,000</td>
<td>31,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of South Africa</td>
<td>23,720,000</td>
<td>118,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodesia</td>
<td>5,900,000</td>
<td>4,800*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>5,510,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaire</td>
<td>23,560,000</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>4,640,000</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>171,750,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>184,390</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See Table 2, note.*

*See Table 2, note.*

**COMMUNITIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATION**

The largest Jewish communities in 1974 were in the United States, Israel, and the Soviet Union. Together they accounted for about 78 per cent of the world Jewish population. Only four other countries, France, Argentina, Great Britain, and Canada, had Jewish communities of over 200,000.
### TABLE 7. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>5,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>2,888,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>2,680,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>550,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>475,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>410,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>305,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 8. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, SELECTED CITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>20,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankara</td>
<td>500*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antwerp</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basle</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgrade</td>
<td>1,500*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin (both sectors)</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berne</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogotá</td>
<td>5,500*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bordeaux</td>
<td>6,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>24,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucharest</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budapest</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>25,650*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cochin</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copenhagen</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>3,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>13,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala City</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haifa</td>
<td>210,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helsinki</td>
<td>1,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izmir</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>266,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>63,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiev</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeds</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leningrad</td>
<td>165,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>5,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisbon</td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London (greater)</td>
<td>280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyons</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmo</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>35,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manila</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marseille</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico D.F.</td>
<td>32,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milan</td>
<td>10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montevideo</td>
<td>48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>114,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>285,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oslo</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plovdiv</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prague</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabat</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>2,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salonika</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>São Paulo</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarajevo</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sofia</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strasbourg</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subotica</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 8 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teheran</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tel Aviv-Jaffa</td>
<td>394,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>110,000x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toulouse</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trieste</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valparaiso</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>5,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>18,500x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zagreb</td>
<td>1,200x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zurich</td>
<td>6,150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For cities in the United States, see p. 233.
*See Table 2, note*.  

Leon Shapiro
Directories
Lists
Necrology
List of Abbreviations

AAJE American Association for Jewish Education
acad academy
ACLU American Civil Liberties Union
act active, acting
ADL Anti-Defamation League
admin administrative, administration
adv advisory
affil affiliated
agr agriculture
agric agriculturist, agricultural
Am. Jewish
Com. American Jewish Committee
AJCongress American Jewish Congress
AJYB AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK
Am. America, American
amb ambassador
apptd appointed
assoc associate, association, associated
asst assistant
atty attorney
au author
b born
bd board
Bib Bible
bibliog bibliography, bibliographer
Bklyn Brooklyn
bur bureau
bus business

Can. Canada
CCAR Central Conference of American Rabbis
chmn chairman
CJFWF Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds
CJMCAG Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany
coll collector, collective, college
Colo Colorado
com committee
comdr commander
comm commission
commr commissioner
comp composer, composed
cond conductor
conf conference
cong congress, congregation
constr construction, constructed
contrib contributor
corr correspondent
d died
dem democrat
department
dir director
dist district
div division
econ economic, economist
ed editor
edit edited
editl editorial
edn edition
educ education, educator
educational
Eng English, England
estab established
exec executive
fd fund
fdn foundation
fdr founder
fed federation
for foreign
gen general
Ger German
gov governor, governing
govt government
Heb Hebrew
hist historical, history
hon honorary
hosp hospital
HUC-JIR Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
Hung Hungarian
ILGWU International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
incl including
ind independent
inst. institute
instr. instructor
internat. international
Ital. Italian

JDA Joint Defense Appeal
JDC American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
JEC Jewish Education Committee
JNF Jewish National Fund
JPA Joint Palestine Appeal
JPS Jewish Publication Society
JTA Jewish Telegraphic Agency
JTS Jewish Theological Seminary of America
JWB National Jewish Welfare Board
JWV Jewish War Veterans of America

lang. language
LCBC Large City Budgeting Committee
leg. legal, legislation
lit. literature, literary

mag. magazine
med. medical
mem. member
metrop. metropolitan
mfr. manufacture, manufacturer
mng. managing
mngr. manager
ms manuscript

NAACP National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
nat. national
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCC National Council of Churches of Christ in U.S.A.
NCCJ National Conference of Christians and Jews
NCRAC National Community Relations Advisory Council
NYANA New York Association for New Americans
N.Y.C. New York City

off. office, officer
org. organized, organizers
orgn. organization
ORT Organization for Rehabilitation through Training
OSE Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants Israélites

Pal. Palestine
phar. pharmacist, pharmaceutical
philan. philanthropist
phys. physician
pres. president
prin. principal
prod. producer, production, producing
prof. professor
pseud. pseudonym
pub. publish, publication, publisher

rabb. rabbinate, rabbinical
RCA Rabbinical Council of America
recd. received
rel. religion, religious
reorg. reorganized
rep. representative
ret. retired
Rum. Rumania
Russ. Russian

RZA Religious Zionists of America

SCA Synagogue Council of America
sch. school
sci. scientific
sec. secretary
sect. section
sem. seminary
soc. society
Sp. Spanish
spec. special, specialist
subj. subject
supt. superintendent

techr. teacher
theol. theological
tr. translator, translated
trav. travel, traveler
treas. treasurer

UAHC Union of American Hebrew Congregations
UAR United Arab Republic
UHS United HIAS Service
UIA United Israel Appeal
UJA United Jewish Appeal
UN United Nations
UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

univ. university
UNRWA United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

UOJC Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
UPA United Palestine Appeal
USO United Service Organizations, Inc.

vol. volume
v. pres. vice-president

west western
WIZO Women's International Zionist Organization
WJC World Jewish Congress
WZO World Zionist Organization

Yid Yiddish
YIVO YIVO Institute for Jewish Research
YMHA Young Men's Hebrew Association

yrs. years
YWHA Young Women's Hebrew Association

Zion Zionist
ZOA Zionist Organization of America
National Jewish Organizations

UNITED STATES

Organizations are listed according to functions as follows:

Religious, Educational 457
Cultural 451
Community Relations 448
Overseas Aid 455
Social Welfare 473
Social, Mutual Benefit 472
Zionist and Pro-Israel 476

Note also cross-references under these headings:

Professional Associations 483
Women's Organizations 484
Youth and Student Organizations 484

COMMUNITY RELATIONS


AMERICAN JEWISH ALTERNATIVES TO ZIONISM, INC. (1968). 133 E. 73 St., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Elmer Berger; V. Pres. Mrs. Arthur Gutman. Applies Jewish values of justice and common humanity to the Arab-Israel conflict in the Middle East; rejects nationality attachment of all Jews particularly American Jews, to the State of Israel as self-segregating, as inconsistent with American constitutional concepts of individual citizenship and separation of church and state, and as a principal obstacle to Middle East peace. Report.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (1906). Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., N.Y.C., 10022. Pres. Elmer L. Winter; Exec. V. Pres. Bertram H. Gold. Seeks to prevent infraction of civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world; to advance the cause of human rights for people of all races, creeds and national-

1Includes national Jewish organizations in existence for at least one year prior to June 30, 1974, based on replies to questionnaires circulated by the editors. Inclusion in this list does not necessarily imply approval of the organizations by the publishers, nor can they assume responsibility for the accuracy of the data. An asterisk (*) indicates that no reply was received and that the information, which includes title of organization, year of founding, and address, is reprinted from AJYB, 1974–75 (Vol. 75).
ity; to interpret the position of Israel to the American public; and to help American Jews maintain and enrich their Jewish identity and, at the same time, achieve full integration in American life; includes Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Center for Human Relations, William E. Wiener Oral History Library, Leonard and Rose Sperry International Center for the Resolution of Group Conflict. AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK (with Jewish Publication Society of America); Commentary: Present Tense; What's Doing at the Committee.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS (1918). Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84 St., N.Y.C., 10028. Pres. Arthur Hertzberg; Exec. Dir. Naomi Levine. Works to foster the creative religious and cultural survival of the Jewish people; to help Israel develop in peace, freedom, and security; to eliminate all forms of racial and religious bigotry; to advance civil rights, protect civil liberties, defend religious freedom and safeguard the separation of church and state. Congress Monthly; Judaism.


ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS WORKERS (1950). 25 E. 78 St., N.Y.C. 10021. Pres. Betty Kaye Taylor; Sec. Milton Heller. Aims to stimulate higher standards of professional practice in Jewish community relations; encourages research and training toward that end; conducts educational programs and seminars; aims to encourage cooperation between community relations workers and those working in other areas of Jewish communal service. Community Relations Papers.

COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM (1953) (under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations). 338 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Chmn. Albert E. Arens; Co-Dirs. Albert Vorspan; Balfour Brickner. Develops materials to assist Reform synagogues in setting up social-action programs relating the principles of Judaism to contemporary social problems; assists congregations in studying the moral and religious implications in social issues such as civil rights, civil liberties, church-state relations; guides congregational social-action committees. Issues of Conscience, Newsletter.


COORDINATING BOARD OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (1947). 1640 Rhode Island
Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036. Co-Chmn. David M. Blumberg (B’nai B’rith), Sir Samuel Fisher (Board of Deputies of British Jews), Maurice Porter (South African Jewish Board of Deputies); Secs. Rabbi Benjamin M. Kahn (U.S.), Abraham J. Marks (U.K.), J.M. Rich (S. Africa). As an organization in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, represents the three constituents (B’nai B’rith, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies) in the appropriate United Nations bodies for the purpose of promoting human rights, with special attention to combating persecution or discrimination on grounds of race, religion, or origin.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE, INC. (1948). 20 West 43 St., N.Y.C., 10036. Pres. Louis Weiser; Sec. Robert H. Gottlieb. Supports merit system; promotes all Jewish interest projects; member Greater N.Y. Conference on Soviet Jewry and Metropolitan Coordinating Council on Jewish Poverty; sponsors scholarships, social and cultural affairs for members. CJO Digest.

INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH POLICY PLANNING AND RESEARCH (see Synagogue Council of America, p. 465).


JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE (1933). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Jacob Sheinkman; Exec. Dir. Emanuel Muravchik. Seeks to combat antisemitism and racial and religious intolerance abroad and in the U.S. in cooperation with organized labor and other groups; sponsors educational and cultural programs relating to ethical and social values of Jewish labor and “Yiddishist” movements. JLC News.


WORKMEN’S CIRCLE DIVISION OF (1940). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N.Y.C., 10021. Chmn. Harry Zegas; Exec. Dir. Vladka Meed. Promotes aims of, and raises funds for, the Jewish Labor Committee among the Workmen’s Circle branches; conducts Yiddish educational and cultural activities.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (1896). 1712 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20009. Nat. Comdr. Paul Ribner; Nat. Exec. Dir. Seymour S. Weisman. Seeks the maintenance of true allegiance to the United States of America; to combat bigotry and to prevent or stop defamation of Jews; to encourage the doctrine of universal liberty, equal rights, and full justice to all men; to cooperate with and support existing educational institutions and establish new ones; to foster the education of ex-servicemen, ex-service-women, and members in the ideals and principles of Americanism. Jewish Veteran.


NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY (formerly AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY) (1964; reorg. 1971). 11 W. 42 St., Rm. 1864, N.Y.C., 10036. Chmn. Stanley H. Lowell; Exec. Dir. Jerry Goodman. Coor-
ordinating agency for major national Jewish organizations and local community groups in the U.S., acting on behalf of Soviet Jewry through public education and social action; stimulates all segments of the community to maintain an interest in the problems of Soviet Jewls by publishing reports and special pamphlets; sponsoring special programs and projects, organizing public meetings and forums. News Bulletin; Outlook.

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SOVIET JEWRY RESEARCH BUREAU. Organized by NCSJ to monitor compliance by Soviet Union to Trade Act of 1974. Primary task is the accumulation, evaluation, and processing of information regarding Soviet Jews, especially those who apply for and seek emigration.


NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL (1944). 55 West 42 St., N.Y.C., 10036. Chmn. Lewis D. Cole; Exec. V. Chmn. Albert D. Chernin; Sec. Irving Achtenberg. Consultative, advisory, and coordinating council of national Jewish organizations and local Jewish councils that seeks cooperatively the promotion of equal status and opportunity for all groups, including Jews, with full expression of distinctive group values and full participation in the general society. Through the processes of the Council, its constituent organizations seek agreement on policies, strategies, and programs, and on best means and techniques for most effective utilization of their collective resources for common ends. Guide to Program Planning for Jewish Community Relations.


WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS (1936; org. in U.S. 1939). Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84 St., N.Y.C., 10028. Pres. Nahum Goldmann; Chmn. Gov. Council Philip M. Klutznick; Chmn. Amer. Sect. Jacques Torczyner; Sec. Gen. Gerhart M. Reigner (Geneva); Exec. Dir. Max Melamed. Organized to foster the unity of the Jewish people, to ensure the continuity and development of its religious, spiritual, cultural, and social heritage. Seeks to intensify bonds of world Jewry with Israel as the central creative force in Jewish life, to strengthen the ties of solidarity among Jewish communities everywhere, to secure the rights, status and interests of Jews and Jewish communities wherever they are denied, violated or imperiled. Amer. section includes 17 national organizations. Publications (including those by Institute of Jewish Affairs, London): Soviet Jewish Affairs; A Journal on Jewish Problems in the USSR and Eastern Europe; Christian Attitudes on Jews and Judaism; Congress Digest; Folk un Velt; Jewish Journal of Sociology; Patterns of Prejudice; World Jewry.

CULTURAL


Menachem M. Kasher. Fosters biblical-talmudical research; sponsors and publishes Torah Shelemah (the Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation) and related publications; disseminates the teachings and values of the Bible. Hatkufah Hagdola; Noam.

AMERICAN HISTADRUT CULTURAL EXCHANGE INSTITUTE (1962) 33 E. 67 St. N.Y.C., 10021. Nat. Chmn. Allen Pollack; Exec. Dir. Sarah Morris. Serves as a vehicle for promoting better understanding of the efforts to create in Israel a society based on social justice. Provides a forum for the joint exploration of the urgent social problems of our times by American and Israeli labor, academic and community leaders. Publishes pamphlets and books on various Israeli and Middle East topics.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY (1892). 2 Thornton Rd., Waltham, Mass., 02154. Pres. Maurice Jacobs; Dir. Bernard Wax. Collects, catalogues, publishes and displays material on the history of the Jews in America; serves as an information center for inquiries on American Jewish history; maintains archives of original source material on American Jewish history; sponsors lectures and exhibitions. American Jewish Historical Quarterly; Newsletter.

AMERICAN JEWISH PRESS ASSOCIATION (formerly AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH JEWISH NEWSPAPERS) (1943). 611 Olive St., Suite 1541, St. Louis, Mo., 63101. Pres. Maurice Jacobs; Dir. Bernard Wax. Collects, catalogues, publishes and displays material on the history of the Jews in America; serves as an information center for inquiries on American Jewish history; maintains archives of original source material on American Jewish history; sponsors lectures and exhibitions. American Jewish Quarterly; Newsletter.

ASSOCIATED AMERICAN JEWISH MUSEUMS, INC. (1971). 303 LeRoi Road, Pittsburgh, Pa., 15208. Pres. Walter Jacob; V. Pres. William Rosenthall; Sec. Robert L. Lehman; Treas. Jason Z. Edelstein. Maintains regional collections of art, historical and ritual objects, as well as a central catalogue of such objects in the collections of Jewish museums throughout the U.S.; helps Jewish museums acquire, identify and classify objects in their collections; arranges exchanges of collections, exhibits, and individual objects among Jewish museums; encourages the creation of Jewish art, ceremonial, and ritual objects.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR JEWISH MUSIC (1974). 155 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. 10010. Pres. Albert Weissler; Sec. Hadassah B. Markson. Seeks to raise standards of composition and performance in Jewish liturgical and secular music; encourages research in all areas of Jewish music; publishes scholarly journal; presents programs and sponsors performances of new and rarely heard works and encourages their recording; commissions new works of Jewish interest.


ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH LIBRARIES (1966) c/o Jewish Division, Rm. 84, N.Y. Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42 St., N.Y.C. 10018. Pres. Leonard Gold; Corr. Sec. Samuel M. Aksler. Seeks to promote and improve services and professional standards in Jewish libraries; serves as a center for the dissemination of Jewish library information and guidance; promotes publication of literature in the field; encourages the establishment of Jewish libraries and collections of Judaica and the choice of Jewish librarianship as a vocation. AJLA Bulletin; Proceedings.


and supervises scientific studies and factual research with respect to sociological problems involving contemporary Jewish life. Jewish Social Studies.

CONGRESS FOR JEWISH CULTURE, INC. (1948). 25 E. 78 St., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Israel Knox; Exec. Dir. Hyman B. Bass. Seeks to centralize and promote Jewish culture and cultural activities throughout the world, and to unify fund raising for these activities. Bulletin fun Kultur Kongres; Zukunft; Leksikon fun der Nayer Yiddisher Literatur; Pinkes far der Forshung fun der Yiddisher Literatur un Presse; World of Yiddish.


HISTRADRUTH IVRITH OF AMERICA (1916; reorg. 1922). 120 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. Pres. Israel Mowshowitz; Exec. Dir. David Epstein. Emphasizes the primacy of Hebrew in Jewish life, culture, and education; aims to disseminate knowledge of written and spoken Hebrew in the Diaspora, thus building a cultural bridge between State of Israel and Jewish communities through the world. Hadoar; Lamishpaha.


JUDAH L. MAGNES MEMORIAL MUSEUM—
2911 Russell St., Berkeley, Calif., 94705.
Pres. Daniel K. Oxman; V. Pres. Alfred Fromm; Dir. Seymour Fromer. Serves both as museum and library, combining historical and literary materials illustrating Jewish life in the Bay Area, the Western States, and around the world; provides archives of world Jewish history and Jewish art; repository of historical documents intended for scholarly use; changing exhibits, facilities open to the general public.

LEO BAECk INSTITUTE, INC. (1955). 129 E. 73 St., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Max Gruenewald; Sec. Fred Grubel. Engages in historical research, the presentation and publication of the history of German-speaking Jewry, and in the collection of books, manuscripts and documents in this field; publishes monographs. LBI Quarterly Bulletin; LBI News; LBI Year Book; LBI Library and Archives News.


*NATIONAL CENTER FOR JEWISH POLICY STUDIES (1971). 1320 19th St., N.W., Suite 500, Washington D.C., 20036. Dir. Nathan Lewin. Carries on research in matters of public policy, both governmental and institutional, as they relate to Jewish interests, and makes information available to interested organizations; acts on behalf of Jewish groups in dealings with federal bureaucracy; runs summer internship program for Jewish students on Jewish community affairs and federal government activities affecting Jews.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE (1960). 408 Chamin Bldg., 122 E. 42 St., N.Y.C., 10017. Pres. Earl Morse; Exec. Dir. Harry I. Barron. Provides consultation, guidance, and support to Jewish communities, organizations, educational and other institutions, and individuals for activities in the field of Jewish culture; awards fellowships and other grants to students preparing for careers in Jewish scholarship as well as to established scholars; encourages the teaching of Jewish studies in colleges and universities; serves as clearinghouse of information regarding American Jewish culture; administers the Joint Cultural Appeal among local Jewish welfare funds in behalf of a group of national cultural organizations and agencies. NFJC Reporter; Jewish Cultural News.


NATIONAL JEWISH MUSIC COUNCIL (1944). 15 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. Chmn. Shalom Altman; Dir. Mrs. Irene Heskes. Promotes Jewish music activities nationally, annually sponsors and promotes the Jewish Music Festival, and encourages participation on a community basis. Jewish Music Notes (supplement to JWB Circle) and numerous music resource publications for national distribution.

RESEARCH FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH IMMIGRATION, INC. (1971). 570 Seventh Ave., N.Y.C. 10036. Pres. Curt C. Silberman; Sec. Herbert A. Strauss. Studies and records the history of the migration and acculturation of Jewish Nazi persecutees in the various resettlement countries; is in process of preparing world-wide biographical handbook of outstanding emigrés, in partnership with the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich, Germany.


Jews; publishes books dealing with Russian Jewry; collects and distributes funds for European charities aiding Russian Jews.


Yeshiva University Museum (1973). 2520 Amsterdam Ave., N.Y.C. 10033. Curator Mrs. Dalia Tawil. Devoted to Jewish art, architecture, and history; exhibits collections of ceremonial objects and rare books; offers lectures and films.

Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, Inc. (1925). 1048 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10028. Chmn. Exec. Com. Julius Borenstein; Dr. Joseph Berg. Engages in Jewish social and humanistic research; maintains library and archives of material pertaining to Jewish life; serves as information center for organizations, local institutions, information media, and individual scholars and laymen; publishes books. Yedies fun Yivo—News of the Yivo; Yidishe Shprakh; Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science; Yivo Bleter.


Overseas Aid


American ORT Federation, Inc.—Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (1924). 817 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10003. Pres. Harold Friedman; Exec. Dir. Paul Bernick. Teaches vocational skills in 24 countries around the world, particularly in Israel, to over 70,000 persons annually, with the largest program of 50,000 trainees in Israel. The teaching staff numbers about 2,500. Annual cost of program is $39 million. ORT Bulletin; ORT Yearbook.


---: **ORT Youth Fellowship** (1972).
1250 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10001. Nat. Chmn. Mrs. Gordon Levine; Dir. Richard J. Goldman. Provides a vehicle for high school students to strengthen their Jewish identity while practicing ORT philosophy of helping people to help themselves. Focuses on career education, volunteer service and contact with ORT students around the world. *Notes and Quotes; WAO Youth News; OFYN National Paper.*

---: **Women's American ORT** (1927).
1250 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10001. Pres. Pat Goldring; Exec. Dir. and Exec. V. Pres. Nathan Gould. Represents and advances the program and philosophy of ORT among the women of the American Jewish community through membership and educational activities; supports materially the vocational training operations of World ORT; contributes to the American Jewish community through participation in its authorized campaigns and through general education to help raise the level of Jewish consciousness among American Jewish women; through its American Affairs program, cooperates in efforts to improve quality of education and vocational training in U.S. *Highlights; Women's American ORT Reporter.*


**Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, Inc.** (1951). 15 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. Pres. Nahum Goldmann; Acting Sec. Jerry Hochman. Utilizes balance of funds received from the German Federal Republic under Luxembourg agreement for relief to needy Jewish victims of Nazi persecution and needy non-Jews who risked their lives to help such victims.

**Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization** (1935; in U.S. 1938). 200 W. 72 St., N.Y.C., 10023. Pres. Nathan Turak; Exec. Sec. Mordkhe Schaechter. Plans colonization in some sparsely populated territory for those who seek a home and cannot or will not go to Israel; promotes the development and use of the Yiddish language and culture. *Freeland; Oyfn Shvel* (in Yiddish).

**Jewish Restitution Successor Organization** (1948). 15–19 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. Pres. Maurice M. Bourstein; Sec. Saul Kagan. Acts to discover, claim, receive, and assist in the recovery of Jewish heirless or unclaimed property; to utilize such assets or to provide for their utilization for the relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of surviving victims of Nazi persecution.

**United HIAS Service, Inc.** (1884; reorg. 1954). 200 Park Ave. S., N.Y.C., 10003. Pres. Carl Glick; Exec. V. Pres. Gaynor I. Jacobson. World-wide Jewish migration agency with offices, affiliates, committees in United States, Europe, North Africa, Latin America, Canada, Australia, Israel, New Zealand and Hong Kong. Assists migrant and refugees from Eastern Europe, the Middle East, North Africa and Latin America to find new homes in the United States and other countries. Responsible for premigration planning, visa documentation, consular representation and intervention, transportation, reception, initial adjustment and reunion of families; carries on adjustment of status and naturalization programs; provides protective service for aliens and naturalized citizens; works in the United States through local community agencies for the integration of immigrants; conducts a planned program of resettlement for Jewish immigrants in Latin America; has world-wide location service to assist in locating missing friends and relatives; conducts educational campaigns on opportunities for migration and resettlement, with particular emphasis on family reunion. *Statistical Abstract; United Hias Service Bulletin; United Hias Service Migration News.*

United Israel Appeal, and New York Association for New Americans.


RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL


———, GIRLS' DIVISION—BNOS AGUDATH ISRAEL (1921). 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C., 10038. Chairwoman Hadassah Sochachowsky; Advisor B. Boruch Borchart. Educates Jewish girls to the realization of the historic nature of the Jewish people as the people of the Torah; to greater devotion to and understanding of the Torah. Kol Basya; Kol Bnos.


———, YOUTH DIVISION—ZEIREI AGUDATH ISRAEL (1921). 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C., 10038. Pres. Shimon Soloff; Nat. Coord. Menachem Lubinsky. Educates Jewish youth to the realization of the historic nature of the Jewish people as the people of the Torah and to seek solutions to all the problems of the Jewish people in Israel in the spirit of the Torah. Haknessiah: The Zeirei Forum.

*AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION (1939). 114 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10011. Pres. Robert H. Arnow; Exec. V. Pres. Isaac Toubin. Coordinates, promotes, and services Jewish education nationally through 17 constituent national organizations and 45 affiliated Bureaus of Jewish Education; conducts and administers exchange program for Israeli teachers; sponsors and supports the National Curriculum Research Institute, the National Board of License, the National Testing Bureau, the National Council on Adult Jewish Education, the National Council on Jewish Audio-Visual Materials, the Commission on Teaching About Israel and Jewish Civics; Commission on Jewish Studies in Public Schools. National Council on Jewish Camping; engages in statistical and other educational research. Information and Research Bulletins; Jewish Education Newsletter; Jewish Education Register and Directory; Pedagogic Reporter.

———: NATIONAL COUNCIL ON ADULT JEWISH EDUCATION (1965). 114 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10011. Acting Chmn. Julius Schatz. Aims to serve as a national clearinghouse for information in the field of Jewish education; stimulate community interest in adult Jewish education, and promote cooperative efforts among organizations engaged in adult Jewish education. Information Bulletin on Adult Jewish Education.

———: NATIONAL COUNCIL ON JEWISH AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS (1949). 114 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10011. Offers information on and evaluates available audio-visual materials of Jewish interest; publishes these evaluations annually; offers advice and guidance in the planning of new audio-visual materials. Jewish Audio-Visual Review.


ASSOCIATION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH SCIENTISTS (1947). 116 E. 27 St., N.Y.C., 10016. Pres. Nora Smith; Bd. Chmn. Paul Kahn. Seeks to contribute to the development of science within the framework of Orthodox Jewish tradition; to obtain and disseminate information relating to the interaction between the Jewish traditional way of life and scientific developments—on both an ideological and practical level; to assist in the solution of problems pertaining to Orthodox Jews engaged in scientific pursuits, teaching science, or studying it. Intercom; Proceedings.


B'NAI B'RITH YOUTH ORGANIZATION (1924). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036. Chmn. Nat. B'hai B'rith Youth Com. Mrs. Louis Perlman; Internat. Dir. Max F. Baer. To help Jewish teenagers achieve self-fulfilment and to make a maximum contribution to the Jewish community and their country's culture; to help the members acquire a greater knowledge and add appreciation of Jewish religion and culture. BBYO Advisor; BBYO Staff Recorder; Shofar.

BRANDEIS INSTITUTE (1941). 1101 Pepper-tree Lane, Simi Valley, Calif., 93064. Chmn. of Bd. Steve Brody; Pres. Max W. Bay; Fdr. and Exec. V. Pres. Shlomo Bardin. Maintains Brandeis Camp Institute (BCI) for college students as a leadership training institute; Camp Alonim for children 8–16, and House of the Book Association weekend institutes for married adults, in an effort to instill an appreciation of Jewish cultural and spiritual heritage and to create a desire for active participation in the American Jewish community.


CENTRAL YESHIVA BETH JOSHDY RABBINICAL SEMINARY (in Europe 1891; in U.S. 1941). 1427 49 St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11219. Deans Jacob Jofen, Leib Nekritz. Maintains a school for the teaching of Orthodox rabbis and teachers, and promoting the cause of higher Torah learning.

CLEVELAND COLLEGE OF JEWISH STUDIES (1964). 26500 Shaker Blvd., Beachwood, Ohio 44122. Pres. Martin Goldstein. Trains Hebrew- and religious-school teachers; serves as the department of Hebrew and Judaic studies for Cleveland area colleges and universities; offers in-
extensive Ulpan and Judaic studies for community; serves as Jewish information center through its library; grants teachers diplomas and degrees of Bachelor of Hebrew Literature, Bachelor of Judaic Studies, and Master of Hebrew Literature. Index to Jewish Periodicals.

DROPSIE UNIVERSITY (1907). Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 19132. Pres. Abraham I. Katsh; Chmn. Exec. Com. Leon J. Perelman. The only nonsectarian and nontheological graduate institution in America completely dedicated to Hebrew, Biblical and Middle Eastern studies; offers graduate programs in these areas. Course study includes the cultures and languages of Arabic, Aramaic, Ugaritic, Akkadian, and ancient Egyptian peoples. Divisions and centers: College of Hebrew and Cognate Learning, Division of Education, Joseph & Sally Handleman Communications Center for Study of Man's Humanity, Center for Manuscript Research. Jewish Quarterly Review.


GRATZ COLLEGE (1895). 10 St. and Tabor Rd., Philadelphia, Pa. 19141. Chmn. Bd. of Overseers Daniel C. Cohen; Pres. Daniel Isaacman. Prepares teachers for Jewish religious schools and teachers of Hebrew for public high schools; grants Master of Hebrew Literature, Bachelor of Hebrew Literature and Bachelor of Arts in Jewish Studies degrees; is accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the Association of Hebrew Colleges; provides studies in Judaica and Hebraica, maintains a Hebrew high school and a school of observation and practice; provides Jewish studies for adults; community-service division coordinates Jewish education in the city and provides consultation services to Jewish schools of all leanings. College Bulletin; Gratz Chats; GC Annual of Jewish Studies; 75th Anniversary Volume; Telem Yearbook; What's New.

HEBREW COLLEGE (1921). 43 Hawes St., Brookline, Mass. 02146. Pres. Eli Grad; Assoc. Dean Herbert Rosenblum. Provides intensive programs of study in all areas of Jewish culture from the high-school through college and graduate-school levels, also at branches in Hartford, New Haven, Providence, and Springfield; maintains ongoing programs with most major local universities; offers the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Hebrew Literature, and Bachelor and Master of Jewish Education, with teaching certification; trains men and women to teach, conduct and supervise Jewish schools; offers extensive Ulpan program, in cooperation with the Israel Consulate and Jewish Agency; courses designed to deepen the community's awareness of the Jewish heritage. Hebrew College Bulletin.


HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION of Cincinnati, New York, Los Angeles, and Jerusalem (1875; 1922; merged 1950; 1954; 1963). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio, 45220; 40 W. 68 St., N.Y.C., 10023; 3077 University Mall, Los Angeles, Calif., 90007; 13 King David St., Jerusalem, Israel. Pres. Alfred Gottschalk; Sec. Henry H. Hersch. Prepares students for rabbinate, cantorate, religious-school teaching, community service; promotes Jewish studies; maintains libraries and a museum; offers Ph.D. and D.H.L. degrees in graduate department; engages in archaeological excavations; publishes scholarly books through Hebrew Union College Press. American Jewish Archives; Bibliographica Judaica; HUC—JIR Catalogue; Hebrew Union College Annual; Studies in Bibliography and Booklore.


RHEA HIRSCH SCHOOL OF EDUCATION (1967). 3077 University Mall, Los Angeles, Calif. 90007. Pres. Alfred Gottschalk; Dean Lewis M. Barth; Dir. William Cutter. Serves local needs in religious education in Los Angeles area through teacher training, consultation, laboratory research; offers M.A. program in Jewish and Hebrew education; conducts joint programs with University of Southern California. Newsletter.


SCHOOL OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (1968). 3077 University Mall, Los Angeles, Calif. 90007. Pres. Alfred G. Gottschalk; Dir. Gerald B. Bubis. Offers certificate and master's graduate studies in Jewish psychological, sociological, cultural, historical, and valuation materials to those employed in Jewish communal services, or preparing for such work, regardless of setting or professional discipline; offers M.S.W. and M.A. in Jewish educational and communal service through HUC and M.A. in conjunction with University of Southern California.

Skrball Museum (1913). 3077 University Mall. Los Angeles, Calif. 90007. Chmn. Museum Com. Jack H. Skirball; Curator: Nancy Berman. Collects, preserves, researches and exhibits art and artifacts made by or for Jews, or otherwise associated with Jews and Judaism. Provides opportunity to faculty and students to do research in the field of Jewish art.

HERZLIAH-JEWISH TEACHERS SEMINARY (merger of Herzliah Hebrew Teachers Institute and Jewish Teachers Seminary and People's University) (1967). 69 Bank St., N.Y.C., 10014. Pres. Eli Goldstein; Chmn. of Bd. Abraham Goodman; Dean Hillel Henkin. Nondenominational Hebrew-Yiddish teachers college and school for advanced Jewish studies; training men and women as Jewish teachers; also on college and university levels, research and community service, as well as cantors, singers and music instructors; confers undergraduate and graduate degrees; offers adult education program in Hebrew, Yiddish, Bible, Jewish history and literature. Newsletter.

GRADUATE DIVISION (1965). Dean Meir Ben-Horin. Institution for advanced study and research and preparation for teaching Judaica in American colleges and universities, leading to degree of Doctor of Jewish Literature in Hebrew Language and Literature. Jewish Social Studies (history, education, sociology, and philosophy), or Yiddish language and literature.

HERZLIAH HEBREW TEACHERS INSTITUTE, INC. (1921). Dir. and Asst. Dean Y. S. Avidor. Offers four-year college program in Judaica and teacher training for nationally accredited Hebrew teachers diploma, serving the American Jewish community without denominational distinction. Transfer credit for B.A. degree in college of general studies. Hedin; Shnaton.

JEVISH TEACHERS SEMINARY AND PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY INC. (1918). Dir. and Asst. Dean Y. S. Avidor. Four-year college program toward Bachelor of Jewish Literature and Yiddish teachers certificate. Transfer credit for B.A. degree in college of general studies. Der Seminart.

MUSIC DIVISION (1964). Acting Dir. Cantor Marvin Antosofsky. Offers studies in traditional and contemporary music, religious, Yiddish, secular and Hebrew; offers certificate and degree programs in Jewish music education and cantorial art and artist diploma.

INDEPENDENT RABBINATE OF AMERICA (1970). 130 W. 42 St., Suite 1305,
NATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

N.Y.C., 10036. Dir. Rabbi Henry Lieberman; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Chaim Lieberman. Maintains active placement service for the three branches in Judaism; seeks to improve the professional and economic standing of its members; screens the authenticity of their ordinations. *Monthly Newsletter; Rabbinical Registry and Directory.*

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HILLEL DIRECTORS (1949). 5715 S. Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637. Pres. Daniel I. Leifer; Sec. Michael A. Monson. Seeks to promote the welfare of the professional personnel of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations by facilitating exchange of experience and opinion among them and to represent them before appropriate organizations.

JEWISH CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY, INC. (sponsored by NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS) (1893). 838 Fifth Ave. N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Bernard Hirsh; Exec. Dir. Sylvan Lebow. Disseminates authoritative knowledge about Jews and Judaism; assigns rabbis to lecture at colleges; endows courses in Judaism for college credit at universities; donates Jewish reference books to college libraries; sends rabbis to serve as counselor-teachers at Christian Church summer camps and as chaplains at Boy Scout camps; produces motion pictures for public service television and group showings. *Brotherhood.*


———: RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE (1968). 2308 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa., 19132. Pres. Ira Eisenstein; Dean Fredric Kazan. Trains leaders for all spheres of Jewish life; synagogue, academic and educational positions, Hillel, Centers, Federation Agencies; requires students to pursue graduate studies at an outside institution of higher learning to Ph.D. degree in Jewish studies, religion, and related subjects; confers the title of Rabbi and grants the degree of Doctor of Hebrew Letters.


JEWISH TEACHERS ASSOCIATION—MORIM (1926). 11 W. 42 St., N.Y.C. 10036. Pres. Michael Leinwand; Sec. Dorothy G. Posner. Promotes the religious, social, and moral welfare of children; provides a program of professional, cultural, and social activities for its members; cooperates with other organizations for the promotion of goodwill and understanding. *JTA Bulletin.*

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA (1886; reorg. 1902). 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10027. Chancellor Gerson D. Cohen; Chmn. Bd. of Dir. Sol. M. Linowitz. Organized for the perpetuation of the tenets of the Jewish religion, cultivation of Hebrew literature, pursuit of biblical and archaeological research, advancement of Jewish scholarship; maintains a library with extensive collections of Hebraica and Judaica, a department for the training of rabbis, a pastoral psychiatry center, the Jewish Museum, and such youth programs as the Ramah Camps and the Leaders Training Fellowship. *Conservative Judaism.*

———: AMERICAN STUDENT CENTER IN JERUSALEM (1962). Neve Schechter, Jerusalem, Israel. Dean Shamma Friedman; Dir. Reuven Hammer. Offers housing and courses to fit curriculum of Seminary students spending a year in Israel.

———: CANTORS INSTITUTE AND SEMINARY COLLEGE OF JEWISH MUSIC
DEPARTMENT OF RADIO AND TELEVISION (1944). 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10027. Prod. Milton E. Krents; Rabbinic Consultant Edward T. Sandrow. Produces radio and TV programs expressing the Jewish tradition in its broadest sense, with emphasis on the universal human situation: "Eternal Light," a weekly radio program; "Words We Live By," a summer discussion series; 7 "Eternal Light" TV programs, produced in cooperation with NBC, and 12 "Directions" TV programs in cooperation with ABC; distributes program scripts and related reading lists.


INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE HUMANITIES (1968). 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C. 10027. Dean Ismar Schorsch. A graduate program leading to M.A. degree in all aspects of Jewish Studies and Ph.D. in Bible, Jewish education, history, literature, philosophy, or rabbinics.


SEMINARY COLLEGE OF JEWISH STUDIES-TEACHERS INSTITUTE (1909). 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10027. Assoc. Dean Sylvia Ettenberg; Dean of Students Mayer Rabinowitz. Offers complete college program in Judaica leading to B.H.L. degree; conducts joint program with Columbia University, enabling students to receive B.A. from Columbia and B.H.L. from the Seminary, after four years.

UNIVERSITY OF JUDAISM (1947). 6525 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90028. Pres. David L. Lieber; V. Pres. Max Vorspan, David Gordis. West Coast school of JTS. Serves as center of undergraduate and graduate study of Judaica; offers pre-professional and professional programs in Jewish education and allied fields, including a pre-rabbinic program and joint program enabling students to receive B.A. from UCLA and B.H.L, and from U of J after 4 years, as well as a broad range of adult education and Jewish activities.


MERKOS L'INYONEI CHINUCH, INC. (THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION) (1940). 770 Eastern Parkway, Bklyn., N.Y., 11213. Pres. Menachem M. Schneerson (Lubavitch Rebbe); Dir., Treas. M.A. Hodakov; Sec. Nissan Mindel. The educational arm of the Lubavitcher movement. Seeks to promote Jewish education among Jews, regardless of their background, in the spirit of Torah-true Judaism; to establish contact with alienated Jewish youth, to stimulate concern and active interest in Jewish education on all levels, and to promote religious observance as a daily experience among all Jews; maintains worldwide network of regional offices, schools, summer camps and Chabad-Lubavitch Houses; publishes Jewish educational literature in numerous languages.
and monthly journal in five languages: Conversaciones con la juventud; Conversations avec les jeunes; Schmusschen mit kinder un yugent; Sihot la No-ar; Talks and Tales.


• Mirrer Yeshiva Central Institute (in Poland 1817; in U.S. 1947). 1791-5 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11223. Pres. and Dean Rabbi Shrage Moshe Kalmanowitz; Exec. Dir. and Sec. Manfred Handelsman. Maintains rabbinical college, postgraduate school for Talmudic research, accredited high school, and Kollel and Sephardic divisions; dedicated to the dissemination of Torah scholarship in the community and abroad; engages in rescue and rehabilitation of scholars overseas.

National Committee for Furtherance of Jewish Education (1941). 824 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213. Chmn. of Presidium Julius Hellenbrand; Exec. V. Pres. Jacob J. Hecht; Exec. Sec. Faivel Rimler. Seeks to disseminate the ideals of Torah-true education among the youth of America; aids poor, sick and needy in U.S. and Israel; maintains camp for underprivileged children; sponsors Hadar HaTorah and Machon Chana seeking to win back college youth and others to the fold of Judaism; maintains schools and dormitory facilities. Panorama; Passover Handbook; Seder Guide; Spiritual Suicide; Focus.

National Council for Jewish Education (1926). 114 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10011. Pres. Alvin I. Schiff; Exec. Sec. Jack M. Horden. Fellowship of Jewish education profession, comprising administrators and supervisors of national and local Jewish educational institutions and agencies, and teachers in Hebrew high schools and Jewish teachers colleges, of all ideological groupings; conducts annual national and regional conferences in all areas of Jewish education; represents the Jewish education profession before the Jewish community; co-sponsors, with American Association for Jewish Education, a personnel committee and other projects; cooperates with Jewish Agency department of education and culture in promoting Hebrew culture and studies; conducts lectureship at Hebrew University. Jewish Education; Sheviley Hahinuch.

• National Council of Beth Jacob Schools, Inc. (1945). 1415 E. 7 St., Bklyn., 11230. Pres. Israel M. Zaks; Chmn. of Bd Shimon Newhouse; Sec. David Rosenberg. Operates Orthodox all-day schools from kindergarten through high school for girls, a residence high school in Ferndale, N.Y., a national institute for master instructors, and a summer camp for girls. Bais Yaakov Digest; Prinia Call.

National Council of Young Israel (1912). 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. Nat. Pres. Herman Rosenbaum; Exec. V. Pres. Ephraim H. Sturm. Maintains a program of spiritual, cultural, social and communal activity towards the advancement and perpetuation of traditional, Torah-true Judaism; seeks to instill in American youth an understanding and appreciation of the ethical and spiritual values of Judaism. Sponsors kosher dining clubs and fraternity houses and an Israel program. Viewpoint; Hashkofa Series; Massoeah Newspaper.


Promotes Young Israel synagogues and youth work in synagogues in Israel.


MASSORAH INTERCOLLEGIATES OF YOUNG ISRAEL (1951). 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. Pres. Ronnie Schlessel; Dir. Stanley W. Schlessel. Organizes and operates kosher dining clubs on college and university campuses; provides information and counselling on kashrut observance at college; gives college-age youth understanding and appreciation of Judaism and information on issues important to Jewish community; arranges seminars and meetings; publishes pamphlets and monographs. Hashkafa; Massorah.

YISRAEL HATZAIR (reorg. 1968). 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. Pres. Eddie Smoth; Nat. Dir. Arnold Grant. Fosters a program of spiritual, cultural, social, and communal activities for the advancement and perpetuation of traditional Torah-true Judaism, to instill an understanding and appreciation of the high ethical and spiritual values and to demonstrate compatibility of ancient faith of Israel with good Americanism.

NATIONAL JEWISH HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE AND INFORMATION CENTERS (1973). 437 Chestnut St., Rm. 408, Philadelphia, Pa., 19106. Pres. Allen S. Mailer; Exec. Dir. Steven S. Jacobs. To develop the full potential of involvement in Jewish community life by husbands and wives of non-Jewish origin, to retain the Jewishness of their children and to assist those non-Jews (and Jews) interested in Judaism for non-marital reasons whether for conversion or not. Our Choice.


P'eylim—AMERICAN YESHIVA STUDENT UNION (1951). 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. Pres. Nisson Alpert; Dir. Avraham Hirsch. Aids and sponsors pioneer work by American graduate teachers and rabbis in new villages and towns in Israel; does religious, organizational, and educational work and counseling among new immigrant youth; maintains summer camps for poor immigrant youth in Israel; belongs to worldwide P'eylim movement which has groups in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, England, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, and Israel; engages in relief and educational work among North African immigrants in France and Canada, assisting them to relocate and reestablish a strong Jewish community life. P'eylim Reporter.

RABBINICAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA (IGUD HARABONIM) (1944). 155 Fifth Ave., Suite 810 N.Y.C., 10010. Pres. Rabbi David B. Hollander. Seeks to promulgate the cause of Torah-true Judaism through an organized rabbinate that is consistently Orthodox; seeks to elevate the position of Orthodox rabbis nationally, and to defend the welfare of Jews the world over. Also has Beth Din Rabbincical Court. Perspective.

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY (1900). 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10027. Pres. Rabbi Mordecai Waxman; Exec. V. Pres. Rabbi Wolfe Kelman. Seeks to promote Con-
servative Judaism, and to foster the spirit of fellowship and cooperation among the rabbis and other Jewish scholars; cooperates with the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the United Synagogue of America. Beineinu; Conservative Judaism; Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly.

RABBINICAL COLLEGE OF TELSHE, INC. (1941). 28400 Euclid Ave., Wickliffe, Ohio 44092. Pres. Rabbi Mordecai Gifter; Sec. Moshe Helfan. College for higher Jewish learning specializing in Talmudic Studies and Rabbinics; maintains a preparatory academy including secular high school, a postgraduate department, a teachers training school, and a teachers seminary for women. Pri Etz Chaim; Peer Mordechai; Alumni Bulletin.


RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE (see Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, p. 461).


SPERTUS COLLEGE OF JUDAICA (1925). 618 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60605. Pres. David Weinstein; Bd. Chmn. David Weinstein. Educates teachers of Hebrew and Judaica for elementary and secondary Jewish schools; certifies Hebrew teachers for public and private Illinois schools; provides Chicago area colleges and universities with specialized undergraduate programs in Judaica and serves as a Department of Judaic Studies to these colleges and universities; serves as Midwest Jewish information center through its Asher Library and Maurice Spertus Museum of Judaica; grants degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Hebrew Literature and Bachelor of Judaic Studies. Perspectives in Jewish Learning.


——: INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH POLICY PLANNING AND RESEARCH OF (1972). 1776 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Chmn. Philip M. Klutznick; Dir. Ira Silverman. Seeks to strengthen American Jewry by conducting and promoting systematic study of major issues confronting its future vitality, for which it enlists informed academic and lay people; sponsors research and analysis on the subject and disseminates findings to synagogues and other Jewish organizations. Analysis; Background.

TORAH UMESORAH—NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HEBREW DAY SCHOOLS (1944). 229 Park Ave. S., N.Y.C., 10003. Nat. Pres. Samuel C. Feuerstein; Nat. Dir. Joseph Kaminetsky. Establishes Hebrew day schools throughout U.S. and Canada and services them in all areas including placement and curriculum guidance; conducts teacher training institutes, a special fellowship program, seminars, and workshops for in-service training of teachers; publishes textbooks and supplementary reading material; conducts education re-
search and has established Fryer Fdn. for research in ethics and character education; supervises federal aid programs for Hebrew day schools throughout the U.S. Hamenahel: the Jewish Parent; Olemmeinu—Our World; Tempo; Torah Umesorah Report.


TOURO COLLEGE (1970). 30 W. 44 St., N.Y.C., 10036. Pres. Bernard Lander. Chartered by the N.Y. State Board of Regents to offer programs in 16 disciplines leading to B.A. and B.S. degrees, with an emphasis on relevance of Jewish heritage to the general culture of Western civilization; to operate School of Law and to confer J.D., LL.M., and J.S.D. degrees; conducts coordinate divisions for men and women in School of Liberal Arts and Sciences; Division of Health Sciences in cooperation with Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center, and Division of General Studies for adults leading to baccalaureate degrees in humanities, social sciences or business. Annual Bulletins.

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (1873). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler. Serves as the central congregational body of Reform Judaism in the Western Hemisphere; serves its approximately 700 affiliated temples and membership with religious, educational, cultural, and administrative programs. Keeping Posted; Reform Judaism.


—: COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM (see p. 449).

—: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS OF (1941). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Frank L. Simons; Admin. Sec. Mrs. Betty Hirsch. Fosters Reform Judaism; prepares and disseminates administrative information and procedures to member synagogues of UAHC; promotes and encourages proper and adequate training of professional synagogue executives; formulates and establishes professional ideals and standards for the synagogue executive. NATA Quarterly.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS (1955). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Rolf W. Schickler; Exec. Sec. Alan D. Bennett. Represents the temple educator within the general body of Reform Judaism; fosters the full-time profession of the temple educator; encourages the growth and development of Jewish religious education consistent with the aims of Reform Judaism; stimulates communal interest in and responsibility for Jewish religious education.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS (1923). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Bernard Hirsh; Exec. Dir. Sylvan Lebow. Comprises 500 Reform temple brotherhoods in the U.S., Australia, Canada, South America, and the Union of South Africa; fosters religious, social, and cultural activities; sponsors the Jewish Chautauqua Society.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS (1913). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Mrs. Irving S. Benjamin; Exec. Dir. Janes Evans. Serves more than 600 sisterhoods of Reform Judaism; inter-religious understanding and social justice; scholarships and grants to rabbinic students; Braille and large type Judaic materials for Jewish blind; projects for Israel, Soviet Jewry and the aging; is women's agency of UAHC and cooperates with World Union for Progressive Judaism.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH (1939). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Joshua Gottlieb; Dir. Rabbi Stephen Schafer. Seeks to train Reform Jewish youth in the values of the synagogue and their application to daily life through service to the community and congregation; runs department of summer camps and national leadership training institutes; arranges overseas academic tours and work programs, international student exchange program, college student programs in the U.S. and Israel, including an accredited study program in Israel.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS: COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION OF (1923). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Chmn. Jacob P. Rudin; Dir. Abraham Segal. Develops curricula and teachers' manuals; conducts pilot projects and offers educational guidance and consultation at all age levels to member congregations and affiliates and associate bodies. Compass; Keeping Posted.


UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA (1898). 116 E. 27 St., N.Y.C., 10016. Pres. Harold M. Jacobs; Dir. David Cohen. Serves as the national central body of Orthodox synagogues; provides educational, religious, and organizational guidance to congregations, youth groups, and men's clubs; represents the Orthodox Jewish community in relationship to governmental and civic bodies, and the general Jewish community; conducts the national authoritative U Kasheruth certification service. Jewish Action; Jewish Life; Keeping Posted; U News Reporter.

AND CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF SYNAGOGUE YOUTH (1954). 116 E. 27 St., N.Y.C., 10016. Pres. Terry Novetsky; Dir. Pinchas Stolper. Serves as central body for youth groups of traditional congregations; provides such national activities and services as educational guidance, Torah study groups, Chavrusa-community service, programs consultation, Torah library, Torah fund scholarships, Ben Zakkai Honor Society, Friends of NCSY; conducts na-
tional and regional events including week long seminars, summer Torah tours in over 200 communities, Israel summer seminar for teens and colleagues, Camp NCSY in Israel for preteens. Divisions include Senior NCSY in 18 regions and 465 chapters; Junior NCSY for pre-teens, CYT-College Youth for Torah; B'nai Torah Day School and NCSY in Israel. Keeping Posted with NCSY; Advisors' Newsletter; Mitsvos Ma'asiyos; Holiday Series; Jewish Thought Series; Leadership Manual Series; Texts for Teen Study.


WOMEN'S BRANCH (1923). 84 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10011. Pres. Mrs. Samuel A. Turk; Exec. V. Pres. Mrs. Mordecai A. Stern. Seeks to spread knowledge for the understanding and practice of Orthodox Judaism, and to unite all Orthodox women and their synagogal organizations, services affiliates with educational and programming materials, leadership and organizational guidance and has an NGO representative at UN. Hachodesh; Newsletter.

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA (1900). 235 E. Broadway, N.Y.C., 10002. Pres. Rabbi Moshe Feinstein; Chmn. Rabbi Symcha Elberg. Seeks to foster and promote Torah-true Judaism in America; assists in the establishment and maintenance of yeshivot in the United States; maintains committee on marriage and divorce and aids individuals with marital difficulties; disseminates knowledge of traditional Jewish rites and practices and publishes regulations on synagogal structure; maintains rabbinical court for resolving individual and communal conflicts.


UNITED SYNOAGUE OF AMERICA (1913). 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10027. Pres. Arthur J. Levine; Exec. V. Pres. Rabbi Bernard Segal. To further the cause of Conservative Judaism. Maintains 12 departments and 10 regional offices to assist its affiliated congregations by furthering religious observance; maintaining the traditional character of liturgy; encouraging establishment of Jewish religious schools; to embrace all elements essentially loyal to traditional Judaism. United Synagogue Review.


COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION (1930). 155 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. 10010. Chmn. Rabbi Joel H. Zaiman; Dir. Morton Siegel. Promotes higher educational standards in Conservative congregational schools and Solomon Schechter Day Schools and publishes material for the advancement of their educational program. B'Kitzur; In Your Hands; Our Age; Synagogue School; Your Child; Briefs.


motivational programming for pre- and early adolescents who attend congregational and day schools. Advisor's Aid; KADIMA.


——, National Association of Synagogue Administrators of (1948). 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10027. Pres. Mrs. Larry Jaffe; Sec. Andrew Braun. Aids congregations affiliated with the United Synagogue of America to further aims of Conservative Judaism through more effective administration; advances professional standards and promotes new methods in administration; cooperates in United Synagogue placement services and administrative surveys. The Synagogue Administrator; NASA Newsletter; NASA Journal.


——, Women's League for Conservative Judaism (formerly National Women's League) (1918). 48 E. 74 St., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Mrs. M. Milton Perry. Constitutes parent body of Conservative women's groups in U.S., Canada, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and Israel; provides them with programs in religion, education, social action, leadership training, Israel affairs, and community affairs; publishes books of Jewish interest; contributes to support of Jewish Theological Seminary and Mathilde Schechter Residence Hall for women. Women's League Outlook.

West Coast Talmudical Seminary (Yeshiva Ohr Elchonon) (1953). 851 No. Kings Rd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90069. Pres. Abraham Linderman; Dean Rabbi S. Wasserman; Sec. David Bask. Provides facilities for intensive Torah education as well as Orthodox rabbinical training on the West Coast; conducts an accredited college preparatory high school combined with a full program of Torah-Talmudic training and a graduate Talmudic division on college level.

World Union for Progressive Judaism, Ltd. (1926). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. David H. Wice; Exec. Dir. Richard G. Hirsch; Sec. Jane Evans; N.A. Bd. Dir. Ira S. Youdovin. Promotes and coordinates efforts of Reform, Liberal, and Progressive congregations throughout the world; supports new congregations; assigns and employs rabbis overseas; sponsors seminars and schools; organizes international conferences of Liberal Jews. International Conference Reports; News and Views; Shalhevet (Israel); Teshuva (Argentina).


Yavneh, National Religious Jewish Students Association (1960). 156 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10010. Pres. Mat. Hoffman; V. Pres. Sonney Taragin. Seeks to promote religious Jewish education on the college campus, to facilitate full observance of halakhic Judaism, to integrate the insights gained in college studies with the values and knowledge of
Judaism, to unite Jewish college students, and to become a force for the dissemination of Torah Judaism in the Jewish community; initiated [Dirshu and related M'shav] programs aimed at drawing into the established Jewish community alienated and assimilated Jewish students; publishes occasional monographs in Yavneh Studies Series. The Authentic Voice, Kol Yavneh, Parshat Hashavua Series; Yavneh Shiryon.

Yeshiva University (1886). 500 W. 185 St., N.Y.C., 10033. Pres. Samuel Belkin; Chmn. Bd. of Trustees Max J. Etra. The nation's oldest and largest private university founded under Jewish auspices, with a broad range of undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools, community service agencies, scholarly publications, and widespread programs of research. Curricula lead to bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees. Undergraduate schools provide general studies curricula supplemented by courses in Jewish learning; graduate schools prepare for careers in medicine, science, social work, education, psychology, and other fields; alumni serve the nation and the Jewish community in many significant endeavors. Five undergraduate schools and seven graduate schools are located at four centers in Manhattan and the Bronx.

Undergraduate for men: Yeshiva College, Erna Michael College of Hebraic Studies, James Striar School of General Jewish Studies, at Main Center.

Undergraduate school for women: Stern College for Women, Teachers Institute for Women, at Midtown Center, 245 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C. 10016.

Sponsors two high schools for boys and two for girls (Manhattan and Brooklyn).

Auxiliary services include also Stone-Sapirstein Center for Jewish Education, Sephardic Studies Program, Brookdale Foundation Programs for the Aged, and Maxwell R. Maybaum Institute of Material Sciences and Quantum Electronics. Inside Yeshiva University: Studies in Judaica; Studies in Torah Judaism.

——. Albert Einstein College of Medicine (1955). 1330 Morris Pk. Ave., Bronx, N.Y. 10461. Pres. Samuel Belkin; Chmn. Bd. of Overseers Michael Singer; Act. Dean Ephraim Friedman. Prepares physicians and conducts research in the health sciences; awards Doctor of Medicine degree; includes Sue Golding Graduate Division of Medical Sciences. Einstein College's clinical facilities and affiliates encompass seven Bronx hospitals with a bed capacity of 5,200; and links to the Edenwald School of Jewish Child Care Association and other agencies, through the Rose F. Kennedy Center for Research in Mental Retardation and Human Development. AECOM News.


Offers graduate work in Judaic studies and Semitic languages, literatures, and cultures; confers M.S., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees.


RABBI ISAAC ELCHANAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY (1896). 2540 Amsterdam Ave., N.Y.C., 10033. Chmn. Bd. of Trustees Herbert Tenzer; Dir. Rabbi Zevulun Charlop. Offers comprehensive training in higher Jewish studies; grants semikha (ordination) and the degrees of Master of Religious Education, Master of Hebrew Literature, Doctor of Religious Education, and Doctor of Hebrew Literature; includes Kollel (Institute for Advanced Research in Rabbinics), and auxiliaries: Cantorial Training Institute, which provides professional training of cantors and other musical personnel for the Jewish community, and awards associate cantor's certificate and cantorial diploma; Sephardic Community Program which serves specific needs of Sephardi synagogues in the United States and Canada, holds such events as annual Sephardic Cultural Festival, maintains Sephardic Home Study Group program; Community Service Division, which makes educational, organizational, programming, consultative, and placement resources available to congregations, schools, organizations, and communities in the United States and Canada, through its youth bureau, department of adult education, lecture bureau, placement bureau, program department. National Commission on Torah Education, and Camp Morasha; Educators Council of America, which formulates uniform educational standards, provides guidance to professional staffs, rabbis, and lay leaders with regard to curriculum, and promotes Jewish education. American Sephardi.


WEST COAST TEACHERS COLLEGE (1962). 8322 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90036. Admin. Rabbi Aaron Twersky; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Muriel Mines. Offers programs in Jewish education and Hebrew language, literature, and culture; grants Hebrew teacher's diploma and Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees.


YESHIVATH TORAH VODAATH AND MESIVTA RABBINICAL SEMINARY (1918). 425 E. 9 St., Brooklyn, N.Y., 11218. Chmn. of Bd. Louis J. Septimus; Sec. Earl H. Spero. Offers Hebrew and secular education from elementary level through rabbinical ordination and post-graduate work; maintains a teachers institute and community-service bureau; maintains a dormitory and a nonprofit camp program for boys. Chronicle; Mesivta Vanguard; Thought of the Week; Torah Vodaath News.

ALUMNI ASSOCIATION (1941). 425 E. 9 St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11218. Pres. Yitchak Feldman; Chmn. of Bd. Daniel Sukenik. Promotes social and cultural ties between the alumni and the school; supports the school through fund raising; offers vocational guidance to students;
operates Camp Torah Vodaath; and sponsors research fellowship program for boys. Alumni News; Annual Journal; Hamesivta Torah Periodical.


SOCIAL, MUTUAL BENEFIT

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF JEWS FROM CENTRAL EUROPE, INC. (1942). 570 Seventh Ave., N.Y.C. 10028. Pres. Curt C. Silberman; Exec. V. Pres. Herbert A. Strauss. Seeks to safeguard the rights and interests of American Jews of Central European descent, especially in reference to restitution and indemnification; through its Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration sponsors research and publications on the history of Central European Jewry and the history of their immigration and acculturation in the U.S.; sponsors a social program for needy Nazi victims in the U.S. in cooperation with United Help, Inc. and other specialized social agencies. Under-takes cultural activities, annual conferences, publication, and lecture programs. Member, Council of Jews from Germany.

AMERICAN SEPHARDI FEDERATION (1951). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C, 10022. Pres. Liliane Winn; Exec. Dir. Mati Ronen. Seeks to preserve the Sephardi heritage in United States, Israel, and throughout world by fostering and supporting religious and cultural activities of Sephardi congregations, organizations, and communities, and uniting them in one overall organization; supports Jewish institutions of higher learning and those for the training of Sephardi lay and religious leaders to serve their communities everywhere; assists Sephardi charitable, cultural, religious and educational institutions everywhere; disseminates information by the publication, or assistance in the publication, of books and other literature dealing with Sephardic culture and tradition in the United States. Sephardic Voice; Young Sephardic Voice.

AMERICAN VETERANS OF ISRAEL (1949). c/o Samuel E. Alexander, 548 E. Walnut St., Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Pres. Harry Eisner; Sec. Samuel E. Alexander. Maintains contact with Americans and Canadians who served in the Zionist underground movements in Palestine, Aliyah Bet, and Israel's war of independence; promotes Israel's welfare; conducts speaker's bureau; holds memorial services at grave of Col. David Marcus; is affiliated with World Mahal. Newsletter.


BNAI ZION—THE AMERICAN FRATERNAL ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (1908). 136 E. 39 St., N.Y.C., 10016. Pres. Abraham J. Muter; Exec. V. Pres. and Sec. Herman Z. Quittman. Fosters principles of Americanism, fraternalism, and Zionism; fosters Hebrew culture; offers life insurance, Blue Cross hospitalization, and other benefits to its members; sponsors settlements; youth centers; medical clinics, and Bnai Zion Home for Retardates in Israel. Program is dedicated to furtherance of America-Israel friendship. Bnai Zion Foundation Newsletter; Bnai Zion Voice.


FREE SONS OF ISRAEL (1849). 932 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10010. Grand Master
Harry Pavony; Grand Sec. Murray Birnback. Promotes fraternalism; supports State of Israel, UJA, and other worthy Jewish charities. Reporter.

*INTERNATIONAL JEWISH LABOR BUND (Directed by WORLD COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE BUND) (1897; reorg. 1947). 25 E. 78 St., N.Y.C., 10021. Exec. Sec. Emanuel Scherer. Coordinates activities of the Bund organizations throughout the world and represents them in the Socialist International; spreads the ideas of Jewish Socialism as formulated by the Jewish Labor Bund; publishes pamphlets and periodicals on world problems, Jewish life, socialist theory and policy, and on the history, activities, and ideology of the Jewish Labor Bund. Bulletin (U.S.); Perspectives (U.S.); Unzer Tsait (U.S.); Foroys (Mexico); Lebns-Fragn (Israel); Unser Gedank (Argentina); Unser Gedank (Australia); Unser Shitimme (France); Tsait-Fragn (Uruguay).

JEWISH PEACE FELLOWSHIP (1941). Box 271, Nyack, N.Y., 10960. Pres. Naomi Goodman; Hon. Chmn. Isidor B. Hoffman. Unites those who believe that Jewish ideals and experience provide inspiration for a nonviolent philosophy and way of life; offers draft counseling, especially for conscientious objection based on Jewish "religious training and belief"; encourages Jewish community to become more knowledgeable, concerned, and active in regard to the war/peace problem. JPF Newsletter.


RUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC. (1958). 253 W. 72 St., N.Y.C., 10023. Pres. Charles H. Kremer; Sec. Albert Sigal. Serves as a representative body for Roumanian Jewry throughout the world and intervenes on their behalf; cooperates with all national Jewish and non-Jewish organizations for purpose of aiding Roumanian Jews economically, socially and politically here or abroad; disseminates information about Roumanian Jewish activities.


WORKMEN'S CIRCLE (1900). 45 E. 33 St., N.Y.C. 10016. Pres. Harold Ostroff; Exec. Sec. William Stern. Provides fraternal benefits and activities, Jewish educational program, secularist Yiddish schools for children, community activities, both in Jewish life and on the American scene, cooperation with the labor movement. Kultur un Lebn; The Call.

__—__, DIVISION OF JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE (see p. 450).

SOCIAL WELFARE

AMERICAN JEWISH CORRECTIONAL CHAPLAINS ASSOCIATION, INC. (formerly NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH PRISON CHAPLAINS) (1937). 10 E. 73 St., N.Y.C., 10021. (Cooperating with the New York Board of Rabbis and Jewish Family Service.) Pres. Irving Koslowe; V. Pres. Erwin Zimet. Seeks to provide a more articulate expression for Jewish chaplains serving the needs of Jewish men and women in penal and correctional institutions, and to make their ministry more effective through exchange of views and active cooperation.

AMERICAN JEWISH SOCIETY FOR SERVICE, INC., (1949). 15 E. 26 St., Rm. 1302, N.Y.C. 10010. Pres. E. Kenneth Marks, Sec. Leveritt Wallace. Conducts 4 voluntary work service camps each summer to enable young people to live their faith by serving other people. Newsletter.


Baron de Hirsch Fund, Inc. (1891). 386 Park Ave. S., N.Y.C., 10016. Pres. Robert Simons; Mng. Dir. Theodore Norman. Aids Jewish immigrants and their children in the U.S., Israel, and elsewhere by giving grants to agencies active in educational and vocational fields; has limited program for scholarships and study tours in U.S.


______: Anti-Defamation League of (see p. 449).

______: Career and Counseling Services (1938). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Chmn. Irving Rubenstein, Sr.; Nat. Dir. S. Norman Feingold. Conducts educational and occupational research and engages in a broad publications program; also provides direct guidance services for youths and adults through professionally conducted regional offices in many population centers. B'nai B'rith Career and Counseling Services Newsletter; Career Briefs; Catalogue of Publications; Counselors Information Service.

______: Hillel Foundations, Inc. (see p. 458).

______: International Association of Hillel Directors (see p. 461).


______, Youth Organization (see p. 458).

City of Hope—A National Medical Center Under Jewish Auspices (1913). 208 W. 8 St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90014. Pres. M. E. Hersch; Exec. Dir. Ben Horowitz. Admits on completely free, nonsectarian basis patients from all parts of the nation suffering from cancer and leukemia, blood, heart, and chest ailments, and certain maladies of heredity and metabolism including diabetes; makes available its Consultation Service to doctors and hospitals throughout the nation, for diagnosis and treatment of their patients; seeks to influence medicine and science everywhere, affecting treatment, research and education in the catastrophic diseases; seeks improvements in the quality, quantity, economy, and efficiency of health care. Many hundreds of original findings have emerged from its staff who are conducting clinical and basic research in the catastrophic maladies and in lupus erythematosus, Huntington's disease, genetics and the neurosciences. Pilot; President's Newsletter; Torchbearer.


JEWISH CONCILIATION BOARD OF AMERICA, INC. (1920). 33 W. 60 St., N.Y.C. 10023. Pres. Herbert A. Schneider; Exec. Dir. Sidney Wallach. Settles disputes within the Jewish community involving synagogues, lodges, fraternal and benevolent societies, and other communal organizations, as well as individuals who are in controversy with these groups or in personal and family difficulties; attempts to carry out its purposes within the traditional Jewish ideals of justice, without unwarranted delays, and without any cost to those involved in the disputes.


*LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL JEWISH WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS (1925). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. Chmn. Mrs. David M. Levitt; Sec.-Treas. Mrs. Charlotte Stein. Promotes interorganizational understanding and cooperation among the constituent national Jewish women's organizations; brings to the attention of these organizations matters of general and Jewish interest; issues statements and takes action on matters of general and Jewish interest with the consent of the majority of constituent organizations and in the name of these organizations only.*


NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH FAMILY, CHILDREN'S AND HEALTH PROFESSIONALS (1965). 130 East 59 St., N.Y.C. 10022. Pres. Saul Hofstein; Sec. Mrs. Elizabeth Brooks. Brings together Jewish caseworkers and related professionals in Jewish family, children, and health services. Seeks improvement in personnel standards; ways of furthering Jewish continuity and identity; to strengthen Jewish family life and individual identity as Jews; provides forums for professional discussion at national conference of Jewish communal service and regional meetings; takes action on social policy issues; provides a vehicle for representation of Jewish caseworkers and others in various national associations and activities. NACHES.


Dudley I. Solomon. Administers care and treatment to children from the ages of 6 to 15, suffering from chronic, intractable asthma; research and dissemination of information. News From the Home Front; Asthma Progress Report.


National Council of Jewish Prison Chaplains, Inc. (see American Jewish Correctional Chaplains Association, Inc.).

National Council of Jewish Women, Inc. (1893). 1 W. 47 St., N.Y.C., 10036. Nat. Pres. Esther R. Landa; Exec. Dir. Rena P. Button. Operates programs in education, social and legislative action and community service for children and youth, the aging, the disadvantaged in Jewish and general communities; conducts nationwide study of juvenile justice system as basis for legislative reform and community projects; promotes education in Israel through NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education at Hebrew University, Jerusalem; provides educational materials to kindergartens. Council Woman; Washington Newsletter; Children Without Justice; Windows on Day Care.


National Jewish Welfare Board (1917). 15 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. Pres. Daniel Rose; Exec. V. Pres. Herbert Millman. Major service agency for Jewish Community Centers and camps serving more than a million Jews; Government accredited agency for providing services and programs to Jewish military families and hospitalized veterans; promotes Jewish culture through its Book and Music Councils, JWB lecture bureau, and Jewish educational, cultural and Israel-related projects. JWB Circle; Jewish Community Center Program Aids; Jewish Bookland; Jewish Music Notes; Running the Center; JWB Facts; Public Relations Idea Exchange; JWB Personnel Reporter; Sherut; The Jewish Chaplain; Jewish Lay Leader; Mail Call; Mrs. G.I.

———; Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy (1940). 15 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. Chmn. Rabbi Eric Friedland; Dir. Rabbi Aryeh Lev. Recruits, endorses, and serves Jewish military and Veterans Administration chaplains on behalf of the American Jewish community and the three major rabbinic bodies; trains and assists Jewish lay leaders where there are no chaplains, for service to Jewish military personnel, their families, and hospitalized veterans. Jewish Chaplain; Jewish Lay Leader.

———, Jewish Book Council (see p. 453).

———, Jewish Music Council (see p. 454).

World Federation of Jewish Community Centers (1947). 15 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. Pres. Morton L. Mandel; Dir. Emanuel Berlatsky. Serves as a council of Jewish community center movements in various countries; as the vehicle for international conferences of lay and professional leaders; stimulates intercountry relationships, visits, conferences and communications; issues periodic newsletters reporting on developments in various lands.

Zionist and Pro-Israel

America-Israel Cultural Foundation, Inc. (1939). 4 East 54 St., N.Y.C. 10022. Chmn. of Bd. William Mazer, Isaac Stern; Pres. Bernard Mandelbaum; Chmn. Exec. Com. David Berg. Membership organization supporting Israeli cultural institutions, such as Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, Habimah Theater, Inbal dancers, Tel Aviv Museum, and academies of mu-
American Committee for Shaare Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem, Inc. (1949). 6 E. 46 Street, N.Y.C., 10017. Pres. Leo Jung; Bd. Chmn. Max Stern; Sec. Isaac Strahl; Treas. Norbert Strauss. Raises funds for the various needs of the Shaare Zedek Hospital, Jerusalem, such as equipment and medical supplies, as well as general maintenance of present hospital and building funds for Shaare Zedek Medical Center now under construction. At the Hospital: Heartbeat.


American Friends of Haifa University (1969). 500 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10036. Pres. Charles J. Bensley; V. Pres.-Sec. Nathan S. Ancell. Supports the development and maintenance of the various programs of the University of Haifa, among them the Arab Jewish center, Carmel Center for Judaism; schools of management and hotel management; arranges study and teaching programs for American students and professors at the university, and for their Israeli counterparts in the United States.

American Friends of Religious Freedom in Israel (1963). P.O. Box 30323, Washington, D.C., 20014. Exec. Dir. Alex Hershaft. Calls for complete religious freedom and separation of church and state in Israel; publicizes violations of religious freedom to bring the influence of benevolent opinion of the American Jewish community to bear on solution of this problem; assists other groups and individuals working toward these goals.


American Friends of the Jerusalem Mental Health Center—Ezrath Nashim Inc. (1895). 10 E. 40 St., N.Y.C., 10016. Pres. Joel Finkle; Exec. Dir. George M. Lewis. Supports the growth, development, and maintenance of Jerusalem Mental Health Center-Ezrath Nashim in Jerusalem, Israel, a 200-bed hospital which is the only non-governmental, nonprofit, voluntary mental-health facility in Israel devoted to research in, training for, and treatment and alleviation of, problems caused by mental illness. Newsletter.


unite all those who, notwithstanding differing philosophies of Jewish life, are committed to the historical ideals of Zionism; works, independently of class or party, for the welfare of Israel as a whole. Not identified with any political parties in Israel. Bulletin of the American Jewish League for Israel.


AMERICAN RED MAGEN DAVID FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1941). 888 7th Ave., N.Y.C., 10019. Nat. Pres. Joseph Handleman; Nat. Chmn. Emanuel Celler; Nat. Exec. Dir Benjamin Saxe. An authorized tax exempt organization; the sole support arm in the United States of Magen David Adom in Israel with a national membership and chapter program. Educates and involves its members in activities of Magen David Adom, Israel's Red Cross Service; raises funds for MDA's emergency medical services, including collection and distribution of blood and blood products for Israel's military and civilian population; supplies ambulances, blood-mobiles, and mobile cardiac rescue units serving all hospitals and communities throughout Israel; supports MDA's 73 emergency medical clinics and helps provide training and equipment for volunteer emergency paramedical corps. Chapter Highlights; Lifeline.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR TECHNION-ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, INC. (1940) 271 Madison Ave., N.Y.C., 10016. Pres. Henry Taub; Exec. V. Pres. Charles I. Scher. Supports the work of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa, which trains 9,000 students in 23 departments and medical school, and conducts research across a broad spectrum of science and technology. ATS Newsletter; ATS Women's Division Newsletter.

AMERICAN ZIONIST FEDERATION (1939; reorg. 1949 and 1970). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. Pres. Mrs. Max Schenk; Exec. Dir. Samuel I. Cohen. Consolidates the efforts of the existing Zionist constituency in such areas as public and communal affairs, education, youth and aliyah, and invites the affiliation and participation of like-minded individuals and organizations in the community-at-large. Seeks to conduct a Zionist program designed to create a greater appreciation of Jewish culture within the American Jewish community in furtherance of the continuity of Jewish life and the spiritual centrality of Israel as the Jewish homeland. Composed of 14 National Zionist organizations; 10 Zionist youth movements; individual members-at-large; corporate affiliates. Maintains regional offices in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, and New York.

AMERICAN ZIONIST YOUTH FOUNDATION, INC. (1973). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C. 10022. Chmn. Bd. of Trustees David Sidorsky; Exec. Dir. Chaim Ganel. Sponsors educational programs and services for American Jewish youth including tours to Israel, programs of volunteer service or study in leading institutions of science, scholarship and arts. Also prepares and provides specialists who present and interpret the Israeli experience for community centers and federations throughout the country.

shimim, Ichud Habonim, Masado of ZOA.

AMERICANS FOR A MUSIC LIBRARY IN ISRAEL (1950). 220 S. State St., Rm. 1208, Chicago, Ill., 60604. Pres. Samuel Barliant; Exec. V. Pres. Mrs. Samuel Barliant. Promotes and encourages music education in Israel through financial and other assistance; supplies all material for nine music libraries; grants music scholarships in Israel; popularizes Israeli music works in the principal cities of the United States. AMLI News.


Dror—YOUNG ZIONIST ORGANIZATION, INC. (1948). 215 Park Ave. S., N.Y.C. 10003 Pres. Robby Regev; Sec. Naomi Kaminsky. Fosters Zionist program, for youth with emphasis on aliyah to the Kibbutz Ha'meuchad; stresses Jewish and labor education; maintains leadership seminar and work-study programs in Israel, summer camps in the U.S. and Canada. Sponsors two garinim in Israel. Alon Dror; Igeret Dror.


HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. (1912). 65 E. 52 St., N.Y.C., 10022. Pres. Mrs. Max Matzkin; Exec. Dir. Aline Kaplan. In America helps interpret Israel to the American people; provides basic Jewish education as a background for intelligent and creative Jewish living in America; sponsors Hashchar, largest Zionist youth movement in U.S., which has four divisions; Young Judaea, Intermediate Judaea, Senior Judaea, and Hamagshimim; operates eight Zionist youth camps in this country; supports summer and all-year-courses in Israel. Maintains in Israel Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center for healing, teaching, and research; Hadassah Community College, SeligSBgs.Brandeis Comprehensive High School, Hadassah Vocational Guidance Institute. Is principal U.S. contributor to Youth Aliyah children's villages and all-day centers and to the Jewish National Fund for land purchase and reclamation. Hadassah Headlines; Hadassah Magazine.


HASHOMER HATZAIR, INC. 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 700, N.Y.C., 10011.

Movement of the Jewish people; educates members towards an understanding of their Jewishness and progressive values: dignity of labor, social justice, and the brotherhood of nations. Background Bulletin; For Your Information; Israel Horizons.

SOCIALIST ZIONIST YOUTH MOVEMENT (1923). Nat. Sec. Ya'ar Pelzig; Dir. Etai Pedan. Seeks to imbue Jewish youth with national awareness and socialist-Zionist values in centers and camps run by, and for, youth; attempts to organize oldest leadership in settlement groups for aliyah and settlement in kibbutzim of Kibbutz Federation Artzi. Igeret Kesher; Information Bulletin; LaMadrich; Youth and Nation.


THEODOR HERZL INSTITUTE. Chmn. Jacques Torczyner. Conducts a Zionist adult education program through classes, lectures, and academic conferences. Operates Ulpan center and serves the community through an extension service. Herzl Institute Bulletin.


ISRAEL MUSIC FOUNDATION (1948). 109 Cedarhurst Ave., Cedarhurst, N.Y. 11516. Pres. Oscar Regen; Sec. Oliver Sabin. Supports and stimulates the growth of music in Israel, and disseminates recorded Israeli music in the U.S. and throughout the world.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA (1901). 42 E. 69 St., N.Y.C., 10021. Pres. Meyer Pesin; Exec. V. Pres. Abram Salomon. Exclusive fund-raising agency of the world Zionist movement for the afforestation, reclamation, and development of the land of Israel including the construction of roads and preparation of sites for new settlements; helps emphasize the importance of Israel in schools and synagogues throughout the world. JNF Almanac; Land and Life.


LABOR ZIONIST ALLIANCE reorg. (formerly FARBAND LABOR ZIONIST ORDER, now uniting also membership and branches of POALE ZION—UNITED LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA and AMERICAN HABONIM ASSOCIATION) (1913). 575 Sixth Ave., N.Y.C., 10011. Pres. Judah J. Shapiro; Exec. V. Pres., Sec. Jacob Katzman. Seeks to enhance Jewish life, culture, and education in U.S. and Canada; aids in building State of Israel as a cooperative commonwealth, and its Labor movement organized in the Histadrut; supports efforts toward a more democratic society throughout the world; furthers the democratization of the Jewish community in America and the wel-

HERZL PRESS. Ed. Marie Syrkin. Publishes books and pamphlets on modern Israel, Zionism, and general Jewish subjects.

THEODOR HERZL INSTITUTE Bulletin.


LABOR ZIONIST ALLIANCE reorg. (formerly FARBAND LABOR ZIONIST ORDER, now uniting also membership and branches of POALE ZION—UNITED LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA and AMERICAN HABONIM ASSOCIATION) (1913). 575 Sixth Ave., N.Y.C., 10011. Pres. Judah J. Shapiro; Exec. V. Pres., Sec. Jacob Katzman. Seeks to enhance Jewish life, culture, and education in U.S. and Canada; aids in building State of Israel as a cooperative commonwealth, and its Labor movement organized in the Histadrut; supports efforts toward a more democratic society throughout the world; furthers the democratization of the Jewish community in America and the wel-
fare of Jews everywhere; works with Labor and liberal forces in America. Alli-
ance News, Jewish Frontier; Yiddisher Kemfer.


AMERICAN TRADE UNION COUN-
CIL FOR HISTADRUT (1947). 33 E. 67 St., N.Y.C., 10021. Chmn. Matthew Schoen-

PEC ISRAEL ECONOMIC CORPORATION (formerly PALESTINE ECONOMIC CORPO-
ters economic development of Israel on a business basis through investments. Annual Report.

P.E.F. ISRAEL ENDOWMENT FUNDS, INC. (1922). 511 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10017. Pres. Sidney Musher; Sec. Ruth Ginz-
berg. Uses funds for Israeli educational and philanthropic institutions and for constructive relief, modern education, and scientific research in Israel. Annual Report.

operation with Moetzet Hapoalot a widespread network of educational and social services for children, youth and women in Israel. Provides counseling and legal aid services for women, particularly war widows. Authorized agency of Youth Aliyah. In America, supports Jewish educational, youth, cultural programs; participates in civic affairs. Pioneer Woman Journal.


WOMEN'S DIVISION OF (1948). 147 W. 42 St., N.Y.C., 10036. Pres. Mrs. Mina Presser; Sec. Mrs. Miriam Frief-
reich. Assists Poale Agudath Israel to build and support children's homes, kindergartens, and trade schools in Israel. Yediot PAI.


RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS OF AMERICA 25 W. 26 St., N.Y.C. 10010.

BNEI AKIVA OF NORTH AMERICA (1934). 25 W. 26 St., N.Y.C. 10010. Pres. Machum Baruchi; Exec. Dir. Chaim Lip-
nick. Seeks to interest youth in aliya to Israel and a life based on religious observ-
ance and social justice through pioneering (chalutzut); sponsors five summer camps, a work-study program on a religious kibbutz for high school graduates, summer tours to Israel, and other youth activities; establishes nuclei of college students for kibbutz settlement. Akivon; Hamnaser; Pinkas Lamadrich.

HAPOEL HAMizrACHI, WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF (1948). 1123 Broad-


UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC. (1927). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. Chmn. of Bd. Melvin Dubinsky; Exec. V. Chmn. Irving Kessler. As principal beneficiary of the United Jewish Appeal campaign, allocates funds for specifically designated projects and undertakings in Israel, which are administered by the Jewish Agency for Israel as agent for the UIA.

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE—SPORTS FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1948). 130 E. 59 St., N.Y.C. 10021. Pres. Nat Holman; Michael M. Rand. Fields and selects U.S. team for participation in the Maccabiah Games in Israel every four years. Promotes physical education, fitness and sports for Israel; supports Wingate Institute for Physical Education and Sport in Natanya, Israel; maintains scholarship program for Israeli students, athletes, teachers, coaches to study in U.S., ships sports equipment to Israel. *Newsletter.*


World Zionist Organization-American Section (1971). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. Chmn. Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson; Exec. V. Chmn. Isadore Hamlin. As the American section of the overall Zionist body throughout the world it operates primarily in the field of aliyah from the free countries, education in the diaspora, youth and hechalutz, organization and information, cultural institutions, publications, and handling activities of Jewish National Fund; conducts a worldwide Hebrew cultural program including special seminars and pedagogic manuals; disperses information about and assists in research projects concerning Israel; promotes, publishes, and distributes books, periodicals, and pamphlets concerning developments in Israel, Zionism, and Jewish history; sponsors "Panoramas de Israel" radio program in the Latin American countries. Israel Digest; Israel y America Latina.

Zionist Archives and Library of the (1939). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. Dir. and Librarian Mrs. Sylvia Landress. Serves as an archives and information service for material on Israel, Palestine, the Middle East, and Zionism.


Professional Associations*

American Conference of Cantors (Religious, Educational)
American Jewish Correctional Chaplains Association, Inc. (Social Welfare)
American Jewish Press Association (Cultural)

Association of Jewish Center Workers (Community Relations)
Association of Jewish Chaplains of the Armed Forces (Religious, Educational)
Association of Jewish Community Relations Workers (Community Relations)
Bureau for Careers in Jewish Service (Community Relations)
Cantors Assembly of America (Religious, Educational)
Council of Jewish Organizations in Civil Service (Community Relations)
Educators Assembly of the United Synagogue of America (Religious, Educational)
International Association of Hillel Directors (Religious, Educational)
International Conference of Jewish Communal Service (Community Relations)
Jewish Ministers Cantors Association of America, Inc. (Religious, Educational)
Jewish Occupational Council, Inc. (Social Welfare)
Jewish Teachers Association—Morim (Religious, Educational)
National Association of Jewish Center Workers (Community Relations)
National Association of Synagogue Administrators, United Synagogue of America (Religious, Educational)
National Association of Temple Administrators, Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Religious, Educational)

*For fuller listing see under categories in parentheses.
WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS*

AMERICAN MIZRACHI WOMEN (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN (Social Welfare)

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE (1948). Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., 02154. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Leon J. Kowal; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Ruth W. Weiss. Responsible for support and maintenance of Brandeis University libraries; sponsors, through its chapters, study-group programs based on faculty-prepared syllabi, a Living History research program, and volunteer work in educational services and a program of New Books for Old sales; constitutes largest "Friends of a Library" group in U.S.

HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL JEWISH WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS (Social Welfare)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN (Social Welfare)

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERSHOODS, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

PIONEER WOMEN, THE WOMEN'S LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

UNITED ORDER OF TRUE SISTERS (Social, Mutual Benefit)

WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT, FEDERATION (Overseas Aid)

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*For fuller listing see under categories in parenthesis.

Kadima (Religious, Educational)

Massorah Intercollegiates of Young Israel, National Council of Young Israel (Religious, Educational)

National Conference of Synagogue Youth, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (Religious, Educational)

National Federation of Temple Youth, Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Religious, Educational)

Noar Mizrachi-Hamishmeret (NOAM) — Religious Zionists of Zmerica (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

North American Jewish Students Appeal (1971). 36 W. 37 St., N.Y.C., 10018. Pres. Steven M. Cohen; Exec. Dir. Susan C. Dessel. Serves as central fund-raising mechanism for national, independent, Jewish student organizations; insures accountability of public Jewish communal funds used by these agencies; assists Jewish students undertaking projects of concern to Jewish communities; advises and assists Jewish organizations in determining student project feasibility and impact; fosters development of Jewish student leadership in the Jewish community; founding constituents include Jewish Student Press Service, North American Jewish Students Network, Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, Yavneh — Religious Zionists of Zmerica; beneficiaries include National Conference of Chavurat and Batim, Conference of Jewish Artists and Craftspeople, and Davka, West Coast Jewish Quarterly.

North American Jewish Students' Network (1969). 36 W. 37 St., N.Y.C., 10018. Chmn. Shifra Bronznick; Sec. Gen. Edwin Freedman. Coordinates information and programs among all Jewish student organizations in North America; promotes development of student-controlled Jewish student organizations; maintains contacts and coordinates programs with Jewish students throughout the world through the World Union of Jewish Students; runs the Jewish Student Speakers Bureau; sponsors regional conferences, and National Jewish Women's Conference and first Pan American Jewish Students Conference. Brasher; Guide to Jewish Student Groups in North America; Network.

New Jewish Media Project (1972). 36 W. 37 St., N.Y.C. 10018. Cochnm. Amram Nowak, Jerry Benjamin. Provides resource and information center for Jewish media; rental center; media production assistance; serve as clearing-house for media producers to advertise, lend, rent or sell products and services. Holds student media seminars, Judaica Filmfest every spring.

O.R.T. Youth Fellowship (Overseas Aid)

North American Jewish Youth Council (Community Relations)

Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, Inc. (Community Relations)

United Synagogue Youth, United Synagogue of America (Religious, Educational)

Yavneh, National Religious Jewish Students Association (Religious, Educational)


Zeirei Agudath Israel, Agudath Israel of America (Religious, Educational)

Canada


CANADIAN YOUNG JUDEA (1917). 788 Marlee Ave., Toronto, Ont., M6B 3K1. Pres. Norman Rosenblum; Exec. Dir. Mark Resnick. Strives to interest Jewish youth in Zionism, Jewish history and current Jewish problems; operates 32 centers across Canada and is sponsored by the Zionist Organization of Canada and Canadian Hadassah-WIZO. Ekronot; HaAf-Af Hashachar; Judeaen; Kliton; Yidion.


—: DEPARTMENT OF HEBREW EDUCATION AND CULTURE (1972). Pres. Philip Givens; Exec. V. Pres. and Dir. of Educ. Leon Kronitz. Provides counselling by pedagogic experts, in-service teacher training courses and seminars in Canada and Israel; teacher placement bureau; national pedagogic council and research centre; publishes and distributes educational material and teaching aids; conducts annual Bible contests and Hebrew language courses for adults. Al Mitzpe Haninuch.


JEWISH COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (1907). 5151 Cote St. Catherine Rd., Montreal, PQ, H3W 1M6. Pres. Lazarus Phillips; V. Pres. Leon de Hirsch Levinson; Treas. Arthur Pascal; Sec. Morley M. Cohen; Mgr. M.J. Lister. Promotes Jewish land settlement in Canada through loans to established farmers; helps new immigrant farmers to purchase farms or settles them on farms owned by the Association; provides agricultural advice and supervision. Contributes funds to Canadian Jewish Loan
Cassa for loans to small businessmen and artisans.


**Jewish National Fund of Canada (Keren Kayemeth Le Israel Inc.) (1902).** 1980 Sherbrooke St. W., Suite 300, Montreal, PQ, H3H 2M7. Nat. Pres. James F. Kay; Exec. V. Pres. Harris D. Gulko. Seeks to create, provide, enlarge, and administer a fund to be made up of voluntary contributions from the Jewish community and others, to be used for charitable purposes. *JNF Bulletin.*


**National Joint Community Relations Committee of Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith in Canada (1936).** 150 Beverley St., Toronto, Ont., 2B. Chmn. Jacie C. Horwitz; Nat. Exec. Dir. Ben G. Kayfetz. Seeks to safeguard the status, rights, and welfare of Jews in Canada; to combat antisemitism and promote understanding and goodwill among all ethnic and religious groups. *Congress Bulletin.*

**United Jewish Relief Agencies of Canada (1936).** Samuel Bronfman House, 1590 McGregor Ave., Montreal PQ, H3G 1C5. Pres. Sol Kanee; Exec. Dir. Sigmund Unterberg. Maintains needy newcomers to Canada and helps them integrate; supports in Israel the needy in homes for the aged as well as handicapped and chronically ill new immigrants and obtains technical and vocational training for others; maintains overseas relief program in cooperation with JDC, ORT, OSE, Alliance Israélite Universelle, HIAS, and Ozar Hatorah. *Cercle Juif de Langue Française; Congress Bulletin.*

**United Jewish Teachers' Seminary (1946).** 5237 Clanranald Ave., Montreal, 248. Dir. A. Aisenbach. Trains teachers for all types of Yiddish and Hebrew schools under auspices of Canadian Jewish Congress. *YTONEU.*

**Zionist Organization of Canada (1892; reorg. 1919).** 788 Marlee Ave., Toronto, Ont., M6B 3K1. Nat. Pres. David Monson; Exec. V. Pres. George Liban. Furthers the general Zionist aims by operating nine youth camps in Canada and one in Israel; produces 2 weekly TV shows “Shalom” and “Jewish Dimensions”; maintains Zionist book club; arranges programs, lectures; sponsors Young Judea, Youth Centre Project in Jerusalem Forest, Israel.
Jewish Federations, Welfare Funds, Community Councils

This directory is one of a series compiled annually by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. Virtually all of these community organizations are affiliated with the Council as their national association for sharing of common services, interchange of experience, and joint consultation and action.

These communities comprise at least 95 percent of the Jewish population of the United States and about 90 percent of the Jewish population of Canada. Listed for each community is the local central agency—federation, welfare fund, or community council—with its address and the names of the president and executive officer.

The names "federation," "welfare fund," and "Jewish community council" are not definitive and their structures and functions vary from city to city. What is called a federation in one city, for example, may be called a community council in another. In the main these central agencies have responsibility for some or all of the following functions: (a) raising of funds for local, national, and overseas services; (b) allocation and distribution of funds for these purposes; (c) coordination and central planning of local services, such as family welfare, child care, health, recreation, community relations within the Jewish community and with the general community, Jewish education, care of the aged, and vocational guidance; to strengthen these services, eliminate duplication, and fill gaps; (d) in small and some intermediate cities, direct administration of local social services.

In the directory, the following symbols are used:

(*) Member agency of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.
(t) Receives support from Community Chest.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

BIRMINGHAM

*† BIRMINGHAM JEWISH FEDERATION (1935; reorg. 1971); P.O. Box 9157 (35213); Pres. Joel Rotenstreich; Exec. Dir. Seymour Marcus.

*JEWAISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1962); P.O. Box 7377, 3960 Montclair Rd. (35223); Pres. Michael Pizitz; Exec. Dir. Harold E. Katz.

MOBILE

*MONTGOMERY, INC. (1930); P.O. Box 1150 (36102); Pres. Joe D. Mussafer; Sec. Mrs. Jeanette C. Waldo.
TRI-CITIES
* Tri-Cities Jewish Federation Charities, Inc. (1933; Inc. 1956); Pres. Mrs. M. F. Shipper, Route 7, Florence (35632).

ARIZONA

PHOENIX
* Greater Phoenix Jewish Federation (incl. surrounding communities) (1940); 1718 W. Maryland Ave. (85015); Pres. David Frazer; Exec. Dir. Saul Silverman.

TUCSON
* † Jewish Community Council (1942); 102 N. Plumer (85719); Pres. Donald Diamond; Exec. V. Pres. Benjamin N. Brook.

ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK
* Jewish Welfare Agency, Inc. (1911); 221 Donaghey Bldg; Main at 7th (72201); Pres. Alan R. Thalheimer; Exec. Sec. Miss Isabel Cooper.

CALIFORNIA

LONG BEACH
* Jewish Community Federation (1937); (sponsors the United Jewish Welfare Fund); 2601 Grand Ave. (90815); Pres. Robert Baldwin; Exec. Dir. Sol Frankel.

LOS ANGELES
* † Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles (1912; reorg. 1959) (sponsors United Jewish Welfare Fund); 590 N. Vermont Ave. (90004); Pres. Mrs. Lawrence J. Weinberg; Exec. Dir. Ted Kanner.

OAKLAND
* † Jewish Welfare Federation of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties (1918); 3245 Sheffield Ave. (94602); Pres. Joseph Zatkin; Exec. Dir. Oscar A. Mintzer.

ORANGE COUNTY
* Jewish Federation-Council of Orange County (1964; Inc. 1965); (sponsors United Jewish Welfare Fund); 17291 Irvine Blvd., #407, Tustin (92680); Pres. Robert Kerr; Exec. Dir. Mortimer Greenberg.

PALM SPRINGS
* Jewish Welfare Federation of Palm Springs-Desert Area (1971); 611 S. Palm Canyon Dr. #210 (92262); Pres. Roy Fey; Exec. Dir. Irving Spivack.

SACRAMENTO
* † Jewish Federation of Sacramento (1948); 2418 K St., Suite A (95816); Pres. Oscar Morvai; Exec. Dir. Nathan Rothberg.

SAN BERNARDINO

SAN DIEGO

SAN FRANCISCO
* † Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco, Marin County and the Peninsula (1910; reorg. 1955); 220 Bush St., Room 645 (94104); Pres. Mrs. William H. Green; Exec. V. Pres. Louis Weintraub.

SAN JOSE
* † Jewish Federation of Greater San Jose (incl. Santa Clara County except Palo Alto and Los Altos) (1930; reorg. 1950); 1777 Hamilton Ave., Suite 201 (95125); Pres. Melvin Cotton; Exec. Dir. Donald A. Glazer.

SANTA BARBARA
Santa Barbara Jewish Federation, P.O. Box 3314 (93105); Pres. Gerald W. Walter.

STOCKTON

VENTURA
Ventura County Jewish Council—Temple Beth Torah (1938); 7620 Foothill Rd. (93003); Pres. Paul Karlsberg.

COLORADO

DENVER
* Allied Jewish Community Council (1936); (sponsors Allied Jewish Campaign); 400 Kittredge Bldg. (80202); Pres.

**CONNECTICUT**

**BRIDGEPORT**
- *United Jewish Council of Greater Bridgeport, Inc.* (1936); (sponsors *United Jewish Campaign*); 4200 Park Ave. (06604); Pres. Stanley Manasevit; Exec. Dir. Sanford Lupovitz.

**DANBURY**
- *Jewish Federation of Danbury* (1945); P.O. Box 446 (06810); Pres. Edward D. Lubin.

**HARTFORD**
- *Hartford Jewish Federation* (1945); 333 Bloomfield Ave., W. Hartford (06117); Pres. I. Martin Fierberg; Exec. Dir. Harold Cohen.

**MERIDEN**
- *Meriden Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc.* (1944); 127 E. Main St. (06450); Pres. Joseph Barker; Sec. Harold Rosen.

**NEW BRITAIN**
- *New Britain Jewish Federation* (1946); 272 Main St. (06051); Pres. Jack Smith; Exec. Dir. Ms. Sue Neumann.

**NEW HAVEN**
- *New Haven Jewish Community Council, Inc.* (1928); (sponsors Combined Jewish Appeal) (1969); 1184 Chapel St. (06511); Pres. Herbert Setlow; Exec. Dir. Arthur Spiegel.

**NEW LONDON**

**NORWALK**
- *Jewish Community Council of Norwalk* (1946; reorg. 1964); Shorehaven Rd., East Norwalk (06855); Pres. Milton B. Josem; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Beatrice Nemzer.

**STAMFORD**
- *United Jewish Federation* (Reincorp. 1973); 132 Prospect St. (06901); Pres. Saul Kwartin; Exec. Dir. Sandor Sherman.

**WATERBURY**
- *Jewish Federation of Waterbury, Inc.* (1938); 1020 Country Club Rd. (06720); Pres. Burton Albert; Exec. Dir. Burton Lazarow.

**DELAWARE**

**WILMINGTON**
- *Jewish Federation of Delaware, Inc.* (1935); 701 Shipley St. (19801); Pres. Richard L. Kane; Exec. Dir. Nathan Barnett.

**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

**WASHINGTON**

**FLORIDA**

**HOLLYWOOD**
- *Greater Miami Jewish Federation* (1943); 2838 Hollywood Blvd. (33020); Pres. Herbert D. Katz; Exec. Dir. Robert N. Kerbel.

**JACKSONVILLE**

**MIAMI**
- *Greater Miami Jewish Federation* (1938); 4200 Biscayne Blvd. (33137); Pres. Harry B. Smith; Exec. V. Pres. Myron J. Brodie.

**ORLANDO**
- *Central Florida Jewish Community Council, Inc.* (1949); 851 No. Maitland Ave; Maitland (32751); Pres. Richard Weiner; Exec. Dir. Harold H. Benowitz.

**PALM BEACH**
- *Jewish Federation of Palm Beach County, Inc.* (1938); 502 Citizens Building, W. Palm Beach (33401); Pres. Mrs. Bette Gilbert; Exec. Dir. Clifford R. Josephson.

**PENSACOLA**
- *Pensacola Federated Jewish Charities* (1942); 1320 E. Lee St. (32503); Pres. Gene Rosenbaum; Sec. Mrs. Harry Saffer.

**ST. PETERSBURG**
- *Jewish Federation of Pinellas County, Inc.* (1950; reincorp. 1974); 8167 Elbow Lane North, P. O. Box 12868 (33733); Pres. Sylvan Orloff; Exec. Dir. Louis B. Solomon.

**SARASOTA**
- *Sarasota Jewish Community Council, Inc.* (1959); 1900 Main Bldg., Suite
TAMPA
* Jewish Community Council of Tampa, Inc. (1941); 2808 Horatio (33609); Pres. Stanley W. Rosenkranz; Exec. Dir. Don Cooper.

GEORGIA
ATLANTA
* † Atlanta Jewish Welfare Federation, Inc. (1905; reorg. 1967); 1753 Peachtree Rd., N.E. (30309); Pres. Sidney Feldman; Exec. Dir. Max C. Gettinger.

AUGUSTA
* Federation of Jewish Charities (1937); P.O. Box 3251, Hill Station (30904) c/o Hill L. Silver, Treas; Pres. Louis Scharff, III

COLUMBUS
* Jewish Welfare Federation of Columbus, Inc. (1941); P.O. Box 1303 (31902); Pres. Paul Witt; Sec. David Helman

SAVANNAH
*Savannah Jewish Council (1943); (sponsors UJA-Federation Campaign); P.O. Box 6546, 5111 Abercorn St. (31405); Pres. Mrs. Basil Lukin; Exec. Dir. Irwin B. Giffen.

IDAHO
BOISE
Southern Idaho Jewish Welfare Fund (1947); 1776 Commerce Ave. (83705); Pres. Kal Sarlat; Treas. Martin Heuman.

ILLINOIS
CHAMPAIGN-URBANA
* Federated Jewish Charities (1929); (member Central Illinois Jewish Federation); 1707 Parkhaven Dr., Champaign (61820); Co-Chmn. Ira Lebenson, Paul Weichsel; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Donald Ginsberg.

CHICAGO
* † Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago (1900); 1 S. Franklin St. (60606); Pres. Sidney J. Hess, Jr.; Exec. Dir. James P. Rice.
* Jewish United Fund of Metropolitan Chicago (1968); 1 S. Franklin St. (60606); Pres. Sidney J. Hess, Jr.; Exec. Dir. James P. Rice.

DECATUR
* Jewish Federation (member Central Illinois Jewish Federation) (1942) 78 Montgomery Pl. (62522); Pres. A. E. Schaar.

ELGIN
* Elgin Area Jewish Welfare Chest (1938); 330 Division St. (60120); Pres. Mrs. Sibyl Kaplan; Treas. Gerald Levine.

JOLIET
* Joliet Jewish Welfare Chest (1938) 250 N. Midland Ave. (60435); Pres. Abe Ordman; Sec. Rabbi Morris M. Hershman.

PEORIA
* Central Illinois Jewish Federation (1969); 718 Central Bldg. (61602); Pres. Arthur Robinson; Exec. Dir. Peretz Katz.
* Jewish Community Council & Welfare Fund of Peoria (member Central Illinois Jewish Federation) (1933; Inc. 1947); 718 Central Bldg. (61602); Pres. Max J. Lipkin; Exec. Dir. Peretz A. Katz.

ROCK ISLAND—MOLINE—DAVENPORT—BETTENDORF
* United Jewish Charities of Quad Cities (1938; comb. 1973); 1804 7th Ave., Rock Island (61201); Pres. Bernard Weindruch; Sec. Lawrence Satin.

ROCKFORD
* † Rockford Jewish Community Council (1937); 1502 Parkview Ave. (61107); Pres. Benjamin Schaider; Exec. Dir. Daniel Tannenbaum.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS
* Jewish Federation of Southern Illinois (incl. all of Illinois south of Carlinville and Cape Girardeau, Missouri) (1941); 327 Missouri Ave., Rm. 412, East St. Louis, Ill. (62201); Pres. Aaron Karchmer; Exec. Dir. Hyman H. Ruffman.

SPRINGFIELD
* † Springfield Jewish Federation (member Central Illinois Jewish Federation) (1941); 730 E. Vine St. (62703); Pres. Miss Annette Feuer; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Elaine Vernick.
INDIANA

EVANSVILLE
* EVANSVILLE JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, INC. (1936; Inc. 1964); 100 Washington Ave., c/o Washington Ave. Temple (47713); Pres. Philip Siegel; Exec. Dir. Bernard Lavine.

FORT WAYNE
* † FORT WAYNE JEWISH FEDERATION (1921); 227 E. Washington Blvd. (46802); Pres. Robert S. Walters; Exec. Dir. Benjamin Eisbart.

INDIANAPOLIS
* JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION, INC. (1905); 615 N. Alabama St. (46204); Pres. Irwin Katz; Exec. V. Pres. Frank H. Newman.

LAFAYETTE
* FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES (1924); P.O. Box 676 (47902); Pres. Raymond Cohen; Fin. Sec. Louis Pearlman, Jr.

MICHIGAN CITY
* UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND OF MICHIGAN CITY; 2800 Franklin St. (46360); Treas. Harold Leinwand.

MUNCIE
MUNCIE JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1945); c/o Beth El Temple, P.O. Box 2792 (47302); Chmn. Sam Dobrow; Treas. Jack Hertz.

NORTHWEST INDIANA
* † NORTHWEST INDIANA JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (1941; reorg. 1959); 4844 Broadway, Gary (46408); Pres. Mrs. Sheldon Block; Exec. Dir. Barnett Labowitz.

SOUTH BEND
* JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF ST. JOSEPH COUNTY (1946); 312 Commerce Bldg. (46601); Exec. Dir. Bernard Natkow.

IOWA

CEDAR RAPIDS
JEWISH WELFARE FUND OF Linn County (1941); 510 Guaranty Bldg. (52401); Chmn. Norman Lipsky; Treas. Maurice Nathanson.

DES MOINES
* JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION OF DES MOINES (1914); 315 Securities Bldg. (50309); Pres. Marvin Pomerantz; Exec. Dir. Dr. Gerald Ferman.

SIOUX CITY
* † JEWISH FEDERATION (1921); 525–14 St. (51105); Pres. Burton Lipshutz; Exec. Dir. Stanley H. Bard.

WATERLOO
* WATERLOO JEWISH FEDERATION (1941); c/o Congregation Sons of Jacob, 411 Mitchell Ave. (50702); Pres. Irving Uze.

KANSAS

TOPEKA
TOPEKA-LAWRENCE JEWISH FEDERATION (1939); 101 Redbud Lane (66607); Pres. William Rudnick.

WICHITA
* MID-KANSAS JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION, INC. (1935); 6306 E. 12 St. (07208); Pres. Richard B. Matassarin.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE
* JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF LOUISVILLE, INC. (1934); (sponsors of UNITED JEWISH CAMPAIGN); 702 Marion E. Taylor Bldg. (40202); Pres. Farrell E. Salzman; Exec. Dir. Marshall Jacobson.

LOUISIANA

ALEXANDRIA
* THE JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION AND COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF CENTRAL LOUISIANA (1938); 1111 Main St. (71301); Pres. Nathan Kaplan; Sec.-Tres. Mrs. George Kuplesky.

BATON ROUGE
* GREATER BATON ROUGE JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (1971); P. O. Box 15123 (70815); Pres. Allan R. Brent; Adm. Asst. Mrs. Betty Shapiro.

MONROE
* UNITED JEWISH CHARITIES OF NORTHEAST LOUISIANA (1938); 2400 Orrel Pl. (71201); Pres. Herman Hirsch; Sec-Treas. Mrs. L. H. Brueck.

NEW ORLEANS
* † JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION OF NEW ORLEANS (1913; reorg. 1962); 211 Camp St. (70130); Pres. John N. Weinstock; Exec. Dir. Morton J. Gaba.

SHREVEPORT
* SHREVEPORT JEWISH FEDERATION (1941; Inc. 1967); 1021 Lane Bldg. (70301); Pres. Morris Lipshutz; Exec. Dir. Walter J. Freeman.
JEWISH FEDERATIONS, FUNDS, COUNCILS / 493

(71101); Pres. Simon Herold; Exec. Dir. Emanuel M. Kumin.

MAINE

BANGOR
† Jewish Community Council (1949); 28 Somerset St. (04401); Pres. Jerry Williams; Exec. Dir. Lawrence Schneider.

LEWISTON-AUBURN
* Jewish Federation (1947) (sponsors the United Jewish Appeal); 134 College St., Lewiston (04240); Chmn. Burton Wilner; Exec. Dir. Paul Jeser.

PORTLAND
* Jewish Federation Community Council of Southern Maine (1942); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 341 Cumberland Ave. (04101); Pres. Alan J. Levenson; Exec. Dir. Norman Mogul.

MARYLAND

ANNAPOLIS
Annapolis Jewish Welfare Fund (1946); 188 S. Southwood Ave. (21401); Pres. Anton Grobani; Treas. Elerk Rosenbloom.

Baltimore

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON
* † Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston, Inc. (1895; reorg. 1961); 72 Franklin St. (02110); Pres. Norman B. Leventhal; Exec. Dir. Bernard Olshansky.

BROCKTON
* Combined Jewish Philanthropies of the Brockton Area, Inc. (1939); 71 Legion Pkway. (02401); Pres. Herbert Bernstein.

FALL RIVER
* Fall River Jewish Community Council (1949); 624 Florence St. (02721); Pres. Irving Fradkin.
* Fall River United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (1949); 41 N. Main St., Rm. 310 (02720); Chmn. Benjamin Gottlieb.

FITCHEBURG
Jewish Federation of Fitchburg (1939); 40 Boutelle St. (01420); Pres. Elliot L. Zide; Treas. Allen I. Rome.

FRAMINGHAM
* Framingham Jewish Federation (1968; Inc. 1969); 1000 Worcester Road, Framingham Centre (01701); Pres. Max Michelson; Exec. Dir. Howard G. Joress.

HAVERHILL
Haverhill United Jewish Appeal, Inc.; 514 Main St. (01830); Pres. Robert Brody; Exec. Dir. Joseph H. Elgart.

HOLYOKE
* Combined Jewish Appeal of Holyoke (1939); 378 Maple St. (01040); Pres. Herbert Goldberg; Exec. Dir. Dov Sussman.

LAWRENCE
Jewish Community Council of Greater Lawrence (1906); 580 Haverhill St. (01841); Pres. Sumner Berenson; Exec. Dir. Irving Linn.

LEOMINSTER
* Leominster Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1939); 30 Grove Ave. (01453); Pres. Marc Levine; Sec.-Treas. Mrs. Edith Chatkis.

MARBLEHEAD
* Jewish Federation of the North Shore, Inc. (1938); 4 Community Rd. (01945); Pres. Norman Epstein; Exec. Dir. Marvin Schpeiser.

NEW BEDFORD
* Jewish Welfare Federation of Greater New Bedford, Inc. (1938; Inc. 1954); 467 Hawthorn St., North Dartmouth (02747); Pres. Morris L. Finger; Exec. Dir. Gerald A. Kleinman.

PITTSFIELD
† Jewish Community Council (1940); 235 E. St. (01201); Pres. Arthur Wasser; Exec. Dir. Sanford Lubin.

SPRINGFIELD
* Springfield Jewish Federation, Inc. (1938); (sponsors United Jewish Welfare Fund); 1160 Dickinson (01108); Pres. William Foggle; Exec. Dir. Eli Asher.

WORCESTER
* Worcester Jewish Federation, Inc. (1947; Inc. 1957); (sponsors Jewish Welfare Fund, 1939); 633 Salisbury St.
MICHIGAN

BAY CITY
Northeastern Michigan Jewish Welfare Federation (1940); 1100 Center Ave., Apt. 305 (48706); Sec. Mrs. Hanna Hertzenberg.

DETROIT
* t Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit (1899); (sponsors Allied Jewish Campaign); Fred M. Butzel Memorial Bldg., 163 Madison (48226); Pres. Mandell L. Berman; Exec. V. Pres. William Avrunin.

FLINT
* Jewish Community Council (1936); 120 Kearsley St. (48502); Pres. Michael A. Pelavin; Exec. Dir. Richard Krieger.

GRAND RAPIDS
* Jewish Community Fund of Grand Rapids (1930); 1121 Keneberry Way S.E. (49506); Pres. Abe Krissoff; Sec. Mrs. William Deutsch.

KALAMAZOO
* Kalamazoo Jewish Federation (1949); 2902 Bronson Blvd. (49001); Pres. Martin H. Kalb.

KANSAS CITY
* t Jewish Federation & Council of Greater Kansas City (1933); 25 E. 12 St. (64106); Pres. H. Paul Rosenberg; Exec. Dir. Sol Koenigsberg.

LONG ISLAND
* Jewish Welfare Federation of Long Island (1939); 700 Lindberg Dr. (48910); Pres. Francis N. Fine.

SAGINAW
* Saginaw Jewish Welfare Federation (1939); 1424 S. Washington (48607); Pres. Norman Rotenberg; Fin. Sec. Mrs. Henry Feldman.

MINNESOTA

DULUTH
* Jewish Federation & Community Council (1937); 1602 E. 2nd St. (55812); Pres. Robert Goldish; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Jeanette Altman.

MINNEAPOLIS
* Minneapolis Federation for Jewish Service (1929; Inc. 1930); 811 La Salle Ave. (55402); Pres. Albert Tychman; Exec. Dir. Franklin Fogelson.

ST. PAUL
* United Jewish Fund and Council (1935); 790 S. Cleveland (55116); Pres. Marvin Pertzik; Exec. Dir. Morris Lapidus.

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON
Jewish Welfare Fund (1945); 4135 N. Honeysuckle Lane (39211); Sec. Perry E. Nussbaum.

VICKSBURG
Jewish Welfare Federation (1936); 1210 Washington St. (39180); Pres. Richard Marcus.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY
* t Jewish Federation & Council of Greater Kansas City (1933); 25 E. 12 St. (64106); Pres. H. Paul Rosenberg; Exec. Dir. Sol Koenigsberg.

ST. JOSEPH

ST. LOUIS
* t Jewish Federation of St. Louis (incl. St. Louis County) (1901); 611 Olive St., Suite 1520 (63101); Pres. Julian L. Meyer; V.P. David Rabinovitz.

NEBRASKA

LINCOLN
* t Lincoln Jewish Welfare Federation, Inc. (1931; Inc. 1961); 809 Lincoln Benefit Life Bldg. (68508); Pres. Herbert F. Gaba; Sec. Louis B. Finkelstein.

OMAHA
* t Jewish Federation of Omaha (1903); 333 S. 132 St. (68154); Pres. Morley Zipursky; Exec. Dir. Herbert Rubenstein.

NEVADA

LAS VEGAS
* Las Vegas Combined Jewish Appeal (1973); 846 E. Sahara Ave. #4 (89105); Pres. David Goldwater; Exec. Dir. Harold Pomerantz.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

MANCHESTER
* t Jewish Community Center (1913); 698 Beech St. (03104); Pres. Richard Winneg; Exec. Dir. Charles Epstein.
NEW JERSEY

ATLANTIC CITY
* Federal Federation of Jewish Agencies of Atlantic County (1924); 5321 Atlantic Ave., Ventnor County (08406); Pres. Stanley M. Grossman; Exec. Dir. Murray Schneier.

BERGEN COUNTY
* † Jewish Federation of Community Services, Bergen County, N.J. (incl. most of Bergen County) (1953); 2393 W. Marlton Pike, Cherry Hill (08034); Pres. William Bryen; Exec. Dir. Bernard Dubin.

CAMDEN COUNTY
* † Jewish Federation of Southern N.J. (1922); (sponsors ALLIED JEWISH APPEAL); 170 State St., Hackensack (07601); Pres. Nat Kameny; Exec. Dir. Max M. Kleinbaum.

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY
* Jewish Federation of Central Jersey (sponsors UNITED JEWISH CAMPAIGN); (1940; expanded 1973 to include Westfield and Plainfield); Green Lane, Union (07083); Pres. Joseph Wilf; Exec. V. Pres. Elton J. Kerness.

ENCEGWOOD
* United Jewish Fund of Englewood and Surrounding Communities (1952; 153 Tenafly Rd. (07631); Pres. Leonard Rubin; Exec. Dir. George Hantgan.

JERSEY CITY
* United Jewish Appeal (1939); 604 Bergen Ave. (07304); Chmn. Melvin Blum; Exec. Dir. Arthur Eisenstein.

METROPOLITAN NEW JERSEY
* † Jewish Community Federation (sponsors United Jewish Appeal) (1923); 220 So. Harrison St., East Orange (07018); Pres. Arthur Brody; Exec. V. Pres. Abe L. Sudran.

MORRIS COUNTY
United Jewish Fund of Morris and Sussex; 500 Route 10, Ledgewood (07852); Pres. Seymour Epstein; Exec. Dir. Elliot Cohan.

NORTH JERSEY
* Jewish Federation of Morris-Sussex (formerly Jewish Community Council) (1933); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 140 Market St., Rm. 406, Paterson (07505); Pres. Charles Kessler; Exec. Dir. Sam A. Hatow.

PASSAIC
* Jewish Community Council of Passaic-Clifton and Vicinity (1933); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 199 Scoles Ave. (07012); Pres. John Feltman; Exec. Dir. Max Grossman.

PERTH AMBOY
* Jewish Federation of Northern Middlesex County (1938); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 316 Madison Ave. (08861); Pres. Morton Klein; Exec. Dir. Israel Silver.

RARITAN VALLEY
* Jewish Federation of Raritan Valley (1948); 2 South Adelaide Ave., Highland Park (08904); Pres. Nat Sedley; Exec. Dir. Howard Kieval.

SHORE AREA
* Jewish Federation of the Shore Area (1971); 100 Grant Ave., Deal Park (07723) Pres. Emanuel Mullen; Exec. Dir. Bernard Milstein.

SOMERSET COUNTY
* Jewish Federation of Somerset County (1960); 11 Park Ave., P. O. Box 874, Somerville (08876); Pres. Mrs. Adele Blumberg; Exec. Dir. Arnold Gross.

TRENTON
* Jewish Federation of Trenton (1929); 999 Lower Ferry Rd. (08628); Pres. Richard M. Glazer; Exec. Dir. Milton A. Feinberg.

VINELAND
* Jewish Community Council of Greater Vineland, Inc. (1971); (sponsors Allied Jewish Appeal); 629 Wood St. (08360); Pres. Seymour Hyman; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Nan Goldberg.

NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE
* Jewish Community Council of Albuquerque, Inc. (1938); P. O. Box 4481, (87106); Pres. Jonathan B. Sutin; Exec. Dir. Raymond Chait.

NEW YORK

ALBANY
* Albany Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1938); (sponsors Jewish Welfare Fund); 567 New Scotland Ave. (12208); Pres. Lester Komit; Exec. Dir. Steven F. Windmueller.
BROOME COUNTY
* The Jewish Federation of Broome County (1937; Inc. 1958); 500 Clubhouse Rd. (13903); Pres. N. Theodore Sommer; Exec. Dir. Abraham Mintz.

BUFFALO
* † United Jewish Federation of Buffalo, Inc. (1903); sponsors United Jewish Fund Campaign; 501 Sidway Bldg., 775 Main St. (14203); Pres. Donald S. Day; Exec. Dir. Sydney S. Abzug.

ELMIRA
* Elmira Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (1942); Federation Bldg., 115 E. Church St. (14901); Pres. Irving Etkind.

GLENS FALLS
Glens Falls Jewish Welfare Fund (1939); 6 Arbor Dr. (12801); Chmn. Orel Friedman.

HUDSON
Jewish Welfare Fund of Hudson, N.Y., Inc. (1947); Joslen Blvd. (12534); Pres. Albert Rapport.

KINGSTON
* † Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1951); 96 Maiden Lane (12401); Pres. Jonathan Eichhorn.

MIDDLETOWN
* United Jewish Appeal of Middletown, N.Y. (1939); c/o Temple Sinai, 75 Highland Ave. (10940); Chmn. Mrs. Jacques Levine; Sec. Louis Schwartz.

NEW YORK CITY
* † Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York (incl. Greater New York, Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester Counties) (1917); 130 E. 59th St. (10022); Pres. Frederick P. Rose; Exec. V. Pres. Sanford Solender.
* United Jewish Appeal—Federation of Jewish Philanthropies—Joint Campaign (1974); 220 W. 58 St. (10019); Pres. William Rosenwald; Exec. V.P.s Ernest W. Michel, Sanford Solender; Exec. Dir. Robert P. Forman.

NEWBURGH
* † United Jewish Charities, Inc. (1925); 360 Powell Ave. (12550); Pres. Mrs. Ronald Shapiro; Exec. Dir. Jack Tauber.

NIAGARA FALLS
* Jewish Federation of Niagara Falls, N.Y., Inc. (1935); 209 United Office Bldg. (14303); Pres. Robert D. Wisbaum; Exec. Dir. Mrs. May Chinkers.

PORT CHESTER
Jewish Community Council (1941); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 258 Willett Ave. (10573); Pres. Alfred Jacobs.

POUGHKEEPSIE
Jewish Welfare Fund—United Jewish Appeal (1941); 110 Grand Ave. (12603); Pres. Burton Gold; Exec. Dir. Hamilton Scheer.

ROCHESTER
* Jewish Community Federation of Rochester, N.Y., Inc. (1937); 456 Main St. E. (14604); Pres. Emanuel Goldberg; Exec. Dir. Elmer Louis.

SCHENECTADY
* Jewish Community Council (incl. surrounding communities) (1938); (sponsors Schenectady UJA and Federated Welfare Fund); 2565 Balltown Rd., P. O. Box 2649 (12309); Pres. Ernest H. Kahn; Exec. Dir. Michael Ruvel.

SYRACUSE

TROY
* † Troy Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1936); 2500–21 St. (12180); Pres. Bernard Fleishman; Exec. Dir. Jay Rachack.

UTICA
* Jewish Community Council of Utica, N.Y., Inc. (1933, Inc. 1950); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal of Utica); 2310 Oneida St. (13501); Pres. Leonard Singer; Exec. Dir. Irving Epstein.

NORTH CAROLINA
Asheville
* Federated Jewish Charities of Asheville, Inc., P.O. Box 2630 (28802); Pres. Albert Kodack.
CHARLOTTE
* Charlotte Federation of Jewish Charities (1940); P.O. Box 17523 (28211); Pres. Herman Blumenthal; Exec. Dir. Joseph Aron.

GREENSBORO
* North Carolina Triad Jewish Federation (1940); 414 Church St., Suite 11 (27401); Pres. Herman Bernard; Exec. Dir. Martin Cohen.

OHIO
AKRON
* Akron Jewish Community Federation (1935); 750 White Pond Dr. (44320); Pres. Melvin D. Sacks; Exec. Dir. Morris Rombo.

CANTON

CINCINNATI
* Jewish Federation of Cincinnati and Vicinity (merger of the Associated Jewish Agencies and Jewish Welfare Fund) (1896; reorg. 1967); 200 West 4th St. (45202); Pres. Mrs. I. Mark Zeligs; Exec. V.P. Harold Goldberg.

CLEVELAND
* Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland (1903); 1750 Euclid Ave. (44115); Pres. Morton L. Mandel; Exec. V. Pres. Henry L. Zucker; Exec. Dir. Sidney Z. Vincent.

COLUMBUS
* Columbus Jewish Federation (1925; merged 1959); 1175 College Ave. (43209); Pres. Sidney J. Blatt; Exec. V. Pres. Ben M. Mandelkorn.

DAYTON
* Jewish Community Council of Dayton (1943); Community Services Bldg., 184 Salem Ave., Rm. 210 (45406); Pres. Milton Marks; Exec. Dir. Robert Fitterman.

LIMA
* Federated Jewish Charities of Lima District (1935); 217 S. Dale Dr. (45805); Fin. Sec. Norman Mervis.

STEUBENVILLE
* Jewish Community Council (1938); P. O. Box 472 (43952); Pres. Sidney Brody; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Joseph Freedman.

TOLEDO
* Jewish Welfare Federation of Toledo, Inc. (1907; reorg. 1960); 5151 Monroe St., Suite 226 West (43623); Pres. Lawrence Raskin; Exec. Dir. Alvin S. Levinson.

WARREN
* Jewish Federation (1938); Pres. Abe Knofsky, 901 Melwood Dr. N. E. (44483).

YOUNGSTOWN
* Jewish Federation of Youngstown, Ohio, Inc. (1935); P. O. Box 449 (44501); Pres. Nelson Mendelsohn; Exec. Dir. Stanley Engel.

OKLAHOMA
ARDMORE
Jewish Federation (1934); 23 "B" St. S.W. (73401); Co-Chmn. Ike Fishman.

OKLAHOMA CITY
* Jewish Community Council (1941); 1100 N. Dewey, Suite 103 (73103); Pres. Albert N. Janco; Exec. Dir. Leonard Lieberman.

TULSA
* Tulsa Jewish Community Council (1938); (sponsors Tulsa United Jewish Campaign); 3314 E. 51 St., Suite T (74135); Pres. Ira E. Sanditen; Exec. Dir. Nathan Loshak.

OREGON
PORTLAND

PENNSYLVANIA
ALLENTOWN
* Jewish Federation of Allentown, Inc. (1938; inc. 1948); 22nd and Tilghman Sts. (18104); Pres. Charles Fletcher; Exec. Dir. Robert Jolton.

ALTOONA
* Federation of Jewish Philanthropies (1920; reorg. 1940); 1308 17th St. (16601).

BUTLER
* Butler Jewish Welfare Fund (incl. Butler County) (1938); P. O. Box 992
(16001); Chmn. Louis Shapiro; Sec. Maurice Horwitz.

EASTON
* † Jewish Community Council of Easton, Pa. and Vicinity (1939); (sponsors Allied Welfare Appeal); 660 Ferry St. (18042); Pres. Joel Ziev; Exec. Dir. Norman Prince.

ERIE
* † Jewish Community Welfare Council of Erie (1946); 32 W. 8th St., Rm 611 (16501); Pres. Marcia Siegel; Exec. Dir. Jay M. Rostov.

HARRISBURG
* United Jewish Community (1933); 100 Vaughn St. (17110); Pres. Raymond Buch; Exec. Dir. Albert Hursh.

HAZLETON
* Jewish Community Council (1960); Laurel & Hemlock Sts. (18201); Pres. David Wagner; Exec. Dir. Charles Vogel.

JOHNSTOWN
* Jewish Community Council (1938); 521 Luzerne St. (15905); Pres. William L. Glosser.

LANCASTER
* United Jewish Community Council of Lancaster, Pa. (1928); 2120 Oregon Pike (17601); Pres. Arthur Silber; Exec. Dir. Lawrence Pallas.

LEVITTOWN
* Jewish Community Council of Lower Bucks County (1956, inc. 1957); 414 Woerner Ave. Rm. 4-B (19057); Pres. Sidney Tessler; Exec. Dir. Ephraim M. Howard.

NEW CASTLE
* United Jewish Appeal of New Castle, Pa. (1967); 2526 N. Jefferson St. (16105); Chmn. Leroy Weiner.

NORRISTOWN
* † Jewish Community Center (serving Central Montgomery County) (1936); Brown and Powell Sts. (19401); Pres. Bernard Tepper; Exec. Dir. Harold M. Kamsler.

PHILADELPHIA
* † Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia (1901; reorg. 1956); 1511 Walnut St. (19102); Pres. Philip S. Seltzer; Exec. V. Pres. Donald B. Hurwitz.

PITTSBURGH
* † United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh (1912; reorg. 1955); 234 McKee Pl. (15213); Pres. Jesse J. Cohen; Exec. Dir. Gerald S. Soroker.

POTTSVILLE
* United Jewish Charities (1935); 2300 Mahantongo St. (17901); Chmn. Gerald Field; Exec. Sec. Gordon Berkowitz.

READING
* Jewish Community Council (1935); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 1700 City Line St. (19604); Pres. Edwin A. Lakin; Exec. Dir. Mitchell Guttenplan.

SCRANTON
* Scranton-Lackawanna Jewish Council (incl. Lackawanna County) (1945); 601 Jefferson Ave. (18510); Pres. Julius G. Weinberger; Exec. Dir. George Joel.

SHARON
* Shenango Valley Jewish Federation (1940); 840 Highland Rd. (16146); Pres. Sherman Jubelirer; Treas. Irwin Yanowitz.

UNIONTOWN
* United Jewish Federation (1939); 406 W. Main St. (15401), c/o Jewish Community Center; Pres. Harold Cohen; Sec. Morris M. Samuels.

WILKES-BARRE
* The Wyoming Valley Jewish Committee (1935); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 60 S. River St. (18701); Pres. Isadore Landau; Exec. Dir. Louis Smith.

YORK
* United Jewish Appeal; 120 E. Market St. (17401); Exec. Dir. Cecil Malinoff.

RHODE ISLAND

PROVIDENCE
* Jewish Federation of Rhode Island (1945); 130 Sessions St. (02906); Pres. Robert A. Riesman; Exec. V. Pres. Joseph Galkin.

SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLESTON
* Jewish Welfare Fund (1949); 1645 Millbrook Dr. (29407); P. O. Box 3565; Pres. Alwyn Berlin; Exec. Dir. Nathan Shulman.
COLUMBIA
* Jewish Welfare Federation of Columbia (1960); 4540 Trenholm Rd. (29206); Pres. Melton Kligman; Exec. Dir. Burton Shimonsky.

SOUTH DAKOTA
SIOUX FALLS
* Jewish Welfare Fund (1938); National Reserve Bldg. (57102); Pres. I. D. Eirinberg; Exec. Sec. Louis R. Hurwitz.

TENNESSEE
CHATTANOOGA
* Chattanooga Jewish Welfare Federation (1931); 5326 Lynnland Terrace (37411); Pres. Jay Silverstein; Exec. Dir. Steven Drysdale.

KNOXVILLE
* Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (1939); 6800 Deane Hill Dr. (37919); P. O. Box 10882; Chmn. Samuel Sayatt; Exec. Dir. Mary Joel Weil.

MEMPHIS
* † Jewish Service Agency (incl. Shelby County) (1864, Inc. 1906); 6560 Poplar Ave., P. O. Box 38268 (38138); Pres. Max Michel, Jr.; Exec. Dir. Jack Lieberman.
* Jewish Welfare Fund (incl. Shelby County) (1934); 6560 Poplar Ave., P. O. Box 38268 (38138); Pres. Jacob J. Belz; Exec. Dir. Jack Lieberman; Asst. Dir. Mitchell Guttenplan.

NASHVILLE
* † Jewish Federation of Nashville & Middle Tennessee (1936); 3500 West End Ave. (37205); Pres. Ernest Fedudenthal; Exec. Dir. Martin Kraar.

TEXAS
AUSTIN
* Jewish Community Council of Austin (1939; reorg. 1956); 5511 Parkercrest (78731); Pres. Hyman Samuelson.

BEAUMONT
* Beaumont Jewish Federation of Texas, Inc. (Org. and Inc. 1967); P. O. Box 1981 (77704); Pres. Edwin Gale; Dir. Isadore Harris.

CORPUS CHRISTI
* † Corpus Christi Jewish Community Council (1953); 750 Everhart Rd. (78411); Pres. Harold Alberts; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Lillian Racusin.

DALLAS
* † Jewish Welfare Federation (1911); 8616 Northwest Plaza-Suite 329 (75225); Pres. Ervin Donsky; Exec. Dir. Walter J. Levy.

EL PASO
* † Jewish Community Council of El Paso, Inc. (incl. surrounding communities) (1939); 405 Mardi Gras, P. O. Box 12097 (79912); Pres. Kenneth C. Given; Exec. Dir. Oliver B. Winkler.

FORT WORTH
* Jewish Federation of Fort Worth (1936); 6801 Grandbury Rd. (76133); Pres. Sheldon Labovitz; Exec. Dir. Stephen Schreier.

GALVESTON
* Galveston County Jewish Community Council & Welfare Association (1936); P. O. Box 146 (77550); Pres. I.M. Herz, Jr.; Sec. Mrs. Charles Rosenbloom.

HOUSTON
* Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Houston, Inc. (incl. neighboring communities) (1937); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 5601 S. Braeswood Blvd. (77035); Pres. Mr. Robert Hecht; Exec. Dir. Albert Goldstein.

SAN ANTONIO
* † Jewish Social Service Federation (incl. Bexar County) (1922); 111 E. Century Bldg. (78216); Pres. Michael D. Beldon; Exec. Dir. Ephraim Spivek.

TYLER
Federation of Jewish Welfare Fund (1938); P. O. Box 934 (75702); Pres. Joe Selman.

WACO
* Jewish Welfare Council of Waco (1949); P. O. Box 8031 (76710); Pres. Mrs. Phil Smith.

UTAH
SALT LAKE CITY
* United Jewish Council and Salt Lake Jewish Welfare Fund (1936); 2416 E. 1700 South (84108); Pres. Neisen Bank; Exec. Dir. Harry Altschule.
VIRGINIA

NEWPORT NEWS

* Jewish Federation of Newport News and Hampton (1942); 2700 Spring Rd. (23606) P. O. Box 6680; Pres. Marvin Mazur; Exec. Dir. Harold M. Post.

NORFOLK

* United Jewish Federation, Inc. of Norfolk and Virginia Beach, Va. (1937); 7300 Newport Ave., P. O. Box 9776 (23505); Pres. Sanford L. Lefcoe; Exec. Dir. Zvi Almog.

PORTSMOUTH

* Portsmouth Jewish Community Council (1919); New Kirn Bldg. Rm. 205 (23704); Pres. Stanley Peck; Exec. Dir. Jack Weintraub.

RICHMOND

* Jewish Community Council (1935); 5403 Monument Ave. P. O. Box 8237 (23226); Pres. Jack M. Kreuter; Exec. Dir. Julius Mintzer.

ROANOKE

* Jewish Community Council; c/o WROV, 15th & Cleveland Ave. (24015); Pres. Burt Levine.

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE

* Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle (incl. King County, Everett and Bremerton) (1926); Suite 525, Securities Bldg. (98101); Pres. Herbert Rosen; Exec. Dir. Murray Shiff.

SPOKANE

Jewish Community Council of Spokane (incl. Spokane County) (1927); (sponsors United Jewish Fund) (1936); 401 Paulsen Bldg. (99201); Pres. Samuel Huppin; Sec. Robert N. Arick.

WEST VIRGINIA

CHARLESTON

* Federated Jewish Charities of Charleston, Inc. (1937); P. O. Box 1613 (25326); Pres. Harry N. Barton; Exec. Sec. Charles Cohen.

HUNTINGTON

* Federated Jewish Charities (1939); P. O. Box 947 (25713); Pres. David Riter; Sec. Jerome Cantor.

WHEELING

* United Jewish Federation of Ohio Valley, Inc. (1933); 20 Hawthorne Court (26003); Pres. Arthur M. Recht.

WISCONSIN

APPLETON

* United Jewish Charities of Appleton (1963); 3131 N. Meade St. (54911); Co-Chmn. Arnold Cohodas and Don Edelstein; Treas. Mrs. Harold Rusky.

GREEN BAY

* Green Bay Jewish Welfare Fund; P. O. Box 335 (54305); Pres. Sheldon Singer; Treas. Abe Glickman.

KENOSHA

* Kenosha Jewish Welfare Fund (1938); 6537—7th Ave. (53140); Pres. Leslie Fai; Sec.-Treas. Mrs. S. M. Lapp.

MADISON

* Madison Jewish Welfare Council, Inc. (1940); 4513 Vernon Blvd. (53705); Pres. Mrs. Ghita Bessman; Exec. Dir. Ernest G. Budwig.

MILWAUKEE

* Milwaukee Jewish Federation, Inc. (Sponsoring Milwaukee Jewish Welfare Fund Campaign) (1938); 1360 N. Prospect Ave. (53202); Pres. Max H. Karl; Exec. V. Pres. Melvin S. Zaret.

RACINE

* Racine Jewish Welfare Board (1946); 944 Main St. (53403); Pres. Jerry Brown.

SHEBOYGAN

* Jewish Welfare Council of Sheboygan (1927); 1404 North Ave. (53081); Pres. Joe A. Feldman; Sec. Mrs. Abe Alpert.

CANADA

ALBERTA

CALGARY

* Calgary Jewish Community Council (1962); 102—18th Ave., S.E. (T2G 1K8); Pres. Norman N. Green; Exec. Dir. Harry S. Shatz.

EDMONTON

* Edmonton Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1954, Inc. 1965); 10182—
103rd St., #305 (15); Pres. Joe Bugis; Exec. Dir. Uriel Rosenzweig.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

VANCOUVER

JEWISH COMMUNITY FUND & COUNCIL OF VANCOUVER (1932); 950 W. 41 Ave. (V5Z 2N7); Pres. Sidney Zack; Exec. Dir. Morris Saltzman.

MANITOBA

WINNIPEG


ONTARIO

HAMILTON


LONDON

LONDON JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1932); 532 Huron St. (24); (N5Y 4J5); Pres. Leonard Shankman; Exec. Dir. Paul Caplan.

OTTAWA

* JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF OTTAWA (1935); 151 Chapel St. (2); Pres. Norman Zagerman; Exec. Dir. Hy Hochberg.

ST. CATHARINES

UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND OF ST. CATHARINES; c/o Jewish Community Centre, Church St.; Pres. Jack Silverstein; Sec. Syd Goldford.

TORONTO

* UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND OF TORONTO (1937); 150 Beverley St. (M5T 1Y6); Pres. Jack M. Rose; Exec. V. Pres. Benjamin Schneider.

WINDSOR

* † JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1938); 1641 Ouellette Ave. (NBX 1K9); Pres. Mrs. Maxwell Schott; Exec. Dir. Joseph Eisenberg.

QUEBEC

MONTREAL

* † ALLIED JEWISH COMMUNITY SERVICES (merger of FEDERATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY SERVICES AND COMBINED JEWISH APPEAL) (1965); 5151 Cote St. Catherine Rd. (H3W 1M6); Pres. Charles Bronfman; Exec. Dir. Manuel G. Batshaw.
Jewish Periodicals

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

ALASKA

ARIZONA


CALIFORNIA


COLORADO

1 Periodicals which have been in existence at least one year prior to June 30, 1974 are included in this directory. Information is based upon answers furnished by the publications themselves, and the publishers of the YEAR BOOK assume no responsibility for the accuracy of the data presented; nor does inclusion in this list necessarily imply approval or endorsement of the periodicals. The information provided here includes the year of organization and the name of the editor, managing editor, or publisher; unless otherwise stated, the language used by the periodical is English. An asterisk (*) indicates that no reply was received and that the information, including name of publication, date of founding, and address, is reprinted from AJYB, 1974–75 (Vol. 75). For organizational bulletins, consult organizational listings.
CONNECTICUT

DELAWARE

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FLORIDA
SOUTHERN JEWISH WEEKLY (1924). P.O. Box 3297, Jacksonville, 32206. Isadore Moscovitz. Weekly.

GEORGIA

ILLINOIS


INDIANA

KENTUCKY

LOUISIANA

MARYLAND

Massachusetts
MICHIGAN


MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY JEWISH CHRONICLE (1920). P.O. Box 8709, Kansas City, 64114. Milton Firestone. Weekly.


NEBRASKA


NEVADA


NEW JERSEY


MORRIS/SUSSEX JEWISH NEWS (1972). 500 Route 10, Ledgewood, 07852. Rhoda Has-


NEW YORK


NEW YORK CITY


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<th>Periodical Name</th>
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<td>CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS YEARBOOK (1890)</td>
<td>790 Madison Ave., 10021</td>
<td>Annual. Central Conference of American Rabbis</td>
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<td>COMMENTARY (1945)</td>
<td>165 E. 56 St., 10022</td>
<td>Norman Podhoretz. Monthly. American Jewish Committee</td>
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<td>CONGRESS MONTHLY (1934)</td>
<td>15 E. 84 St., 10028</td>
<td>Herbert Poster. American Jewish Congress</td>
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<td>CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (1955)</td>
<td>3080 Broadway, 10027</td>
<td>Quarterly. Rabbinical Assembly and Jewish Theological Seminary of America</td>
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<td>FREELAND (1944)</td>
<td>200 W. 72 St., 10023</td>
<td>Editorial Board. Irregular. Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization</td>
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<td>FREIE ARBEITER STIMME (1890)</td>
<td>33 Union Square W., 10003</td>
<td>Monthly. Yiddish. Free Voice of Labor Assoc., Inc.</td>
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<td>HADASSAH MAGAZINE (formerly HADASSAH NEWSLETTER; 1921)</td>
<td>65 E. 52 St., 10022</td>
<td>Jesse Zel Lurie. Monthly, except July and August. Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America</td>
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<td>HADOAR (1921)</td>
<td>120 W. 16 St., 10011</td>
<td>Itzhak Ivry. Weekly. Hebrew. Histadrut Ivrit of America</td>
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<td>HISTADRUT FOTO-NEWS (1948)</td>
<td>33 E. 67 St., 10021</td>
<td>Nahum Gutman. 7 times a year. National Committee for Jewish Israel</td>
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<td>JEWISH EDUCATION (1928)</td>
<td>114 Fifth Ave., 10011</td>
<td>Alvin I. Schiff. Quarterly. National Council for Jewish Education</td>
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<td>JEWISH EDUCATION DIRECTORY (1951)</td>
<td>114 Fifth Ave., 10011</td>
<td>Hillel Hochberg. Biannual. American Association for Jewish Education</td>
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<td>JEWISH LIFE (1946)</td>
<td>116 E. 27 St., 10016</td>
<td>Yakov Jacobs. Quarterly. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America</td>
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<td>JEWISH MUSIC NOTES (1946)</td>
<td>15 E. 26 St., 10010</td>
<td>Irene Heskes. Semiannual. Jewish Music Council of the National Jewish Welfare Board</td>
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<td>JEWISH OBSERVER (1962)</td>
<td>5 Beekman St., 10038</td>
<td>Nisson Wolpin. Monthly (except</td>
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July and August). Agudath Israel of America.


JWB CIRCLE (1946). 15 E. 26 St. 10010. Lionel Koppman. 7 times a year. JWB.


SEVEN ARTS FEATURE SYNDICATE. See News Syndicates, p. 509.


North Carolina


Ohio


Ohio Jewish Chronicle (1921). 2831 E. Main St., Columbus, 43209. Stephen N. Pinsky. Weekly.


Oklahoma

Southwest Jewish Chronicle (1929). 324 N. Robinson St., Rm. 313, Oklahoma City, 73102. Emma F. Friedman. Quarterly.


Pennsylvania


Rhode Island


Tennessee


Texas


Texas Jewish Post (1947). P.O. Box 742, Fort Worth, 76101; 11333 N. Central Expressway, Dallas, 75231. Jimmy Wisch. Weekly.

Virginia


Canada


Washington


Wisconsin


News Syndicates


United Jewish Federation of Norfolk and Virginia Beach.


Necrology: United States

ADLER, JACOB, (pseud. B. Kovner), au., humorist; b. Dynow, Poland, Dec. 12, 1872; d. St. Petersburg, Fla., Dec. 31, 1974; in U.S. since 1892; writer for Jewish Daily Forward since 1895; joined its staff 1911; wrote over 30,000 humorous articles, 18,000 poems, plays (some published posthumously in newspaper); lecturer on humor and satire, N.Y. Bd. of Educ. 1917; au: Memories (1911); Yente Telebende (1915); Cheerful Minutes (1919); Moshe Kapoir (1919); In the Doctor's Office (1923); Lyrics (1924); A Captured Bird (1928); Laugh People Laugh (1933); Weeping Flutes (1933); Keep on Laughing (1934); Laugh Jew Laugh (1936); hon. mem. Internat. Mark Twain Soc.; mem.: Workmen's Circle, Forward Assoc., Writers' Assoc. Home.


BENNY, JACK, entertainer, philanthropist; b. Waukegan, Ill., Feb. 14, 1894; d. Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 26, 1974; vaudevillian since 1915; film star since 1929; television personality since 1949; a fdr. Amer. Israel Cultural Fdn.; supporter: Israel Bond Orgn., UJA; awards: special award best male actor Nat. Acad. of TV Arts and Sciences.


1 Including Jewish residents of the United States who died between January 1 and December 31, 1974; for meaning of abbreviations, see p. 445.


BRECHER, MORRIS, communal leader; b. N.Y.C., Feb. 15, 1896; d. N.Y.C., June 14, 1974; bd. mem.: UJA; Jewish Community Services of Long Island; a fdr.: Albert Einstein Coll. of Med., Astoria Center of Israel, also hon. pres.; master builder, Yeshiva Univ.; trustee Long Island Jewish Hillside Med. Center.

BRODSKY, SAUL, business exec., philanthropist; b. N.Y.C., Feb. 4, 1906; d. Palm Beach, Fla., Apr. 30, 1974; fdr., exec. com. mem., treas. YIVO; trustee Max Weinrich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies; bd. of dir. UJA, chmn. of its Painting Contractors and Paint Dealers Div. campaign; remodeled YIVO building which has been designated N.Y.C. landmark.

CHARLOP, JECHIEL M., rabbi; b. Jerusalem, Palestine, Oct. 6, 1900; d. N.Y.C., Oct. 28, 1974; in U.S. since 1922; spiritual dir. Bronx Jewish Center, 1925-71; hon. pres. Union of Orthodox Rabbis; formerly, officer of Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theol. Sem. Alumni; pres. UOJC; pres. Fed. of Palestine Jews in Am.; broadcast weekly Yiddish program on radio station WEVD in N.Y.

COHEN, VICTOR J., business exec., philanthropist; b. London, Eng., Jan. 30, 1903; d. N.Y.C., June 18, 1974; in U.S. since 1907; mem. Real Estate Bd. of N.Y.C.; a fdr. and science fellow of Belfer Graduate School of Science of Yeshiva Univ.; served as v. pres. of UJA campaigns.

port; mem.: bd. of dir. Hebrew Free Loan Soc., official delegation of N.Y. State to White House Conf. on Aged, 1961; awards: Educ. Alliance silver trophy (1949); Nat. Home of Jewish Children (1949); Rabbi Jacob Joseph Sch. (1954), elected to its Hall of Fame (1956); Albert Einstein Coll. of Medicine (1954); Yeshiva Univ. Athletic Assoc. (1955); citation as Master Builder Yeshiva Univ. (1960); Legion of Honor, Israel (1960); citation for outstanding service to Israel (1962).


standing Judaism (1958); recd. hon. DD, HUC-JIR, 1958.


FIELDS, DOROTHY, lyricist, philanthropist; b. Allenhurst, N.J., July 15, 1905; d. N.Y.C., Mar. 28, 1974; wrote lyrics for over 400 songs for Broadway musicals and films; mem.: bd. of women's orgn. of Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies, and a fdr. and co-chmn. of its Council of Performing Arts; bd. of dir. Women's Div. of Jewish Guild for the Blind; co-au.: musicals: Let's Face It; Something for the Boys; Mexican Hayride; Up in Central Park; A Tree Grows in Brooklyn; awards: Academy Award, 1936; elected to Songwriters' Hall of Fame, 1971.


GINSBURG, LESTER, business exec., communal worker; b. Boston, Mass., Dec. 17,


HUROK, SOL, impresario; b. Pogar, Russ., April 9, 1888; d. N.Y.C., Mar. 5, 1974; in U.S. since 1906; foremost impresario and promoter of internat. cultural and artistic exchanges; dir. Workmen's Circle Labor Lyceum, Bklyn., N.Y., from 1911; later introduced many world's leading artists to Am. audiences; au: Impresario (1946); Sol Hurok Presents; awards: C.B.E., 1950; Chevalier et Officier de la Legion d'Honneur, France; N.Y. Handel Medallion; Diamond Jubilee Medal of N.Y.C., 1973; numerous citations by N.Y.C., Am., and Israeli orgns.


KLEINGENSTEIN, ESTHER A., communal worker, philanthropist; b. N.Y.C., Oct. 25, 1899; d. Jan. 21, 1974; at time of death, hon. off. women's orgn. Fed. of Jewish Phi-
KORFF, SAMUEL I., rabbi, civic leader; b. Robert, Kriendler, restaurant exec., Light, Louis W., atty., business exec, commissioner.


NUSSBAUM, MAX, rabbi, communal leader; b. Suceava, Austria, Apr. 4, 1910; d. Hollywood, California, July 19, 1974; in U.S. since 1940; rabbi, Temple Israel, Hollywood, California, since 1942; Beth Ahaba, Muskogee, Okla., 1940–42; Great Jewish Cong., Berlin, Germany, 1936–40; dir.: Hillel Council, State Univ. of Okla., 1941–42; v. pres. Los Angeles Coll. of Jewish Studies, since 1950; pres.: Southern Calif. Assoc. of Liberal Rabbis, since 1954; Western Assoc. of Reform Rabbis, since 1957; bd. of dir.: UJA; mem. bd. of dir.: Beth Jacob Synagogue; awards: Man of the Year, Am. Jewish Com., 1971; Distinguished Alumni, Univ. of Conn., 1972; Citizen of the Year, Norwich, Conn., 1973.

NUSSBAUM, MAX, rabbi, communal leader; b. Suceava, Austria, Apr. 4, 1910; d. Hollywood, California, July 19, 1974; in U.S. since 1940; rabbi, Temple Israel, Hollywood, California, since 1942; Beth Ahaba, Muskogee, Okla., 1940–42; Great Jewish Cong., Berlin, Germany, 1936–40; dir.: Hillel Council, State Univ. of Okla., 1941–42; v. pres. Los Angeles Coll. of Jewish Studies, since 1950; pres.: Southern Calif. Assoc. of Liberal Rabbis, since 1954; Western Assoc. of Reform Rabbis, since 1957; bd. of dir.: UJA; mem. bd. of dir.: Beth Jacob Synagogue; awards: Man of the Year, Am. Jewish Com., 1971; Distinguished Alumni, Univ. of Conn., 1972; Citizen of the Year, Norwich, Conn., 1973.


ROSEN, EMANUEL, communal leader; b. Palestine, (?) 1890; d. N.Y.C., Oct. 27, 1974; in U.S. since 1920; JDC official Paris, 1939–42; Lisbon, 1942–5; dir. JDC transportation of World War II refugees to Palestine and other countries, since 1945.


SAPHIRE, SAUL, Yid. writer, ed.; b. Wilno, Russ., Dec. 12, 1895; d. Miami Beach, Fla., Aug. 15, 1974; in U.S. since 1916; staff writer Jewish Daily Forward; ed. Jewish American; mem. editl. staff Jewish Morning Journal, 1926–51; techr. of Hebrew; a fdr. Heb. Sch. of Flatbush Jewish Center; co-au.: Navy Maverick—a Biography of Commodore Uriah Philips Levy (1963); au.: over 100 historical novels on Jewish life from biblical times to contemporary Amer., including Abraham's Grandchildren; Forty Years in the Desert; King David; in Eng. tr.: The Caliph of Cordova; A Challenge to Caesar.


Sabbath Services; songs for Jewish theatre: Bay mir bistu shayn, Donna Donna, Zing shil; scores for: Tevye the Dairyman, Kol Nidre, Motye peyshe dem hazins.


STRAUSS, LEO; see article, p. 91.


**Wolfson, Harry Austryn;** see article, p. 99.

Calendars
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<td>Sa Feb. 19</td>
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<td>W Mar. 22</td>
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<td>S Apr. 3</td>
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<td>Lag Ba-'omer</td>
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<td>F May 6</td>
<td>T May 25</td>
<td>T May 15</td>
<td>S May 4</td>
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<td>W May 18</td>
<td>T June 6</td>
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<td>M May 24</td>
<td>M June 12</td>
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<td>W May 21</td>
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<td>Shavu'ot, 2nd day</td>
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<td>M May 24</td>
<td>Sa June 12</td>
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<td>New Moon, Tammuz, 1st day</td>
<td>M June 28</td>
<td>Th June 16</td>
<td>W July 5</td>
<td>M June 25</td>
<td>Sa June 14</td>
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<td>New Moon, Tammuz, 2nd day</td>
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<td>F June 17</td>
<td>Th July 6</td>
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<td>Sa July 16</td>
<td>F Aug. 4</td>
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<td>Fast of the 9th of Av</td>
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<td>S July 24</td>
<td>S Aug. 13</td>
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<td>T July 22</td>
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<td>Th Aug. 26</td>
<td>S Aug. 14</td>
<td>Sa Sept. 2</td>
<td>Th Aug. 23</td>
<td>T Aug. 12</td>
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<td>New Moon, Elul, 2nd day</td>
<td>F Aug. 27</td>
<td>M Aug. 15</td>
<td>S Sept. 3</td>
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<td>Dec. 15</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Tevet 1</td>
<td>Hanukkah, seventh day; New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15; 7: 48–53</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>Ezekiel 37: 15–28</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Exod. 32: 11–14; 34: 1–10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
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<td>Judges 5: 1-31</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
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<td>I Samuel 15: 2–34</td>
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<td>Deut. 25: 17–19</td>
<td>I Samuel 15: 1–34</td>
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<td>Exod. 32: 11–14</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8</td>
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<td>34: 1–10</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Purim</td>
<td>Exod. 17: 8–16</td>
<td>(Book of Esther is read the night before and in the morning.)</td>
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<td>Shushan Purim</td>
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<td>Exod. 30: 11–34: 35</td>
<td>Ezekiel 36: 16–38</td>
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<td>Levit. 6: 1–8: 36</td>
<td>Malachi 3: 4–24</td>
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<td>Exod. 12: 21–51</td>
<td>Joshua 5: 2–6: 1,27</td>
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<td>Levit. 22: 26–23: 44</td>
<td>II Kings 23: 1–9;</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Passover, eighth day</td>
<td>Deut. 15: 19–16: 17</td>
<td>Isaiah 10: 32–12: 6</td>
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<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.
### Iyar 29 Days

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<tr>
<td>Apr. 12</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Iyar 1</td>
<td>Tazria'; Mezora'; New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Levit. 12: 1–15: 33; Num. 28: 9–15</td>
<td>Isaiah 66: 1–24</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Emor</td>
<td>Levit. 21: 1–24: 23</td>
<td>Ezekiel 44: 15–31</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Lag Ba-'omer</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Be-midbar</td>
<td>Num. 1: 1–4: 20</td>
<td>I Samuel 20: 18–42</td>
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### Siwan 30 Days

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<td>17</td>
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<td>Shavu'ot, second day</td>
<td>Deut. 15: 19–16: 17; Num. 28: 26–31</td>
<td>Habbakuk 3: 1–19; Habbakuk 2: 20–3: 19</td>
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<td>Num. 4: 21–7: 89</td>
<td>Judges 13: 2–25</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Be-ha'alotekha</td>
<td>Num. 8: 1–12: 16</td>
<td>Zechariah 2: 14–4: 7</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>Korah</td>
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<td>I Samuel 11: 14–12: 22</td>
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<td>Exod. 32: 11–14; 34: 1–10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8 (afternoon only)</td>
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<td>Pinehas</td>
<td>Num. 25: 10–30: 1</td>
<td>Jeremiah 1: 1–2: 3</td>
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<td>Mattot, Mas’e</td>
<td>Num. 30: 2–36: 13</td>
<td>Jeremiah 2: 4–28; 3: 4 Jeremiah 2: 4–28; 4: 1, 2</td>
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<td>Av 1</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Deut. 1: 1-3: 22</td>
<td>Isaiah 1: 1-27</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Morning: Deut. 4: 25-40</td>
<td>(Lamentations is read the night before.) Jeremiah 8: 13-9: 23</td>
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<td>Afternoon: Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>Wa-ethannan (Nahamu)</td>
<td>Deut. 3: 23-7: 11</td>
<td>Isaiah 40: 1-26</td>
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<td>'Ekev</td>
<td>Deut. 7: 12-11: 25</td>
<td>Isaiah 49: 14-51: 3</td>
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<td>Aug. 2</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Re'eh</td>
<td>Deut. 11: 26-16: 17</td>
<td>Isaiah 54: 11-55: 5</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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<td>Aug. 8</td>
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<td>Elul 1</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Shofetim</td>
<td>Deut. 16: 18-21: 9</td>
<td>Isaiah 51: 12-52: 12</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>Ki teze'</td>
<td>Deut. 21: 10-25: 19</td>
<td>Isaiah 54: 1-10</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ki tavo'</td>
<td>Deut. 26: 1-29: 8</td>
<td>Isaiah 60: 1-22</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nizzavim, Wa-yelekh</td>
<td>Deut. 29: 9-31: 30</td>
<td>Isaiah 61: 10-63: 9</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
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<tr>
<td>Sept. 6</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Tishri 1</td>
<td>Rosh Ha-shanah, first day</td>
<td>Gen. 21: 1–34</td>
<td>1 Samuel 1: 1–2: 10</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rosh Ha-shanah, second day</td>
<td>Gen. 22: 1–24</td>
<td>Jeremiah 31: 2–20</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fast of Gedaliah</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11–14;</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8</td>
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<td>Ha'azinu (Shuvah)</td>
<td>Deut. 32: 1–52</td>
<td>Hosea 14: 2–10</td>
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<td>Joel 2: 15–27</td>
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<td>Hosea 14: 2–10</td>
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<td>Micah 7: 18–20</td>
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<td>Levit. 16: 1–34;</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sukkot, first day</td>
<td>Levit. 22: 26–23: 44</td>
<td>Zechariah 14: 1–21</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sukkot, second day</td>
<td>Levit. 22: 26–23: 44</td>
<td>1 Kings 8: 2–21</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Shemini 'A'zeret</td>
<td>Deut. 14: 22–16: 17</td>
<td>1 Kings 8: 54–66</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Simhat Torah</td>
<td>Deut. 33: 1–34: 12</td>
<td>Joshua 1: 1–18</td>
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<td>Gen. 1: 1–2: 3</td>
<td>Joshua 1: 1–9</td>
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<td>Num. 29: 35–30: 1</td>
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<td>Oct. 4</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Be-re'shit</td>
<td>Gen. 1: 1–6: 8</td>
<td>1 Samuel 20: 18–42</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<td>Oct. 6</td>
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<td>Heshvan 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<td>Nov. 1</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Hayye Sarah</td>
<td>Gen. 23: 1–25: 18</td>
<td>I Kings 1: 1–31</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 5</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Kislev 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
<td>Malachi 1: 1–2: 7</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Wa-yeze'</td>
<td>Gen. 28: 10–32: 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>30–Dec. 3</td>
<td>S-W</td>
<td>26–29</td>
<td>Hanukkah, second to fifth days</td>
<td>S Num. 7: 18–29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec. 4</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Hanukkah, sixth day; New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15 7: 42–47</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
### Tevet 29 Days

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<tr>
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<td>Tevet 1</td>
<td>Hanukkah, seventh day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
<td>I Kings 7: 40-50</td>
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<td>New Moon, second day</td>
<td>7: 48-53</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mi-kez</td>
<td>Gen. 41: 1-44: 17</td>
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<td>Hanukkah, eighth day</td>
<td>Num. 7: 54-8: 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fast of the 10th of Tevet</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8 (afternoon only)</td>
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<td>Jeremiah 1: 1-2: 3</td>
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### Shevat 30 Days

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<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 3</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Shevat 1</td>
<td>Wa-era'</td>
<td>Exod. 6: 2-9: 35</td>
<td>Isaiah 66: 1-24</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28: 9-15</td>
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| 17         | Sa             | 15          | Be-shallah (Shabbat Shirah) Hamishshah-'asar bi-Shevat | Exod. 13: 17-17: 16 | Judges 4: 4-5: 31
|            |                |             |                             |                      | Judges 5: 1-31      |
|            |                |             |                             |                      | Isaiah 6: 1-13      |
| Feb. 1     | S              | 30          | New Moon, first day         | Num. 28: 1-15        |                     |

* Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.
<table>
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<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 2</td>
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<td>Adar I 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Terumah</td>
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<td>I Kings 5: 26–6: 13</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Tezavveh</td>
<td>Exod. 27: 20–30: 10</td>
<td>Ezekiel 43: 10–27</td>
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<td>Ki tissa'</td>
<td>Exod. 30: 11–34: 35</td>
<td>I Kings 18: 1–39</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Wa-yakhel, Shekalim</td>
<td>Exod. 35: 1–38: 20</td>
<td>II Kings 12: 1–17</td>
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<td>II Kings 11: 17–12: 17</td>
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<td>Mar. 2</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
<td>I Samuel 20: 18.42</td>
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Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.
### 1976, Mar. 3—31

**ADAR II 29 DAYS**

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<th>Day of the Week</th>
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<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Pekude</td>
<td>Exod. 38: 21-40: 38</td>
<td>1 Kings 7: 51-8: 21</td>
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<td>Wa-yikra' Zakhor</td>
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<td>1 Samuel 15: 2-34</td>
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<td>Deut. 25: 17-19</td>
<td>1 Samuel 15: 1-34</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fast of Esther</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8</td>
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<td>(Afternoon only)</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Purim</td>
<td>Exod. 17: 8-16</td>
<td>Book of Esther is read the night before</td>
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<td>W</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Shushan Purim</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Zaw, Parah</td>
<td>Levit. 6: 1-8: 36</td>
<td>Ezekiel 36: 16-38</td>
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<td>Num. 19: 1-22</td>
<td>Ezekiel 36: 16-36</td>
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<td>Exod. 12: 1-20</td>
<td>Ezekiel 45: 18-46: 15</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
### 1976, Apr. 1—30

#### NISAN 30 DAYS

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<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
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<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
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<td>Mezora‘, (Shabbat Haggadol)</td>
<td>Levit. 14: 1–15: 33</td>
<td>Malachi 3: 4–24</td>
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<td>W</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fast of firstborn</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Th</td>
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<td>Exod. 12: 21–51</td>
<td>Joshua 5: 2–6: 1,27</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>II Kings 23: 1–9; 21–25</td>
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<td>Hol Ha-mo'ed</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Num. 9: 1–14</td>
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<td>T</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Deut. 15: 19–16: 17</td>
<td>Isaiah 10: 32–12: 16</td>
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<td>Ahare Mot</td>
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<td>Amos 9: 7–15</td>
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<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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### 1976, May 1—29

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<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, Festivals, Fasts</th>
<th>Pentateuchal Reading</th>
<th>Prophetic Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| May 1      | Sa              | Iyar 1      | Kedoshim, New Moon, second day | Levit. 19: 1-20: 27  
Num. 28: 9-15       | Isaiah 66: 1-24 |
| 8          | Sa              | 8           | Emor                         | Levit. 21: 1-24: 23  | Ezekiel 44: 15-31 |
| 15         | Sa              | 15          | Be-har                       | Levit. 25: 1-26: 2    | Jeremiah 32: 6-27 |
| 18         | T               | 18          | Lag Ba'omer                  |                      |                   |
| 22         | Sa              | 22          | Be-hukkotai                  | Levit. 26: 3-27: 34   | Jeremiah 16: 19-17: 14 |
| 29         | Sa              | 29          | Be-midbar                    | Num. 1: 1-4: 20       | I Samuel 20: 18-42 |

### SABBATHS, Festivals, Fasts
- **Kedoshim**, New Moon, second day
- **Emor**
- **Be-har**
- **Lag Ba'omer**
- **Be-hukkotai**
- **Be-midbar**

### Pentateuchal Reading
- Levit. 19: 1-20: 27  
Num. 28: 9-15
- Levit. 21: 1-24: 23
- Levit. 25: 1-26: 2
- Levit. 26: 3-27: 34
- Num. 1: 1-4: 20

### Prophetic Reading
- Isaiah 66: 1-24
- Ezekiel 44: 15-31
- Jeremiah 32: 6-27
- Jeremiah 16: 19-17: 14
- I Samuel 20: 18-42

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### 1976, May 30—June 28

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<th>Day of the Week</th>
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<th>Prophetic Reading</th>
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<td>Siwan 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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| June 4     | F               | 6           | Shavu'ot, first day         | Exod. 19: 1-20: 23    
Num. 28: 26-31  | Ezekiel 1: 1-28; 3: 12 |
| 5          | Sa              | 7           | Shavu'ot, second day        | Deut. 15: 19-16: 17   
Num. 28: 26-31  | Habbakuk 3: 1-19  
Habbakuk 2: 20-3: 19 |
| 12         | Sa              | 14          | Naso'                       | Num. 4: 21-7: 89      | Judges 13: 2-25   |
| 19         | Sa              | 21          | Be-ha'alotekha              | Num. 8: 1-12: 16      | Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7 |
| 28         | M               | 30          | New Moon, first Day         | Num. 28: 1-15         |                   |

### SABBATHS, Festivals, Fasts
- New Moon
- Shavu'ot, first day
- Shavu'ot, second day
- Naso'
- Be-ha'alotekha
- Shelah lekha
- New Moon, first Day

### Pentateuchal Reading
- Num. 28: 1-15
- Exod. 19: 1-20: 23  
Num. 28: 26-31
- Deut. 15: 19-16: 17  
Num. 28: 26-31
- Num. 4: 21-7: 89
- Num. 8: 1-12: 16
- Num. 13: 1-15: 41

### Prophetic Reading
- Ezekiel 1: 1-28; 3: 12
- Habbakuk 3: 1-19  
Habbakuk 2: 20-3: 19
- Judges 13: 2-25
- Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7
- Joshua 2: 1-24

*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
**MONTHLY CALENDAR / 539**

1976, June 29—July 27] TAMMUZ 29 DAYS [5736

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 29</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Tammuz 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 3</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Korah</td>
<td>Num. 16: 1–18: 32</td>
<td>I Samuel 11: 14–12: 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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<td>ה.ukkat, Balak</td>
<td>Num. 19: 1–25: 9</td>
<td>Micah 5: 6–6: 8</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Fast of the 17th of Tammuz</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11–14; 34: 1–10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8 (afternoon only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Pinehas</td>
<td>Num. 25: 10–30: 1</td>
<td>Jeremiah 1: 1–2: 3</td>
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</tbody>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
### SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 28</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Av 1</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Devarim (Shabbat Ḥazon)</td>
<td>Deut. 1: 1-3: 22</td>
<td>Isaiah 1: 1-27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug. 5</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Fast of the 9th of Av</td>
<td>Morning: Deut. 4: 25-40</td>
<td>(Lamentations is read the night before.) Jeremiah 8: 13-9: 23</td>
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<td>Afternoon: Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>We-ethannan (Shabbat Nahamu)</td>
<td>Deut. 3: 23-7: 11</td>
<td>Isaiah 40: 1-26</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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<td>'Ekev</td>
<td>Deut. 7: 12-11: 25</td>
<td>Isaiah 49: 14-51: 3</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Re'eh</td>
<td>Deut. 11: 26-16: 17</td>
<td>Isaiah 54: 11-55: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
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### SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 27</td>
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<td>Elul 1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shofetim</td>
<td>Deut. 16: 18-21: 9</td>
<td>Isaiah 51: 12-52: 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ki tavo'</td>
<td>Deut. 26: 1-29: 8</td>
<td>Isaiah 60: 1-22</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nizzavim, Wa-yelekh</td>
<td>Deut. 29: 9-31: 30</td>
<td>Isaiah 61: 10-63: 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Date</td>
<td>Day of the Week</td>
<td>Jewish Date</td>
<td>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</td>
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<td>Sept. 25</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Gen. 21: 1-34</td>
<td>1 Samuel 1: 1-2: 10</td>
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<td>Num. 29: 1-6</td>
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<td>Gen. 22: 1-24</td>
<td>Jeremiah 31: 2-20</td>
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<td>34: 1-10</td>
<td>(afternoon only)</td>
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<td>Oct. 2</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ha'azinu (Shuvah)</td>
<td>Deut. 32: 1-52</td>
<td>Hosea 14: 2-10</td>
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<td>Yom Kippur</td>
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<td>Isaiah 57: 14-58: 14</td>
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<td>Afternoon: Levit. 18: 1-30</td>
<td>Micah 7: 18-20</td>
</tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sukkot, first day</td>
<td>Levit. 22: 26-23: 44</td>
<td>Zechariah 14: 1-21</td>
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<td>M-Th</td>
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<td>1 Kings 8: 54-66</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Num. 29: 35-30: 1</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Simhat Torah</td>
<td>Deut. 33: 1-34: 12</td>
<td>Joshua 1: 1-18</td>
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<td>Gen. 1: 1-2: 3</td>
<td>Joshua 1: 1-9</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>Isaiah 42: 5-43: 10</td>
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<td>Isaiah 42: 5-21</td>
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<tr>
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<td>S</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 25</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Heshwan 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 6</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lekh lekha</td>
<td>Gen. 12: 1-17: 27</td>
<td>Isaiah 40: 27-41: 16</td>
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<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 23</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Kislev 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
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<td>Malachi 1: 1-2: 7</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Hosea 12: 13-14: 10</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Wa-yeze'</td>
<td>Gen. 28: 10-32: 3</td>
<td>Hosea 11: 7-12: 12</td>
</tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Wa-yishlah</td>
<td>Gen. 32: 4-36: 43</td>
<td>Obadiah 1: 1-21</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Hanukkah, first day</td>
<td>Num. 7: 1-17</td>
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<tr>
<td>19-21</td>
<td>S-T</td>
<td>27-29</td>
<td>Hanukkah, third to fifth days</td>
<td>S Num. 7: 24-35</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 22</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Tevet 1</td>
<td>Hanukkah, sixth day; New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Num. 7: 42-47</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-24</td>
<td>Th-F</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>Hanukkah seventh to eighth day</td>
<td>Th Num. 7: 48-53</td>
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<td>F Num. 7: 54-8: 4</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mi-kez</td>
<td>Gen. 41: 1-44: 17</td>
<td>I Kings 3: 15-4: 1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Exod. 32: 11-14</td>
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<td>34: 1-10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8</td>
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<td>[afternoon only]</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Wa-yehi</td>
<td>Gen. 47: 28-50: 26</td>
<td>I Kings 2: 1-12</td>
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<td>29: 22, 23</td>
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<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
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<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 20</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>Shevat 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wa-era'</td>
<td>Exod. 6: 2-9: 35</td>
<td>Ezekiel 28: 25-29: 21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 3</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Hamishshah-'asar bi-Shevat</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Be-shallah (Shirah)</td>
<td>Exod. 13: 17-17: 16</td>
<td>Judges 4: 4-5: 31</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Yitro</td>
<td>Exod. 18: 1-20: 23</td>
<td>Isaiah 6: 1-7: 6; 9:5, 6</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Feb. 19    | Sa             | Adar 1      | Mishpatim; Shekalim; New Moon, second day | Exod. 21: 1–24: 18  
30: 11–16  
Num. 28: 9–15 | II Kings 12: 1–17  
II Kings 11: 17–12: 17  
Isaiah 66: 1, 24 |
| 26         | Sa             | 8           | Terumah (Zakhor) | Exod. 25: 1–27: 19  
Deut. 25: 17–19 | I Samuel 15: 2–34  
I Samuel 15: 1–34 |
| Mar. 3     | Th             | 13          | Fast of Esther   | Exod. 32: 11–14  
34: 1–10 | Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8  
(afternoon only) |
| 4          | F              | 14          | Purim            | Exod. 17: 8–16 | (Book of Esther is read the night before and in the morning.) |
| 5          | Sa             | 15          | Tetzaveh, Shushan Purim | Exod. 27: 20–30: 10 | Ezekiel 43: 10–27 |
| 12         | Sa             | 22          | Ki tissa' (Parah) | Exod. 30: 11–34: 35  
Num. 19: 1–22 | Ezekiel 36: 16–38  
Ezekiel 36: 16–36 |
Ezekiel 45: 18–46: 15  
I Samuel 20: 18, 42 |

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<table>
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<th>Day of the Week</th>
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<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 20</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Nisan 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wa-yikra'</td>
<td>Levit. 1: 1-5: 26</td>
<td>Isaiah 43: 21-44: 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 2</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Zaw (Ha-gadol)</td>
<td>Levit. 6: 1-8: 36</td>
<td>Malachi 3: 4-24</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Passover, first day</td>
<td>Exod. 12: 21-51</td>
<td>Joshua 5: 2-6: 1, 27</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>Isaiah 10: 32-12: 6</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
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<td>23</td>
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<td>Levit. 12: 1–15: 33</td>
<td>II Kings 7: 3–20</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Ahare Mot, Kedoshim</td>
<td>Levit. 16: 1–20: 27</td>
<td>Amos 9: 7–15</td>
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<td>Ezekiel 20: 2–20</td>
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<td>May 6</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lag Ba-omer</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
### SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS

<table>
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<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
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<tr>
<td>May 18</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Deut. 15: 19-16: 17</td>
<td>Habbakuk 3: 1-19</td>
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<td>Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
1977, June 17—July 15] TAMMUZ 29 DAYS [5737

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<td>Korah</td>
<td>Num. 16: 1-18: 32</td>
<td>1 Samuel 11: 14-12: 22</td>
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<td>July 2</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Balaḵ</td>
<td>Num. 22: 2-25: 9</td>
<td>Micah 5: 6-6: 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Fast of the 17th of Tammuz</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8 (afternoon only)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Pinehas</td>
<td>Num. 25: 10-30: 1</td>
<td>Jeremiah 1: 1-2: 3</td>
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<td>July 16</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Av 1</td>
<td>Mattot, Mas'el; New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 30: 2–36: 13 28: 9–15</td>
<td>Jeremiah 2: 4–28; 3: 4</td>
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<td>Isaiah 66: 1,23</td>
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<td>Deut. 1: 1–3: 22</td>
<td>Isaiah 1: 1–27</td>
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<td>Fast of the 9th of Av</td>
<td>Morning: Deut. 4: 25–40 Afternoon: Exod. 32: 11–14; 34: 1–10</td>
<td>(Lamentations is read the night before) Jeremiah 8: 13–9: 23</td>
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<td>We-ethannan (Nahamu)</td>
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<td>'Ekev</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
<td>Isaiah 54: 11–55: 5; 1 Samuel 20: 18, 42</td>
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<td>Isaiah 51: 12–52: 12</td>
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<td>Ki teze'</td>
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<td>Isaiah 60: 1–22</td>
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<td>Tishri 1</td>
<td>Rosh Ha-shanah, first day</td>
<td>Gen. 21: 1-34</td>
<td>I Samuel 1: 1-2: 10</td>
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<td>Isaiah 42: 5-21</td>
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## Monthly Calendar

### 1977, Oct. 13—Nov. 10

#### Heshwan 29 Days

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>Pentateuchal Reading</th>
<th>Prophetic Reading</th>
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<td>Heshwan 1</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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</table>

*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
### SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FARSTS

- **Nov. 11**
  - **Kislev 1**: New Moon
  - **Civil Date**: F
  - **Jewish Date**: 2

- **Nov. 12**
  - **Kislev 2**: Toledot
  - **Civil Date**: Sa
  - **Jewish Date**: 9

- **Nov. 19**
  - **Kislev 9**: Wa-yeze'
  - **Civil Date**: Sa
  - **Jewish Date**: 16

- **Nov. 26**
  - **Kislev 16**: Wa-yishlah
  - **Civil Date**: Sa
  - **Jewish Date**: 23

- **Dec. 3**
  - **Kislev 23**: Wa-yeshev
  - **Civil Date**: Sa
  - **Jewish Date**: 29

- **Dec. 5-9**
  - **Kislev 25-29**: Hanukkah, first to fifth day
  - **Civil Date**: M-F
  - **Jewish Date**: 30

- **Dec. 10**
  - **Kislev 30**: Mi-kez; New Moon, first day; Hanukkah, sixth day
  - **Civil Date**: Sa
  - **Jewish Date**: 30

### PENTATEUCHAL READING

- **Nov. 11**: Num. 28: 1-15
- **Nov. 12**: Gen. 25: 19-28: 9
- **Nov. 19**: Gen. 28: 10-32: 3
- **Nov. 26**: Gen. 32: 4-36: 43
- **Dec. 3**: Gen. 37: 1-40: 23
- **Dec. 5-9**: M Num. 7: 1-17
  - T Num. 7: 18-23
  - W Num. 7: 24-35
  - Th Num. 7: 30-41
  - F Num. 7: 36-47
- **Dec. 10**: Gen. 41: 1-44: 17
  - Num. 28: 9-15
  - 7: 42-47

### PROPHETICAL READING

- **Nov. 11**: Malachi 1: 1-2: 7
- **Nov. 19**: Hosea 12: 13-14: 10
  - Hosea 11: 7-12: 12
- **Nov. 26**: Hosea 11: 7-12: 12
  - Obadiah 1: 1-21
- **Dec. 3**: Amos 2: 6-3: 8
- **Dec. 5-9**: Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7
- **Dec. 10**: Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7
  - 1 Samuel 20: 18, 42
  - Isaiah 66: 1, 23

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<td>Wa-yiggash</td>
<td>Gen. 44: 18–47: 27</td>
<td>Ezekiel 37: 15–28</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fast of the 10th of Tevet</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11–14; 34: 1–10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8 (afternoon only)</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Wa-yehi</td>
<td>Gen. 47: 28–50: 26</td>
<td>1 Kings 2: 1–12</td>
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<td>Jan. 7</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Wa-era'</td>
<td>Exod. 6: 2–9: 35</td>
<td>Ezekiel 28: 25–29: 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
The Jewish Publication Society of America

REPORT OF EIGHTY-SEVENTH YEAR

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REPORT OF THE 87th JPS ANNUAL MEETING

Bernard G. Segal, chairman of the Society's Committee on Nominations and By-Laws, gave the 1975 report of that committee and moved the nomination of a slate of officers and trustees, which was unanimously elected by Society members in attendance.

A. Leo Levin, professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania and director of the Commission on Revision of the Federal Appellate System in Washington, D.C., was elected president of the Society, which he had most recently served as vice-president and vice-chairman of the Publication Committee.

Other newly elected officers include Morris Cohen, Leo Guzik, Edward B. Shils, and Marvin Wachman, vice-presidents; and Mitchell E. Panzer, secretary.

Reelected were Robert P. Abrams, vice-president, and Robert P. Frankel, treasurer.

Four new trustees were elected to the JPS Board: Muriel Mallin Berman, prominent Allentown businesswoman active in United Nations activities; Edward J. Bloustein, president of Rutgers University in New Jersey; Alan H. Molod, partner in a prestigious Philadelphia law firm and an officer in the American Jewish Committee; and Charles R. Weiner, U.S. District judge, Eastern District, Pennsylvania.

Named to the Society's Publication Committee were Arthur A. Cohen, Alfred Gottschalk, Cynthia Ozick, Bernard Pucker, and Gerald A. Wolpe.

The annual meeting of the Society was addressed by Yosef Hayim Yeru-
shalmi, chairman of the Publication Committee, who reported on forthcoming titles and the progress of JPS publishing activities. Cynthia Ozick, award-winning short story writer, novelist, critic, and lecturer, spoke on "Holiness and Its Discontents," emphasizing the unique and conscious effort required to maintain Jewish identity in modern society.

Annual Report of JPS President Jerome J. Shestack (June 1, 1975)

Sunday, June 4, 1888, was a warm and sunny day in Philadelphia. On that day, eighty-seven years ago, a group of prominent Jewish laymen and religious leaders met in the upper room of Touro Hall for the purpose of "discussing the feasibility of establishing an American Jewish Publication Society, whose objects shall be to familiarize American Jews with the ethics of Judaism, the history of the Jewish people, and the writings of the Jewish masters."

A contemporary journalist's account of that meeting relates that "the afternoon was hot, and it affected the temper of the Hebrews, who had come to this City from all parts of the States to discuss this important question." The trouble started over the composition of the committee to deal with the constitution and bylaws. The initial exclusion of rabbis from the original committee brought vociferous protests, a temporary exodus of the protesters from the meeting, and a kind of chaos reminiscent of the beginning of Genesis. Fortunately, before the meeting ended, order and light reigned. By the time the convention adjourned, shortly after ten o'clock that night, it had approved a constitution and bylaws and had elected a president and fourteen vice-presidents.

No institution was more necessary for American Jewry than the Jewish Publication Society. Until its creation not a single Jewish author of note, with the exception of Dr. Isaac Leeser, and not a single book of substantial literary merit about Jews had been published in the United States.

How fruitful were the years that followed the Society's birth. One recalls Ralph Waldo Emerson's observation that "the annals of bibliography afford many examples of the delirious extent to which book-fancying can go." There is, indeed, a delicious headiness in rambling through the reports of the Society, and encountering illustrious names in Jewish letters: Graetz, Dubnow, Ahad Ha-Am, Zangwill, Buber, Weizmann, Margolis and Marx, Lewisonh, Schechter, Finkelstein, Glueck, Ginzberg, Heschel, Kaplan, Scholem, Samuel, Baron, Grayzel, Agnon, Hazaz, and a host of others—all published by JPS.

And the Society's own editors, officers, and trustees include the monu-

The Society, of course, has been molded by its leaders. Conversely, and perhaps paradoxically, such is the Society’s effect and influence that it, in turn, has matured and molded its leaders.

Looking back, two themes in the Society’s history strike me as particularly remarkable. The first is that the Society has always represented K’lal Yisrael, by seeking to preserve and enrich the total Jewish spiritual and cultural heritage. It has approached its task not with partisanship, pretense, or pettiness, but with high-mindedness and open-mindedness, with generosity of spirit and deed.

The second chord is the strong bond of continuity that marks the course of the Society’s history. One generation begins projects which another completes. One president plants a seed, another nourishes it, a third sees it bloom. The long view is taken where it is needed. There is no compulsion to harvest out of season. Judge Louis Levinthal once said that in an organization like ours, a final accounting can never be submitted. Even in the most difficult of times, we have, like the Jewish people, preserved our sense of the eternal.

On this eighty-seventh anniversary of the Society, it is good to report that the Society’s condition is better than ever before. This past year we distributed more books than at any time in our history. In the three years that I have had the privilege of leading the Society, we have offered our members forty-seven books, a larger number than in any previous five-year period. This year our revenue, for the first time, almost touched the million-dollar figure. (For the year ending May 1900 it was $21,000.)

Most heartwarming is the continuous high quality of our offerings. Surely any publisher’s heart would be gladdened by such a fine mix as our beautiful modern translation of Jeremiah, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi’s magnificent Haggadah and History, Eliyahu Ashtor’s scholarly The Jews of Moslem Spain, Louis Harap’s significant The Image of the Jew in American Literature, I. J. Linetski’s Yiddish classic, The Polish Lad (with Milton Hindus’s authoritative introduction), Arie Lova Eliav’s timely Land of the Hart, Philip Goodman’s excellent The Shavuoth Anthology, Simon Rawidowicz’s Studies in Jewish Thought, Haim Hazaz’s moving novel, Gates of Bronze, and more.
This past year also saw the start of our program to reprint the Schiff Library of Jewish Classics in paperback. We commenced with the timeless poems of Jehudah Halevi and Solomon Ibn Gabirol. Other reprints will follow soon.

Our progress has been highlighted by a number of special undertakings, and each merits special mention.

The first highlight is the launching of the Society's new Bible Commentary Project, perhaps the Society's most monumental undertaking. The official announcement of this project to the public is being made today. Behind it lies almost three years of planning. And behind those years stands a millennium of Bible commentary history.

This is a symbolic year to launch such a project. In 1475 the first printed Hebrew book appeared. Fittingly, that book was a commentary by Rashi. Now, five hundred years later, the Society proudly announces the first new Jewish commentary on the entire Hebrew Bible in over thirty years. The Commentary will be prepared by a group of the finest Jewish Bible scholars of our time—scholars whose achievements eminently qualify them for the task, but young enough so that the future holds the promise of still greater accomplishment.

The genesis of this project may be of interest. Early in 1973 the committee translating the Psalms met in Philadelphia. Professor Moshe Greenberg, a brilliant Bible scholar and a warm friend, with whom I had studied in my youth much to my benefit, told me that he and Professor Nahum Sarna had been discussing the need for a commentary in view of the enormous new learning opened up by the biblical scholarship of recent decades. Professors Greenberg and Sarna were well aware of the pitfalls in undertaking such a commentary, and of the controversy it might create; nonetheless, they offered the suggestion. It seemed to me an exciting opportunity.

Indeed, was it not incredible that a modern Jewish commentary on the entire Bible did not exist in any language? Were we to be the People of the Book that had forsaken its exposition? I encouraged the development of a plan which was presented to our Board of Trustees. Anyone familiar with our board will know that the debate was vigorous and the questions probing. But from it emerged a mandate to go forward. The planning continued, and the guidelines for the Commentary were forged in August 1973, in an intense three-day conference in Jerusalem attended by Nahum Sarna, Moshe Greenberg, Jonas Greenfield, Yosef Yerushalmi, Chaim Potok, and myself. Thereafter, the planning continued—the refinements of the guidelines, a sample chapter, the selection of commentators.

This year we were ready to proceed. The general editor of the Commentary will be Nahum M. Sarna, Golding Professor of Biblical Studies at
Brandeis University. Dr. Sarna is completely dedicated to the task and eminently qualified for it. The distinguished Bible scholars who, with Dr. Sarna, will prepare the Commentaries on the Pentateuch are Moshe Greenberg, chairman of the Department of Bible at Hebrew University, Baruch A. Levine, professor of Hebrew at New York University, Jacob Milgrom, professor of biblical studies at the University of California, and Moshe Weinfeld, associate professor of Bible at Hebrew University. Serving as literary editor of the project will be Chaim Potok, eminent novelist and special-projects editor of JPS. Other scholars are being selected for other books of the Bible and as special advisers. To finance this undertaking, our distinguished past president and life trustee, William S. Fishman, and I will co-chair a patrons' Committee of One Hundred.

Rashi once told his grandson, Rashbam, that had he the time, he would have to make new commentaries according to the new insights that arise each day. Each major period of Jewish history took to itself the commentaries of the past and then created its own commentaries for its own time. JPS will strive to be worthy of that tradition. We hope that the JPS Commentary will provide new insights made possible by modern scientific learning that has enriched the field of biblical scholarship. At the same time we are confident that the Commentary will reflect that specific Jewish quality that stems from our sense of the sanctity of the biblical text and our pervading consciousness that the Bible is the primal formative book of Jewish existence.

In our brochure announcing this undertaking, we declare that “the Jewish Publication Society of America now commits its good name, its resources, its decades of experience and pioneering to the creation of a Commentary to the Hebrew Bible that will serve as the contemporary equivalent of the classic commentaries created by Jews for past epochs in Jewish history.” To this hope, let us say Amen.

Usually one goes from text to commentary. For now, let me go from commentary to text.

Just sixty years ago, in 1915, a distinguished group of scholars met and offered a prayer of thanks to God that they had finished the great task of translation of the Bible, and that the group which had toiled for so many years was intact. And what a group it was! Dr. Solomon Schechter, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Dr. Joseph Jacobs, Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, Dr. David Philipson, Dr. Samuel Schulman, Professor Israel Friedlaender, and Professor Max L. Margolis.

That, of course, was the first JPS translation of the Bible. Some forty years later, in 1956, I attended my first meeting as a trustee of JPS. I recall
the excitement when Edwin Wolf announced that the second JPS Bible translation committee promised to have Genesis completed by the fall. Edwin spoke glowingly of the clarity with which difficult and obscure passages and phrases had been reworded by the translators and of their preservation of the resonant rhythm of a biblical style. The scholars who undertook the project were of the same high stature as their predecessors. They were Dr. Harry M. Orlinsky, Dr. H. L. Ginsberg, Dr. Ephraim A. Speiser, Dr. Bernard J. Bamberger, Rabbi Max Arzt, Rabbi Harry Freedman, and Dr. Solomon Grayzel. Six years later, in 1962, the eagerly awaited new translation appeared. Its superb beauty and fidelity have whetted our appetite for the translation of the Prophets and Writings.

When I became president of the Society, ten years after the Torah translation had been published, the translation of the Prophets had still not been completed, and it was moving slowly. In June of 1972 we met with the editorial committee (intact except for the loss of Dr. Speiser, of blessed memory), and stressed the need for an early completion of the Prophets. Although scholars seldom take well to urgings of acceleration, they did proceed with more than deliberate speed, and just last month they completed all of the Prophets. The final editorial work will be done this summer, and we can look for publication of the Prophets in the Bicentennial year. This will be a most welcome and significant milestone! The Society extends its warm congratulations and yasher koach to Dr. Orlinsky and Dr. Ginsberg, to Rabbis Bamberger, Arzt, and Freedman, and to Dr. Grayzel, who has continued to serve as secretary.

In the meantime, we published two of the Prophets as their translation was completed—beautiful editions of Isaiah and Jeremiah, each illustrated by a modern artist of high reputation in a manner eminently suited to the text. Dr. Ginsberg wrote a superb introduction to Isaiah, as did Dr. Bamberger for Jeremiah. The Society is proud of these editions. Some have questioned the need or desirability for editions illustrated by modern artists. We believe that these artistic editions, representing high craftsmanship in publishing, do not denigrate the sanctity of the biblical text but enhance the setting in which it is presented. These editions have been well received by our members, and we hope to produce a similar quality edition for Ezekiel. Of course, we recognize the need for all types of editions of the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings, for low-cost editions, for student editions, for popular editions, and for many combinations of editions. All of these will surely be increasingly available and, hopefully, before long.

The translation of the Writings is also proceeding well. The translators are Dr. Nahum Sarna, Dr. Moshe Greenberg, Dr. Jonas Greenfield, Rabbi
Saul Leeman, Dr. Martin Rozenberg, Rabbi David S. Shapiro, with Dr. Chaim Potok serving as secretary of that editorial committee. This year the translators completed Proverbs, and we look to individual book publications here as well as to the completion of the entire Writings.

What a memorable day it will be when we can publish the fully completed JPS translation of Torah, Neviim, and Ketuvim!

One development in which we can take pride is the establishment of a JPS office in Israel. At the Jerusalem International Book Fair last month, the JPS had a prominent and attractive booth. It was exciting to hear the many favorable comments about our books and to take home subscriptions from over 150 new Israeli members.

At the fair the JPS gave a luncheon for some of our authors: Eliayhu Ashtor, Arie Lova Eliav, Dahn Ben Amotz, Zev Vilnay, Abraham Milgram, Simon Herman, Moshe Greenberg, Moshe Davis, David Hartman, Abe Rabinovich, Leni Yahil, and others of the JPS family in Jerusalem. The first copy of the English translation of Haim Hazaz's *Gates of Bronze* was presented to his widow, Aviva Hazaz, who responded with a moving tribute to her late husband. This novel should find a large readership in the English-speaking world. It is a searing story of the breakdown of traditional shtetl values in the aftermath of the Russian revolution. Its psychological insights into the conflict between old and young are timely today.

This visit to Jerusalem reaffirmed the need for the Society to maintain a vigorous presence in Israel—not only because of our many authors there, not only because of Israel’s fertility as a source for new books, but because of our own contribution to Israeli culture. We hear so often of the need to build cultural bridges between Israel and the Diaspora. Bridges, of course, go both ways, and the JPS is one of the few institutions capable of demonstrating that the cultural Jewish heritage in the Diaspora can be enriching to Israel, just as their fruitfulness enriches us.

*The Jewish Catalog*, compiled and edited by Richard Siegel and Sharon and Michael Strassfeld, is certainly the outstanding phenomenon in the field of Jewish publishing of this decade. It appeared in the final days of December 1973. Now, a year and a half later, we have sold over 130,000 copies, and the eighth edition is about to come out. *Commentary* magazine devoted an article to it, which though critical, proved beneficial, because it brought angry rejoinders of high praise which took up almost half of the next issue. Recently, in a new magazine, *Moment*, William Novak has written a perceptive piece on the *Catalog*, analyzing its significance.

The decision to undertake the *Catalog* was at the time a bold one for JPS. It was not a book of our customary genre; its counterculture style was alien
to "normative" Jewish writing; some of our trustees were disturbed by its irreverence, others by its reverence. Chaim Potok, who himself contributed substantially to the book's design and form, was convinced from the beginning of the merits of the volume and of its significance. I joined in his enthusiasm, and together we pleaded its cause to the board, and secured approval for perhaps the largest initial printing we had undertaken for any volume short of the Bible.

*The Jewish Catalog* has given us some valuable insights. It has taught us that Jewish books can sell (as this one has done) through word-of-mouth promotion and grass-roots popularity, that there are diverse networks of interested Jews, and in particular young Jews, who do not react to rave reviews or slick promotions, but who are "turned on" when they find writing relevant to their needs.

*The Jewish Catalog* has also proved that writing about religion and ritual need not be dull but can be sprightly, engaging, even playful. Perhaps most significant is Mr. Novak's observation that "the Catalog is an affirmation, bordering on a celebration, of the possibilities for creative and authentic Jewish life in the Diaspora."

Soon there will be a second volume of *The Jewish Catalog*, in the mode of the first, but covering new subjects. Dr. Potok will continue as special editor to guide this volume. We hope to publish it in the spring of 1976 and I believe it will be a worthy successor to the first volume.

It is still early to appraise fully the impact of *The Jewish Catalog*. But does it not already teach us that there is a thirst for knowledge about Jewish living among hundreds of thousands, and especially among our young people? This is an important lesson; all who publish Jewish books should build on it.

We have called *Haggadah and History* the most splendid volume in JPS history. Indeed it is. The book is a masterpiece; it has exquisite illustrations, a text both learned and lucid, and printing of the highest craftsmanship. Its author, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi merits our highest praise for this creation.

For the Society it was a pioneering venture. The projected cost was huge; our experience in the field was small; the market for such a book was precarious; there was much to conspire against the publication. Nonetheless, in some ventures faith must even precede prudence. We proceeded, and the rest is *Haggadah and History*.

*Newsweek* devoted a page to it. The *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and numerous Jewish publications have featured it. Our costs have been recovered; our first edition of five thousand sold out. Our second edition will be ready soon, and we have also in process
a bibliophilic limited edition in fine binding, which in itself will be a first for the Society.

The publications of the JPS for the balance of 1975 and for 1976 are ones of which we shall be proud. I shall for now mention only one of the special publications to commemorate the American Bicentennial.

The major offering will be a collection of early American Judaica (1761–1845). We shall present ten publications, each an exact facsimile of a milestone in the early history of the American Jewish community. It includes such choice writings as the first Jewish liturgy and the first sermon printed in the New World, a discourse by the revolutionary patriot Rabbi Gershom Mendes Seixas, the plea of Colonel Worthington for religious freedom for Jews in Maryland, and other fascinating items. Presented in a boxed slipcase, in faithful facsimile, this will be highly satisfying, aesthetically and historically.

By 1976 we hope also to launch a major undertaking in American Jewish biography. We are convening tomorrow a conference of some of the leading scholars in American Jewish history, including our distinguished trustee Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, to discuss the scope and feasibility of such a project. I believe that from that conference will emerge a new undertaking to prepare a major dictionary in the field of Jewish American biography. This will be another milestone for the Society.

This record of the Society's progress is particularly gratifying to your officers when we recall some of the formidable problems we faced. Shortly after I took office, Mr. Lesser Zussman retired as executive director. His first successor did not remain with us, and the search for a replacement had to proceed anew. Adding a double portion to our problems, Chaim Potok began his sojourn in Israel during this period, leaving us with an editor-in-absentia for almost two years, until the difficult task of finding his successor was accomplished. These were trying times of transition, and on more than one occasion I recalled Morris Newburger's comments, seventy-five years ago, that "the presidency of the Society is no sinecure."

That we have achieved so satisfying a record in the face of these obstacles is a tribute to our officers and trustees, whose experience and judgment were always at my disposal, whose cooperation has been extraordinary, and who gave the Society a priority in their own active careers. In particular, those officers who live in Philadelphia, Robert P. Abrams, Mitchell E. Panzer, Edward B. Shils, A. Leo Levin, and Robert P. Frankel, are the wise counselors who, on a day-by-day basis, consult with your president and criticize and support his sometimes overly timid, sometimes overly bold suggestions. I am deeply grateful to all of them.
Our new executive vice-president, Bernard Levinson, has been with us less than a year, but we already know that we have chosen most wisely. His contributions have been substantial, and he is a joy to work with. His continued tenure bodes well for the Society. This year, Rose Rubin, who has long given devoted service to the Society, was elevated to the post of business manager. Our entire staff merits the Society's appreciation.

Of course, the keystone of the Society has always been its editors and chairmen of the Publication Committee, for it is they who shape the critical choices and bring our vision to fruition. When Chaim Potok decided to relinquish the editorship, it was a blow. We are fortunate that we have retained a call on his talents since Dr. Potok will remain with JPS as special-projects editor. As you can imagine, it was no easy task to find a successor.

Our new editor, Maier Deshell, is indeed a happy choice. In the nine months he has been with us we have seen the depth of his perception, and his initiative and daring in pioneering new ground. We have come to know and admire his enormous capacity for work, his keen sensitivity to other people's needs, and his restless, probing mind. The Society will surely fare well under his editorial direction. Mr. Deshell is most ably assisted by Kay Powell, who was promoted this year to the new post of associate editor.

Achron, achron, chaviv. The last is sweetest, the saying goes, and I have left for last, Dr. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi. When I took office in 1972, Dr. Gerson Cohen had just become chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and my first task was to appoint a new chairman of the Publication Committee. Moshe Greenberg had initially suggested Yosef Yerushalmi, and as I solicited other suggestions that name appeared with regularity. I asked Dr. Yerushalmi whether he would serve; instead of the enthusiastic yes I expected, he said he wanted to discuss it with me. For over an hour I used my most persuasive advocacy; finally he accepted. Surely it is one of my most felicitous accomplishments on behalf of the Society.

Dr. Yerushalmi gives us intellect of the first rank, a talent for exquisite expression, a generalist's overview of Jewish culture, a specialist's concern for nuance and detail, and a quiet passion for the good and beautiful. These are all rare qualities, and all the more rare in combination. Dr. Yerushalmi has proved a deep spring for new ideas; he has a sure sense of direction in his critical role in the Society. We are deeply appreciative to him, and I am personally grateful that he has become my friend.

These many projects represent a new thrust by the Society. They reflect an eagerness to fill gaps in our cultural resources, an increased inclination to sponsor the research needed for publication, a greater willingness to
experiment and explore. These are wholesome developments.

Some have suggested that we have undertaken too much. My belief is that we have not undertaken enough. There are great riches to be mined in our world of books, and who should mine them better than we? I am confident that our future will be dynamic, that the advances until now are prologue to still greater ones. Many exciting pathways lie ahead.

We have talked of the great need for a strong youth division in the JPS. The Jewish books available for children are relatively few and rarely of high quality. This is a shocking condition. Surely before long we must enlarge our activity here and create a substantial youth division.

We have talked of the need to provide Jewish classics for the colleges with attractive editions of low cost that will bring Jewish masters to the campus. We have talked of the need to produce texts to serve the many courses in Judaica in English-speaking universities. This, too, is a largely untapped field. We have talked of the storehouse of seminal Jewish classics in Hebrew, and also in Yiddish, Spanish, German, French, Polish, and Russian, which are unavailable in English. Such books cry for publication with elucidating introductions and critical editions of the text.

And we have talked of the need to create societies of Friends of JPS throughout the nation, to broaden our base to Australia, Canada, England, and South Africa, and of the pressing need to enlarge our membership in this country. Our gratification at reaching new heights should not obscure the sobering fact that less than 1 percent of the Jewish families in the nation belong to the Society.

These are a few of the tasks that lie ahead. Much as we have achieved, we have barely begun to fulfill the rich promise of our potential.

I leave this office grateful that I had the opportunity to serve the Jewish Publication Society and I am deeply appreciative of the help you have given me. Happily, my successor, Professor A. Leo Levin, is a man of extraordinary achievement, ability, and commitment. The members of the Society can look to the future with high confidence in his leadership. JPS is truly in good hands.

A long, long time ago, Ecclesiastes wearily wrote: "Of making books there is no end." He may have uttered those words in despair. But at the Jewish Publication Society, we have always considered them as a blessing!

JPS Treasurer's Report for 1974

I report with pleasure that during the year 1974 our revenues from books and Bible sales increased from $338,783 in 1973 to $659,439. Bible sales
continued the upward trend of recent years and increased at a moderate rate from $155,369 in 1973 to $160,840 in 1974. The spectacular jump in sales of other publications was attributable in large measure to the phenomenal success of *The Jewish Catalog*—112,521 copies were sold in 1974. Membership dues went up from $252,315 in 1973 to $282,242 in 1974. The Society's total revenues for the year showed an increase of over 62% from $604,159 in 1973 to $979,315 in 1974.

Our Society was not immune to the inflationary trends of recent years and our expenses for the year correspondingly increased, fortunately not as dramatically as did our revenues. In 1974 the Society's expenses were $1,072,494 compared to $840,902 in the previous year. A significant portion of the increased expenses was attributable to the expanded production schedule.

The net result of all the foregoing figures is that our expenses for the year 1974 exceeded revenues from publications by $93,179. I hasten to add that this $93,000 operating deficit was more than offset by income from our special purpose funds and donations in the aggregate amount of $124,907, thus enabling us to arrive at the bottom line with a surplus of $31,727. In conclusion, I am able to follow in the tradition of my predecessor by stating that the Society's fiscal position continues to be a sound one.

*JPS Publications*

In 1974 we published the following new volumes, with titles, authors, quantities printed, and distribution as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Title and Author</th>
<th>Printed</th>
<th>Distributed</th>
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<tr>
<td>THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH: A New Translation</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>2,990</td>
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<tr>
<td>With woodcuts by Nikos Stavroulakis</td>
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<td>JEWISH COOKING AROUND THE WORLD</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>2,779</td>
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<td>By Hanna Goodman</td>
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<td>THE JEWS OF MOSLEM SPAIN (Volume I)</td>
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<td>By Eliyahu Ashtor</td>
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<td>LAND OF THE HART</td>
<td>5,000</td>
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<td>By Arie L. Eliav</td>
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<td>MY BROTHER'S KEEPER: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1929–1939</td>
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<td>By Yehuda Bauer</td>
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<td>TO REMEMBER, TO FORGET</td>
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<td>By Dahn Ben Amotz</td>
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<td>A PASSION FOR TRUTH</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<td>By Abraham Joshua Heschel</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Copies</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE FAMILY</strong></td>
<td>6,700</td>
<td>2,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edited by Hayyim Schneid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PASSEOVER</strong></td>
<td>11,030</td>
<td>4,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edited by Mordell Klein</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KABBALAH</strong></td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Gershom Scholem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE JEWS OF THE UNITED STATES</strong></td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction by Arthur Hertzberg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Lucy S. Dawidowicz 54:471–85

Economic Status and Occupational Structure
Eli E. Cohen 51:53–70

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Salo W. Baron 63:3–53

European Jewry Before and After Hitler
Léon Poliakov 63:54–84

The Proceedings
George Salomon 63:85–103

America's Response
Sidney Liskofsky 63:104–19

The Judgment
63:120–31

Text of the Indictment

Intermarriage in the United States
Arnold Schwartz 71:101–21

Jewish Academics in the United States: Their Achievements, Culture and Politics
Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett Carll Ladd, Jr.

Jewish Education—For What?
Walter I. Ackerman 70:3–36

Jewish Fertility in the United States
Erich Rosenthal 62:3–27
Jewish Labor Movement in the United States
Will Herberg 53:3–74

Jewish Social Work in the United States, 1654–1954
Herman D. Stein 57:3–98

Jewish Studies in American Liberal-Arts Colleges and Universities
Arnold J. Band 67:3–30

The Jews in Western Europe Today
Arnold Mandel 68:3–28

The Legal Status of the American Jewish Community
Daniel J. Elazar and Stephen R. Goldstein 73:3–94

Library Resources for Jewish Studies in the United States
Charles Berlin 75:3–54

North American Settlers in Israel
Gerald Engel 71:161–87

Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life
Charles S. Liebman 66:21–97

Yitzchak Leybush Peretz: An Appreciation
S. Niger 54:542–49

Professional Personnel in the Social Services of the Jewish Community
Arnulf M. Pins 64:203–35

The Purposes of the Jewish Community Center Movement: An Appraisal of Their Operation
Carl Urbont 68:29–59

Reconstructionism in American Jewish Life
Charles S. Liebman 71:3–99

The Sephardim of the United States: An Exploratory Study
Marc D. Angel 74:77–138

Nathan Glazer 56:3–41

The Soviet Jewish Problem at the United Nations
Ronald I. Rubin 71:141–59

Spiritual Life of American Jewry, 1654–1954
Joseph L. Blau 56:99–170

Studies of Jewish Intermarriage in the United States
Erich Rosenthal 64:3–53

Three Centuries of Jewish Life in England, 1656–1956
S. D. Temkin 58:3–63

The Training of American Rabbis
Charles S. Liebman 69:3–112

Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada, 1760–1960
Louis Rosenberg 62:28–49
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leo Baeck</td>
<td>By Max Gruenewald 59:478-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Blaustein</td>
<td>By John Slawson 72:547-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Buber</td>
<td>By Seymour Siegel 67:37-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham Cahan</td>
<td>By Mendel Osherowitch 53:527-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Einstein</td>
<td>By Jacob Bronowski 58:480-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felix Frankfurter</td>
<td>By Paul A. Freund 67:31-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Ginzberg</td>
<td>By Louis Finkelstein 56:573-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Glatstein</td>
<td>By Shmuel Lapin 73:611-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayim Greenberg</td>
<td>By Marie Syrkin 56:589-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham Joshua Heschel</td>
<td>By Fritz A. Rothschild 74:533-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horace Meyer Kallen</td>
<td>By Milton R. Konvitz 75:55-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert H. Lehman</td>
<td>By Louis Finkelstein 66:3-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judah L. Magnes</td>
<td>By James Marshall 51:512-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Marx</td>
<td>By Abraham S. Halkin 56:580-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinhold Niebuhr</td>
<td>By Seymour Siegel 73:605-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Proskauer</td>
<td>By David Sher 73:618-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice Samuel</td>
<td>By Milton H. Hindus 74:545-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max Weinreich</td>
<td>By Lucy S. Dawidowicz 70:59-68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaim Weizmann</td>
<td>By Harry Sacher 55:462-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen S. Wise</td>
<td>By Philip S. Bernstein 51:515-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>A Better Chance, Inc., 179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>504</td>
<td><em>AAJE Information Bulletin</em>, 504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Abecasis, Ichudah, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>Abelanda, Sanchez, 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>433</td>
<td>Abeles, Peter, 433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Abrahami, Elie, 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191, 220</td>
<td>Abramov, S. Z., 191, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>419</td>
<td>Abramowitz, Israel, 419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>Abramowski, Wolfgang, 342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>419</td>
<td>Abrams, Lester, 419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Abse, Dannie, 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Academy for Jewish Studies Without Walls, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Ad Hoc Protest Committee, 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68n</td>
<td>Adar, Zvi, 68n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205, 216</td>
<td>Adelson, Alan, 205, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 11</td>
<td>Adler, Cyrus, 4, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347, 354</td>
<td>Adler, H. G., 347, 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>511</td>
<td>Adler, Jacob, 511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27n</td>
<td>Adler, Samuel, 27n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>354</td>
<td>Adler-Rudel, S., 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>504</td>
<td><em>Adult Jewish Education</em>, 504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>418</td>
<td>African Studies Institute, 418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>416</td>
<td><em>Die Afrikaner</em>, 416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316–17</td>
<td>Agt, Andreas van, 316–17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>Agt, Jan van, 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>457</td>
<td>Agudath Israel World Organization, 457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171, 179, 184, 457</td>
<td>Agudath Israel of America, 171, 179, 184, 457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children’s Division—Pirchei Agudath Israel, 457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>457</td>
<td>Girls’ Division—Bnos Agudath Israel, 457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>457</td>
<td>Women’s Division—N’Shei Agudath Israel, 457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>457</td>
<td>Youth Division—Zeirei Agudath Israel, 457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Agudath Israel party (Israel), 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>Agurskii, Melik, 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>Agurskii, Samuil, 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53–54, 54n, 56–58, 58n, 60, 65n, 70n, 96, 109</td>
<td>Ahad Ha’am (Asher Ginzberg), 53–54, 54n, 56–58, 58n, 60, 65n, 70n, 96, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Ahдут Ha’avadah (Israel), 75, 411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>Akerman, Bernardo, 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>Aktion Leben (Action Life, Austria), 361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223–28</td>
<td>Alaska, 223–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td><em>Alaska Magazine</em>, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227, 502</td>
<td><em>Alaskan Jewish Bulletin</em>, 227, 502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>504</td>
<td><em>Albany Jewish World</em>, 504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>470</td>
<td>Albert Einstein College of Medicine, 470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284</td>
<td>Albertstein, Chava, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284</td>
<td>Aleichem, Sholem, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>423</td>
<td>Alexander, F. L., 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Alexander, Yonah, 193, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>Alianza Libertadora Nacionalista (Argentina), 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Aliav, Ruth, 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Alima, Rita, 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298</td>
<td>All-Party Parliamentary Committee for Soviet Jewry (Gt. Britain), 298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>Allende, José, 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>394</td>
<td><em>Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung</em>, 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>Alliance Israélite Universelle (France), 310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>Allied Jewish Community Services (AJCS; Canada), 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Allin, John, 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351, 399, 402, 404, 405, 407</td>
<td>Allon, Yigal, 351, 399, 402, 404, 405, 407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Almirante, Giorgio, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42n, 408, 411</td>
<td>Aloni Shulamit, 42n, 408, 411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>Alpern, Shabsi, 281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191, 220</td>
<td>Alroy, Gil Carl, 191, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Alsop, Joseph, 116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Alter, Shlomo, 301
Altman, Alexander, 299
Amadei, Giuseppe, 329
America-Israel Cultural Foundation, 476
America-Israel Public Affairs Committee, 430
American Academy for Jewish Research, 451
American and European Friends of ORT, 455
American Association for Jewish Education, 457
National Council on Adult Jewish Education, 457
National Council on Jewish Audio-Visual Materials, 457
American Association of School Administrators, 138
American Biblical Encyclopedia Society, 451
American Committee for Shaare Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem, 477
American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science, 477
American Conference of Cantors, 466
American Council for Judaism, 179, 184, 448
Philanthropic Fund, 455
American Council on Education, 179
American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, 472
American Friends of Haifa University, 477
American Friends of Religious Freedom in Israel, 477
American Friends of Tel Aviv University, 477
American Friends of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 455
American Friends of the Hebrew University, 477
American Friends of the Jerusalem Mental Health Center—Ezrath Nashim, 477
American Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute, 452
American Independent party, 118
American Indian Movement (AIM), 139
American Israel Public Affairs Committee, 477
American-Israeli Lighthouse, 477
The American Israélite, 508
American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, 448
American Jewish Archives (AJA), 13, 15, 460
American Jewish Archives, 508
American Jewish Committee, 4, 21, 32, 116, 132, 135, 173, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 268, 272, 448
American Jewish Conference, 33
American Jewish Congress, 21, 32, 171, 172, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 269, 449
Women's Division, 173, 177, 449
American Jewish Correctional Chaplains Association, 473
American Jewish Historical Quarterly, 12, 200, 212, 221, 503
American Jewish Historical Society (AJHS), 11, 14, 23, 452
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), 13, 21, 386, 390, 396, 397, 455
American Jewish Journal, 503
American Jewish League for Israel, 477
American Jewish Periodical Center, 460
American Jewish Press Association, 452
American Jewish Public Relations Society, 483
American Jewish Society for Service, 473
American Jewish Times—Outlook, 508
American Jewish World, 504
American Jewish Year Book, 504
American Journal of Sociology, 5n
American Labor ORT, 455
American Medical Center at Denver, 473
National Council of Auxiliaries, 474
American Mizrahi Woman, 474
American Mizrachi Women, 504
American Mizrachi Women, 478
American ORT Federation—Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training, 455
American and European Friends of ORT, 455
American Labor ORT, 455
Business and Professional ORT, 455
National ORT League, 455
ORT Youth Fellowship, 456
Women’s American ORT, 456
American party, 119
American Physicians Fellowship for the Israel Medical Association, 478
American Red Magen David for Israel, 478
American Sephardi Federation, 175, 183, 184, 188, 472
Youth Commission, 175
American Society for Jewish Music, 452
American Society for Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, 478
American Sociological Review, 5n
American Student Center in Jerusalem, 461
American Trade Union Council for Histadrut, 481
American Veterans of Israel, 472
American Zionist, 504
American Zionist Emergency Committee, 32
American Zionist Federation, 175, 176, 183, 184, 186, 478
American Zionist Youth Foundation, 173, 175, 183, 478
American Zionist Youth Council, 478
Americans for a Music Library in Israel, 479
Americans for Progressive Israel, 479
AMIA (see Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina)
Amon, Moshe, 196, 216
Ampal—American Israel Corporation, 479
Anchorage Times, 224, 227
Angel, Marc D., 207, 220
Anglo-Israeli Chamber of Commerce, 288, 289
Anielewicz, Mordecai, 79
Anno Zero (Italy), 334
Anti-Defamation League (see B’nai B’rith)
Anti-Revolution party (ARP; Netherlands), 313
Antoni, Rudolf, 368
Antonovsky, Aaron, 5n, 81n, 194, 216
Apodaca, Jerry, 118
Apple, Raymond, 432
Applebaum, Samuel, 223
Arab Boycott Office (Gt. Britain), 291
Arab Higher Committee for Palestine, 156
Arab League, 141, 328
Arab Youth Movement for the Liberation of Palestine, 316
Arafat, Yasir, 123, 141, 257, 305, 318, 328, 331, 340, 358, 384, 406, 426
Aramburu, Pedro Eugenio, 263
Aranov, Saul, 259
Arbeiter Zeitung (Austria), 367
l’Arche (France), 310
Ardanaz, Benigno Mario, 275
Argentina, 262–276
Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), 263, 275
Argentine Episcopal Conference, 263
Argentine Friends of Free Slovakia, 274
Argentine-Israeli Chamber of Commerce, 269
Arian, Alan, 194–95, 216
Arian, Asher, 81n, 85n
Arieli, Isaac, 414
A.R.I.F.—Association Pour le Rétablissement des Institutions et Oeuvres Israélites en France, 456
Aris, Helmut, 357
Arizona Post, 502
Arns, (Cardinal) Paulo, 281
Arnsberg, Paul, 354
Arrostito, Norma, 263
Artom, Menachem, 329
Ashkanasy, Morris, 433
Ashkenazi, Motti, 409
Ashkenázy, Ludvík, 394
Associação Religiosa Israelita (Brazil), 282, 283
Asociación Comunidad Israelita Sefaradí (ACIS; Argentina), 267
Asociación Israelita Sefaradí Argentina (AISA), 267
Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA), 265, 266
Aspaturian, Vernon, 166
al-Assad, Hafez, 150, 400
al-Assifa, 403
Associated American Jewish Museums, 452
Association for Jewish Studies, 15, 458
Association for the Sociological Study of Jewry, 452
Association for the Welfare of Soldiers in Israel (S. Africa), 422
Association of Jewish Center Workers, 449
Association of Jewish Community Relations Workers, 449
Association of Jewish Day School Parents (Canada), 255
Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women (Gt. Britain), 300
Association of Jewish Libraries, 452
Association of Jewish Nazi Victims (Austria), 360
Association of Jewish Women's Organisations (Gt. Britain), 297, 298
Association of Yugoslav Jews in the United States, 472
Astin, Alexander, 128
Atid, College Age Organization, 468
Aufbau, 504
Australia, 425–33
Australia/Israel Publications (AIP), 430
Australian Council of Trade Unions, 427
Australian Jewish Herald, 432
Australian Jewish News, 432
Australian Jewish Times, 432
Australian Jewish Welfare and Relief Society, 433
Australian Union of Jewish Students, 430
Australian Union of Progressive Judaism, 432
Australian Union of Students, 426
Austria, 359–71
Austrian Press Council, 368
Avi-hai, Avraham, 66n, 73n, 214, 216
Avineri, Shlomo, 196, 220
Avishai, Bernard, 191, 220
Avneri, Uri, 408
Avni, Haim, 271
Axelrod, Meir, 381
Ayali, Meir, 64n
el-Ayyubi, Mahmoud, 364
Aziz, Philippe, 354
Azur, David, 338
Babii-Iar, 374
Bach, Hans I., 355
Bacilek, Karel, 394
Backer, George, 511
Badi, Joseph, 42n
Baeck, Leo, 52n
Baer, Yitzhak, 46n
Bahr, Egon, 344
Balbin, Ricardo, 262
Balboni, Alan Richard, 205, 216
Baltimore Jewish Times, 503
Baltzell, E. Digby, 26n
Bangemann, Martin, 344
Bank, Lynne Reid, 299
Banki, Judith H., 192, 216
Bar-Ilan University in Israel, 479
Bar-Lev, Haim, 407
Bar-Nir, Dov, 69n
Bar-On, Hanan, 321
Baraka, Imamu, 130
Baranover, Herman, 422
Bari, Zeev, 270
Barker, Ernest, 92
Barnett, R. D., 300
Baron, Salo W., 8, 17, 18n, 56n, 197, 216, 285
Baron de Hirsch Fund, 474
Barschdorff, Gustav, 349
Barta, Johannes, 355
Bartov, Chanoch, 269
INDEX / 579

Baruch, Robert, 282
Barylko, Jaime, 268
Barzel, Rainer, 344
Baskin, Bernard, article by, 249–61
Bass, Bedrich, 393
Bauer, Yehuda, 21n, 198, 216
Baum, Karl, article by, 383–94
Baume, Peter, 432
Beatrix, Princess of Netherlands, 319
Beauvoir, Simone de, 306
Bednarik, R., 393
Beem, Hyman, 322
Begin, Menachem, 257, 400
Bein, Alex, 214, 216
Belarski, Sidor, 282
Belfer Graduate School of Science, 470
Bell, Don, 126
Bell, T. H., 138
Beller, Nathan, 433
Benda, Vilém, 389
Ben-David, Arye, 354
Ben Ezer, Ehud, 50n, 59n
Ben-Gurion, David, 65–66, 73n
Ben Hamu, Shelomo, 270
Ben-Horin, Eliashiv, 343
Ben Iosseph, Iosseph, 284
Ben-Menashe, Joseph, 87n
Ben-Sasson, Hayyim, 59n
Ben Shemesh, Shimon, 267
Benn, Anthony, 291
Benny, Jack, 511
Bensi, Cesare, 327
Bension, Joshua, 413
Berdichevski, Micah Joseph, 58, 58n
Berenson, Bernard, 107
Berg, David Grandt (Moses David), 122, 335
Bergen, Emil, 511
Berger, Stephen E., 261
Bergson, Peter, 33
Berinson, Joseph, 432
Berkovits, Eliezer, 45n, 53n, 196, 197, 216, 220
Berlin, Charles, 14n
Berlin, (Sir) Isaiah, 301
Berlinger, Eliezer, 321
Berman, Esme, 423
Berman, Felix, 381
Berman, Saul, 200, 221
Bernard Revel Graduate School, 470
Bernhardt, Maurice, 511
Bernstein, Edgar, 423
Beth Bar Shalom Christian Fellowship, 122
Beth Medrosh Elyon (Academy of Higher Learning and Research), 472
Bettex, Friedrich, 354
Bialik, Hayyim Nahman, 58n, 284
Bickel, Alexander, 211, 221
Bienstock, Herbert, 207, 221
Billig, Max J., 512
Bingham, Jonathan B., 150
Birmingham, Stephen, 22
Birnbaum, Ervin, 42n
Birobidzhaner Shtern (Soviet Union), 381, 382
Bishop, Claire, 210, 216
Bitzaron, 504
Black Muslims, 131
Black Panthers, 130
Black September, 342, 365
Blacker, Harry, 300
Blanck, Irwin M., 133
Blankfeld, Elijas, 284
Blau, Amram, 414
Blaustein Library, 13
Blazer, R. Yitzak, 104
Bloch, Fritz Elieser, 353
Bloom, Jessie and Robert, 224
Bloomberg, David, 418
Bloomfield, Bernice, 227
Blow, Desmond, 423
Blum, Léon, 312
Blum, Ludwig, 415
Blum, Virgil C., 120
B'nai B'rith, 176, 474
Anti-Defamation League of, 124, 132, 135, 174, 177, 178, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 254, 267, 430, 449, 474
Career and Counseling Services, 474
Hillel Foundations, 458, 474
International Association of Hillel Directors, 474
Women, 474
Youth Organization, 458, 474
*B'nai B'rith Messenger*, 502
*B'nai Yiddish*, 504
B'nai Zion—The American Fraternal Zionist Organization, 472
Bnei Akiva of North America, 481
Board of American Baptist Churches, 120
Board of Certification for Temple Administrators, 467
Board of Deputies (Australia), 429
Board of Deputies of British Jews, 289, 291, 295, 296, 298, 300
Board of Jewish Education (Brazil), 283
Board of Jewish Education (Canada), 253
Board of Jewish Religious Education (Gt. Britain), 292
Bober, Arie, 194, 216
Bock, Fritz, 359
Bohátká, Jiří, 389, 390, 391-92
Bokser, Ben Zion, 203, 216
*Bolitín Informativo* (Argentina), 267
Böll, Heinrich, 344, 373
Bolshakov, V., 379
Bonchek, Samuel, 512
Bontemps, Alex, 133n
Borges, Jorge Luis, 273
Borm, Kurt, 350
Borowitz, Eugene, 3n, 208, 216
Borukhovitch, Itche, 381
Botein, Bernard, 512
Boumedienne, Houari, 401
Bourrasa, Robert, 250
Bouteflika, Abdelaziz, 156
Bracklo, Eike, 155
Branco, Federico, 275
Brandeis, Louis D., 35, 215,
Brandeis Institute, 458
Brandeis University National Women's Committee, 484
Brandt, Willy, 339, 340
Brannen, James H., 127
Braverman, Leib, 259
Brazil, 277-86
Brecher, Michael, 195, 216
Brecher, Morris, 512
Brenner, Jack, 295
Brenner, Joseph Hayyim, 58
Breuer, Isaac, 85n
Bright, Gerald (Geraldo), 301
Brissaud, André, 299
Brisson, Pierre, 256
Brit Trumpeldor, Betar, 479
Brith Abraham, 472
Brith Sholom, 472
British Movement, 300
British Overseas Trade Group for Israel, 288
British Zionist Federation, 296
Britto, Nascimento, 279
Broda, Christian, 368
Brodman, David, 320
Brodsky, Saul, 512
Broner, Julio, 264
Bronfman, Charles R., 255, 260
Bronfman, Edgar M., 260
Bronner, Leah, 423
Brookdale Studies Program, 470
Brooke, Edward W., 130
Brown, F. Gordon, 261
Brown, George L., 127
Brown, George S., 125-26, 152
Brown, S.E.D., 416
Browne, Lewis, 285
Bruneira, Alfredo, 331
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 280
Buber, Martin, 43n, 45n, 49n, 52, 52n
Budde, Hilmar, 354
*Buffalo Jewish Review*, 504
Buhr, Lutz, 342
*Bulletin du Cercle Juif de Langue Française du Congrès Juif Canadien*, 509
Bund Jüdischer Verfolgter des Nazi Regimes (Association of Jewish Nazi Victims; Austria), 369
Bund Werktätiger Juden (League of Working Jews; Austria), 369
Bundesverband Jüdischer Studenten (W. Germany), 353
INDEX / 581

Burg, Yosef, 411
Burlá, Eliezer, 278
Burrows, Millar, 9n
Burstein, Pesach, 267
Business and Professional ORT, 455
Bustan, Aryeh, 423

Cabildo (Argentina), 274
Cabral, Facundo, 267
Cahnman, Werner J., 5n, 370
Callaghan, James, 288, 290
Calvinist Church (Netherlands), 320
Canada, 249–61
Canada-Israel Committee, 257, 430
Canada-Israel Securities, Ltd., State of Israel Bonds, 485
Canadian Association for Labor Israel (Histadrut), 486
Canadian Foundation for Jewish Culture, 258, 486
Canadian Friends of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 486
Canadian Friends of the Hebrew University, 486
Canadian Jewish Congress, 251, 254, 256, 258, 486
Canadian Jewish News, 254, 509
Canadian Jewish Outlook, 509
Canadian Jewish Weekly (Vochenblatt), 509
Canadian ORT Organization, 486
Women's Canadian ORT, 486
Canadian Union of Jewish Students, 486
Canadian Young Judea, 486
Canadian Zionist, 509
Canadian Zionist Federation, 254, 486
Department of Hebrew Education and Culture, 486
Cang, Joel, 302
Canterbury, Archbishop of, 298
Cantors Assembly, 458
Cantors Institute and Seminary College of Jewish Music, 173, 461
Capa, Cornell, 299
Capovilla, Loris, 333
Capucci, (Archbishop) Hilarian, 331–32, 403
Caputo, Livio, 142
Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, 134
Career and Counseling Services, 474
Carr, Donald, 253
Carr, Robert, 290
Casa Argentina-Israel Tierra Santa (Argentina House in Israel), 267
Casa de Cultura de Israel (Brazil), 284
Casaroli, Agostino, 330
Case, Clifford, 159
Cass, Moses, 432
Castro, Fidel, 331
Catapano, Costantino, 334
Catholic Church (Netherlands), 320
Catholic League for Religious Rights, 120
Catholic People's party (KVP; Netherlands), 313
Catovski, Falik, 269
La Causa Peronista, 263
CCAR (see Central Conference of American Rabbis).
CCAR Journal, 200, 222, 504
CCJO (see Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations).
Celniker, M., 261
Center for Documentation and Information for Israel (CIDI; Netherlands), 318
Center for East and African Studies, 422
Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), 171, 173, 184, 458, 467
Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook, 505
Central Federation of Democratic Resistance Fighters (W. Germany), 344
Central Jewish Education Committee (Canada), 255
Central Sephardic Jewish Community of America, 472
Central Yeshiva Beth Joseph Rabbinical Seminary, 458
Central Yiddish Culture Organization (CYCO), 452
Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (France), 312
Centre Universitaire d’Etudes Juives (France), 308
Centro de Estudios Sociales (Argentina), 267
Centro di Documentazional Ebraica Contemporanea (CDEC; Italy), 337
Cercle Bernard Lazare (France), 304
Cercle Crémiieux (France), 304
Chaban-Delmas, Jacques, 303–04
Chaikov, Josef, 381
Chakovskii, Aleksandr, 379
Chapman, Leonard F., Jr., 137
Charlop, Jechiel M., 512
Chazani, Michael, 409, 411
Chenkin, Alvin, article by, 229–38; 206, 221
Chertoff, Mordecai, 196, 216
Chesnie, Henrietta, 260
Chicago Jewish Post and Opinion, 503
Children of God, 122, 300, 335
Chirac, Jacques, 303
Christian Century, 121, 133n
Christian Democratic party (DC; Italy), 324, 325–26
Christian Democratic Union (CDU; W. Germany), 339
Christian Historical Union (CHU; Netherlands), 313
Christian Science Monitor, 131n
Chronicle of Higher Education, 129
Chronicle Review, 509
Chukovskaiia, Lidiia, 374
Chukovskii, Korniei, 374
Church, Frank, 119, 167
Church Women United, 173
Cinema Committee of the Third World, 274
City of Hope, 474
Civil Rights Digest, 136n
Civil Rights Movement (Israel), 408, 411
Civiltà Cattolica (Italy), 337
Clarín (Argentina), 275
Clark, Dennis, 26
Clark, Ramsey, 124
Claus, Prince of Netherlands, 319
Cleveland College of Jewish Studies, 458
Cleveland Jewish News, 508
Club Atlética Sefaradí Argentino (CASA), 267
Cochran, Thomas, 22
Cogley, John, 44n
Cohen, Arthur A., 200, 216
Cohen, Barry, 432
Cohen, Harry, 260
Cohen, Hayyim, J., 193, 216
Cohen, Hermann, 96
Cohen, Mrs. J., 419
Cohen, Maxwell, 260
Cohen, Mervyn, 418
Cohen, Moises, 285
Cohen, Mordaunt, 301
Cohen, Naamah, 21n, 198, 216
Cohen, Sal, 318
Cohen, Shalom, 408
Cohen, Victor J., 512
Cohn, Hans W., 299
Colbi, Paolo, 332
Collins, Larry, 196, 216
Colombo, Joseph, 338
COLPA (see National Jewish Commission on Law and Public Affairs).
Columbia University Graduate School of Business, 181
Columbia University Teachers College, 175
Columbus Times, 131
Comay, Joan, 299, 422
Comay, Michael, 422
Comité de Liaison des Étudiants Sionistes Socialistes (CLESS; France), 309
Commentary, 15, 127n, 191, 221, 505
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, 449
Commission on Synagogue Administration, 467
Committee for Jews in Arab Lands (Netherlands), 322
Committee for Public Action and Religious Liberty (PEARL), 176
Committee for Rescue of Syrian Jewry, 188
Committee of Concern, 188
Committee of Solidarity with Jews in the Soviet Union (Netherlands), 319
Committee on Behalf of Soviet Jewry and the Jews in Arab Countries (Argentina), 268

Communal Register, 4

Communist party, 118

Communist party (Austria), 360

Communist party (Czechoslovakia), 383

Communist party (France), 305

Communist party (Maki; Israel), 358, 408

Communist party (PCI; Italy), 324

Communist party (Soviet Union), 373

Communist party (Yugoslavia), 395

Concentración Nacional Universitaria (Argentina), 274

Confederación Juvenil Judéo-Argentina, 268

Confederation of Brazilian Jewish Organizations, 278

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, 165, 186, 188, 449

Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany, 348, 456

Conference on Jewish Social Studies, 452

Congregación Israelita Paulista (Brazil), 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285

Congregación Israelita Latina (Argentina), 267

Congregation Beth Sholom Bulletin (Alaska), 227

Congress Bulletin, 509

Congress for Jewish Culture, 453

World Bureau for Jewish Education, 453

Congress Monthly, 505

Congressional Quarterly Weekly, 117, 117n, 136n

Connecticut Jewish Ledger, 503

Conseil des Intellectuels Juifs pour Israël (France), 309

Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF), 304, 308

Conservative Friends of Israel (Gt. Britain), 288

Conservative Judaism, 199, 222, 505

Conservative party, 118

Conservative party (Gt. Britain), 287

Consigna Nacional (Argentina), 274

Consistoire Central de France, 308

Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations (CCJO), 449

Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations (Canada), 256

Contenson, Pierre de, 332

Co-ordinated Services to Jewish Elderly (Canada), 252

Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations, 449

Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation (E. Germany), 357

Corwin, Sam, 227

Council for Jews in Arab Lands (Gt. Britain), 297

Council for National Academic Awards (NCAA; Gt. Britain), 293

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 474

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (Canada), 259

Council of Jewish Organizations in Civil Service, 449

Council of Jewish Religious Communities (Czechoslovakia), 387, 391, 392

Cranston, Alan, 119

Crisis, 132n

El Cronista Comercial (Argentina), 275

Crosbie, Sylvia Kowitt, 195, 216

Cox, Archibald, 221

Cucchetti, Carlos, 267

Cummings, Israel, 512

Curtis, Michael, 196, 217

Curtius, Ernst, 107

CYCO (see Central Yiddish Culture Organization).

Czechoslovakia, 383–94

Czertok, Léon, 312

da Silveiro, Azeredo, 277

Dagan, Avigdor, 364

Dalzheimer, Helen M., 513

Danon, Cadik, 397

Danovski, Miriam, 280

Danson, Barney, 251, 260
Das III. Reich (W. Germany), 342
Daughters of the American Revolution, 134
Davar (Argentina), 272
Davar (Israel), 411
David, Leopold, 224
Davis, Daniel L., 513
Davis, Margaret, 432
Davis, Moshe, 192, 217
Davis, Stanley Clinton, 288
Davka (Argentina), 272
Dayan, Moshe, 398, 399, 407, 408-09, 411, 422
Dayan, Ruth, 214, 217
Dayton Jewish Chronicle, 508
de Jong, Lou, 321
de Rosas, Juan Manuel, 274
DeFunis, Marco, 132
DeHaas, Jacob, 21
Dekel, Ephraim, 196, 217
Delaski, Joseph, 423
Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA), 267, 268, 269
Delegación de Entidades Sepharditas Argentinas (DESA), 267
Delfont, Bernard, 301
Deljaco, Walter, 368
Dellums, Ronald, 124
Demichev, Pyotr, 372
Democratic party, 119
Democrats '66 (Netherlands), 313
den Uyl, Joop, 313, 315-16, 317
Der Nister (Kahanovich, Pinchas), 311, 381
El Descamisado (Argentina), 274
Detroit Jewish News, 504
Deutsche National-Zeitung (W. Germany), 341, 342
Le Devoir (Egypt), 256
El Dia (Argentina), 276
Dialogues (France) 310
Diamond, Denis, 418
Diamond (Sir), John, 301
Diesendruck, Menachem Mendel, 285
Dines, Alberto, 279, 285
Dines, Efraim, 271
Dinnerstein, Leonard, 212, 217
Dinse, Helmut, 355
Dinur, Ben Zion, 17, 59n
do Couto e Silva, Golbery, 278
Dobrynin, Anatoly, 160-61, 167
Dolcort, Frank, 260
Domb, Yerachmiel, 59n
Domin, Hilde, 355
Don Bell Reports, 126
Don-Yehiya, Elizier, 86n
Doré, Gustav, 393
Dorff, Elliot, 200, 221
Doron, Eliezer, 272
Dostrowsky, Israel, 329
Douglas-Home, (Sir), Alec, 287
Drabek, Anna, 370
Drach, Michel, 312
Draper, Theodore, 190, 221
Dreier, Peter, 206, 217
Dresner, Camillo, 299
Dresner, Julio, article by, 324-38
Drexel, Max, 350
Droesche University, 459
Alumni Association, 459
Dror—Young Zionist Organization, 479
Druon, Lazar, 418
Dubb, Allie, 418
Dubnow, Simon, 8, 17
Dudko, Dmitrii, 374
Dudman, Helga, 214, 217
Duisenberg, Willem F., 313
Dukakis, Michael S., 118
Dulzin, Leon, 317
Dumas, Roland, 403
Durkheim, Emile, 107
Durst, Joseph, 513
Dutch Collective Action for Israel, 315
Dutch-Israeli Friendship League, 318
Dutch Reformed Church, 320
Dymally, Mervyn M., 127
Dymshits, Benjamin, 379
Dymshitz, Aleksandr, 382
Eagles of the Palestinian Revolution, 365
East Germany, 357-58
Eban, Abba, 364, 401, 411
Ebin, Deborah S., 513
Ebony, 132n
Eck, Johanna, 346
INDEX / 585

Eckardt, Arthur Roy, 210, 217, 221
Eckert, Willehad P., 370
Economic Council for Israel (Gt. Britain), 288
Economic Horizons, 505
Edery, Mordecai, 270, 271
Educators Assembly (see United Synagogue).
Egan, William, 224
Ehmke, Horst, 344
Eichler, Benjamin, 389, 391
Einbeinder, Polina, 381
Einfield, Sydney, 432
Einhorn, David, 27n
Eisen, David, 259
Eisenberg, Mickey, 227
Eisenberg, Werner, 348
Elazar, Daniel J., 198, 203, 221
Elazar, David, 399, 407, 409
Eldar, Israel, 285
Eliav, Arie Lova, 194, 217
Eliav, Benjamin, 60n, 415
Eliaz, Raphael, 414
Elizur, Yuval, 194, 217
Ellerin, Milton, article by, 115–39
Elon, Amos, 299, 354
Elon, Menahem, 77n, 86n
Emde, Mrs. van, 318
EMNID Institute (W. Germany), 345, 347
Emuna (E. Germany), 357
Encyclopaedia Judaica, 5n
Enlace (Argentina), 274
Ennals, David, 290
Epoca, 142
Epstein, Benjamin R., 3n, 124, 209, 217
Epstein, Shelomo, 283
Equity (Gt. Britain), 298
Erlich, Sara, 279
Erna Michael College of Hebraic Studies, 470
Erren, Gerhard, 350
Ertl, Fritz Karl, 368
Eshet, Pinhas, 338
Etkind, Efim, 379
Etzioni-Halevi, Eve, 76n
European Council of Jewish Organizations, 396
European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market), 249, 288, 316, 318, 327, 340, 363, 375, 413
European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 363
Evangelical Church (W. Germany), 345
Evangelical Reformed Church (W. Germany), 345
Evans, Eli N., 212, 217
Evatt, H. V., 425
Evers, Louis, 323
Evnine, George, 296
Evola, Julius, 334
Evtuchenko, Evgenii, 373
Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), 429, 430
Ezra, Derek, 301
Fackenheim, Emil L., 192, 198, 199, 217
Fadeev, Aleksandr, 374
Faedo, Allesandro, 329
Fahmy, Ismail, 340, 366, 407
Fairbanks Newsletter, 227
Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia, 142, 273
Falbel, Nachman, 282
Falk, Gerald, 433
Fanfani, Amintore, 324, 325–26
Fannie and Maxwell Abbel Research Institute in Rabbinics, 462
Farenhold, Frances, 118
Fasold, Walter, 350
al-Fatah, 365, 403
Faure, Edgar, 303
Feder, Richard, 387, 393
Federação Universitário Hebraico-Brasileiro (FULSA), 283
Federación Juvenil Sionista (Argentina), 268
Federated Council of Israel Institutions—FCII, 479
Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies, 433
Federation of Jewish Communities (Yugoslavia), 396
Federation of Jewish Communities of
the German Democratic Republic, 357
Federation of Synagogues (Gt. Britain), 294
Federazione Giovanile Ebraica d'Italia (FGEI; Italy), 336
Fein, Leonard J., 200, 211, 217, 221
Feingold, Henry L., article by, 3-39
Felder, Gedalia, 259
Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, 471
Feuerberg, Mordekhai Ze'ev, 57
Fidler, Michael, 288, 296, 297
Fielding, Natalie, 136n
Fields, Dorothy, 513
Fierst, Miriam, 513
Figggen, Werner, 346
Fincham, Charles, 422
Finer, (Sir) Morris, 302
Fink, Leo, 433
Fink, Menachem, 321
Finkelszteyn, Haim, 270
Firer, Marcos, 278
Firmenich, Mario, 263
Fischer, Ernst, 360
Fischer, Eva, 338
Fischer, Per, 344
Fisher, Max, 422
Fisher, Quentin, 227
Fisher, (Sir) Samuel, 295, 300
Fishman, Aryeh, 62n
Fishman, Hertzl, 210, 217
Fishman, Iakov, 270
Flannery, Edward, 272
Fogarty, Michael, 83n
Fondo de Ayuda Integral al Necesitado (FAIN; Argentina), 266
Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU; France), 306, 307
Ford, Gerald R., 126, 129, 143, 146, 159, 160, 162, 405
Ford, Harold E., 127
Ford, Henry, 18
Foreign Aid Appropriation Act, 150
Foreign Assistance Act, 150
Forrest, A. C., 256
Forster, Arnold, 3n, 124, 209, 217
Foti, Vittorio, 329
Fouchet, Charles, 303
France, 303-12
Frankel, Harry, 513
Frankel, Israel, 261
Franklin, Selwyn, 420
Fraser, Malcolm, 427
Freed, Franco, 334
Freedman, Michael G., 419
Free Democratic party (FDP; W. Germany) 339
Free Sons of Israel, 472
Freedman, Maurice, 192
Freeland. 505
Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization, 456
Freeman, Derek, 432
Freie Arbeiter Stimme. 505
Freudendheim, Yehoshua, 86n
Frey, Alois, 350
Frey, Gerhard, 342
Friedberg, Benjamin, 258
Friedlinger, Peter, article by, 359-71
Friedman, Florence, 423
Friedman, Isaiah, 195, 217
Friedman, Joseph J., 423
Friedman, Saul S., 211, 217
Friedmann, Georges, 3n, 63n
Friends of Chaim Weizmann Institute (Argentina), 269
Friesdal, Evyatar, 285
Fromberg, Harry G., 513
Front des Etudiants Juifs (FEJ; France), 309
Frühbauer, Erwin, 360
Frýd, Norbert, 393
Fubini, Guido, 338
Fuchs, Abraham Moses, 414
Fuchs, František, 391, 392-93
Fuchs, L., 323
Furtseva, Yekaterina, 372
Gabrielsen, Luther T., 226
Gahal party (Israel), 81, 408
Gal, Allon, 203, 217
Galatsky, Vladimir, 338
Galich, Aleksandr, 378
Gallup, George, 118
Galpern, (Sir) Myer, 301
INDEX / 587

Galuski, Franz, 342
Gams, Andrija, 397
Gans, Mozes Heiman, 322
Gaon, Saadya, 45
Gardi, Nathan, 62n
Garrity, W. Arthur, 129
Gassner, Meyer W., 261
Gavrielli, Gavriel, 318
Geisel, Ernesto, 277
Gelbard, José Ber, 264, 274
Geldsaler, Bernard, 261
Genauer, Bela, 284
General Confederation of Labor (CGT; Argentina), 263
General Economic Confederation (CGE; Argentina), 263
General Revenue Sharing Act, 136
General Union of Palestinian Students, 426
General Zionist Organisation (Gt. Britain), 296
Generalunion Palästinensischer Arbeiter (GUPA; General Union of Palestinian Workers), 343
Generalunion Palästinensischer Studenten (GUPS; General Union of Palestinian Students), 343
Genscher, Hans-Dietrich, 339, 340
George Wallace party, 118
Gerchunoff, Alberto, 269
Gerchunoff, Berta, 276
Ger, Jacob, 415
German Federation of Trade Unions, 346
German Freedom Movement, 368
German-Israeli Committee for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, 346
Gerner, Berthold, 355
Gershkov, Shlome, 381
Gershtman, Carl, 206, 217
Gershtman, Mendel, 381
Gershon, Scholem, 50n
Gerson, Nathan J., 224
Gerssen, S., 321
Gerstle, Lewis, 224
Gervase-Lang, John, 301
al-Ghani Gamasy, Mohammed Abd, 399
Ghivelder, Zevi, 285
Gilbert, Felix, 355
Gilbert, Martin, 298
Gillen, Sister Ann, 122
Ginsburg, Alexander, 352
Ginsburg, Lester, 513
Ginzberg, Asher, 53
Ginzberg, Eli, 197, 210, 221
Ginzberg, Louis, 52n
Giscard d’Estaing, Valéry, 147, 303–04, 305–06, 308
Gitelman, Zvi Y., 209, 217
Givens, Philip, 257
Glanville, Brian, 300
Glatzer, Nahum N., 49n, 53n,
Glazer, Nathan, 5n, 45n, 204, 208, 217, 221
Globe and Mail (Canada), 256
Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de, 334
Gogol, Johann, 369
Goiten, Shelomo D., 68,
Goldberg, Arthur, 132, 227
Goldberg, Burton, 225
Golden, Harry, 196, 212, 217
Goldstein, Charles, 224
Goldstein, Robert, 223
Goldstein, Sidney, 5n
Goldstein, Stephen R., 203, 221
Goldstone, Richard, 419
Goldstücker, Eduard, 394
Goldwasser, I. Edwin, 514
Gonen, Shmuel, 407
Goodman, Lewis R., 291
Gordimer, Nadine, 423
Gordon, Marina, 381
Gordon, Menachem, 270
Gordon, Milton, 5n
Goren, Shlomo, 308, 377
Gormley, Joe, 289
Gershman, Shire, 381
Harwood, Richard, 300
Hashachar, 479
Hashomer Hatzair, 479
Americans for Progressive Israel, 479
Socialist Zionist Youth Movement, 480
Hassan, Sana, 299, 354
Hatem, M. Abdel-Kader, 299
Hauschild, Hans-Hilger, 346
Häusler, Wolfgang, 370
Hawatmeh, Na'if, 402, 403
Hawke, R. J., 427
Hayes, Saul, 253, 258
Heath, Edward, 287
Hebrew Arts School for Music and Dance, 453
Hebrew Benevolent Association (S. Africa), 421
Hebrew College, 459
Hebrew Culture Foundation, 453
Hebrew Order of David (S. Africa), 419
Hebrew Teachers Union (Canada), 254
Hebrew Theological College, 459
Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, 173, 187, 459
Alumni Association, 459
American Jewish Archives, 460
American Jewish Periodical Center, 460
Rhea Hirsch School of Education, 460
School of Education and Sacred Music, 460
School of Jewish Communal Service, 460
Skirball Museum, 460
Hebrew Union College Annual, 508
Hebrew University-Technion Joint Maintenance Appeal, 480
Heckelman, A. Joseph, 196, 217
Heilbron, Rose, 301
Heilpern, Josef, 369
Heine, Heinrich, 47
Heinemann, Gustav, 339
Heitlinger, Ota, 392–93
Heller, Joseph, 49n
Hendel, Isaac, 226
Henig, Harry, 260
Henkin, Louis, 209, 217
Herald (Argentina) 275
Herbert, Harry S., 514
Herbstein, Joseph, 422
Heritage-Southwest Jewish Press, 502
Hérmann, Jan, 393
Herman, Simon, 64n, 72n, 76, 76n, 77n
Hero, Alfred O., 205, 217
Herring, Louis, 420
Herschkovitz, Meir, 71n
Hershberg, Marshall Amnon, 205, 217
Hershfield, Harry, 514
Herstigte party (S. Africa), 416
Hertzberg, Arthur, 54n, 58n
Herut—U.S.A., 480
Herut (Gt. Britain), 296
Herzl, Theodor, 21, 47, 48
Herzliah-Jewish Teachers Seminary, 460
Graduate Division, 460
Herzliah Hebrew Teachers Institute, 460
Jewish Teachers Seminary and People's University, 460
Music Division, 460
Herzog, Chaim, 419
Heschel, Abraham Joshua, 44n, 45, 45n, 51n, 68, 69n, 70n
Hess, Rudolf, 342
Hesselbach, Walter, 347
Hetzenauer, Franz, 359
Heuvel, Albert H. van den, 321
Hevra Kaddishah (S. Africa), 422
HEW Office of Civil Rights, 134–35
HIAS (See United HIAS Service)
Higham, John, 22n
Hilewitz, A., 421
Hillel, Iacov, 284
Hillman, David, 301
Himmelfarb, Milton, 47n, 77n, 81n, 204, 217, 221
Hirschberg, Eva, 285
Hirschon, Niel, 423
Histadrut, 346, 411, 412–13, 426
Histadrut Foto-News, 505
Histadrut Ha-Morim (Argentina), 270
Histradruth Ivrith of America, 453
Hochbaum, Martin, 207, 218
Hogar Israelita Argentino para Ancianos y Ninos, 267
Hollander, David, 420
Holmes, Peter E., 135
Holt, Sima, 251
Holtz, Abraham, 299
Hope Center for the Retarded, 474
Horim (Argentina), 268
Horowitz, David, 194, 221
Horowitz, Edel J., 423
Horowitz, Irving Louis, 209, 218
Horowitz, Kurt, 356
House, Edward, 36
Howe, Irving, 191, 206, 218, 221
Hubmann, Franz, 355
Huehner, Leon, 11
Hulst, Th. van, 322
Human Events, 130n
Humble, Richard, 299
Hunter, David, 121
Hurok, Sol, 514
Hurwitz, Vivian Ronald, 301
Husák, Gustav, 383
Hussein, King of Jordan, 142, 405
el-Husseini, Hajj Amin, 156
Huxley, (Sir) Julian, 290
Hyatt, David, 121
Ichud Habonim Labor Zionist Youth, 480
Ideas Magazine, 505
Idelson, Jeremiah, 423
Iltis, Rudolf, 393
Independent Liberal party (Israel), 408
Independent Rabbinate of America, 460
Independent Republicans (France), 303–404
Indiana Jewish Post and Opinion, 503
Information & Comment—Fundamental Freedom & Rights in Canada, 509
Information Juive (France), 310
Informationsbulletin (Czechoslovakia), 393
Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities, 462
Institute for Contemporary Jewry, 418
Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research, 211, 450, 465
Institute for Jewish Studies, 464
Institute for Religious Social Studies, 462
Institute of Human Relations of the American Jewish Committee, 186
Institutional and Industrial Kosher Products Directory, 505
Instituto de Intercambio Cultural Argentino Israelí, 270
Instituto Judeo Argentino de Cultura e Información, 267
Integralist movement (Brazil), 278
Intermountain Jewish News, 502
International Association of Hillel Directors, 461
International Conference of Jewish Communal Service, 450
International Council of Jewish Women, 280
International Council of Jews from Czechoslovakia, 386, 387, 391
International Council on Jewish Social and Welfare Services, 475
International Energy Agency, 147
International Institute for Human Rights, 256
International Jewish Labor Bund, 473
International League Against Antisemitism (LICA; France), 307
Irgun Oleh Holland, 319
Isaac, Jules, 333
Isaacs, Stephen, D., 3n, 204, 218
Isaacson, Benjamin, 420
Isidor, Ernst, 323
Israel, 41–90, 140–44, 149, 151–54, 158, 398–415
Israel (Italy), 338
Israel Committee (Netherlands), 321
Israel Defense Forces (IDF), 398, 399, 407, 409
Israel Democrats, 408
Israel Horizons, 505
Israel Investors’ Report, 505
Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism, 73
Israel Music Foundation, 480
Israel Today, 502
Istoriia USSR, 435n
Italian Committee for the Weizmann Institute, 329
Italian Zionist Federation, 336
Italy, 324–38
Ivaniissevich, Oscar, 263
Izvestiia (Soviet Union), 169
Jabril, Ahmad, 402
Jackson, Henry M., 160–61, 164
Jackson, Jesse L., 133
Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, 256
Jacobs, Arthur, 301
Jacobs, Louis, 294, 299
Jacobson, Charlotte, 422
Jacobson, Nathan, 433
Jacot, Michael, 299
Jaffe, Julius Benjamin, 261
Jakobovits, Immanuel, 87n, 294, 297, 298, 320
Jallud, Abd al-Salem, 376
James, Walter, 83n
James Striar School of General Studies, 470
Jamieson, Don, 257
Jankélévitch, Vladimir, 310
Janovskii, Emil, 381
Japanese Red Army, 317
Jara, Osmar, 342
Jarcho, Julius R., 514
Jarring, Gunnar V., 194
Javits, Jacob K., 124, 160
Jewish Book Council, 174, 453
Jewish Book Council (Gt. Britain), 300
Jewish Bookland, 505
Jewish Braille Institute of America, 475
Jewish Braille Review, 505
Jewish Chautauqua Society, 461
Jewish Chronicle (Gt. Britain), 292
Jewish Chronicle of Pittsburgh, 508
Jewish Civic Leader, 503
Jewish Civic Press, 503
Jewish Colonization Association of Canada, 486
Jewish Community-Center and YM-YWHA, 171
Jewish Conciliation Board of America, 475
Jewish Current Events, 505
Jewish Currents, 505
Jewish Daily Forward, 505
Jewish Digest, 503
Jewish Education, 505
Jewish Education Directory, 505
Jewish Exponent, 508
Jewish Federations, Welfare Funds, Community Councils, 488–501
Jewish Floridian, 503
Jewish Frontier, 15, 505
Jewish Guardian, 505
Jewish Herald-Voice, 509
Jewish High School Student Alliance, 174
Jewish Historical Institute (Yugoslavia), 397
Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada (JIAS), 487
Jewish Information Bureau, 453
Jewish Journal, 504
The Jewish Journal of Sociology, 5, 435n
Jewish Labor Bund, 14, 21, 176, 179, 450
National Trade Union Council for Human Rights, 450
Women's Division, 450
Workmen's Circle Division, 450
Jewish Labor Committee of Canada, 487
Jewish Leader, 508
Jewish Ledger, 504
Jewish Life, 505
Jewish Ministers Cantors Association of America, 461
Jewish Monitor, 502
Jewish Museum, 453
Jewish Museum (Yugoslavia), 397
Jewish Music Notes, 505
Jewish National Fund (Gt. Britain), 292
Jewish National Fund of America, 480
Jewish National Fund of Canada, 487
Jewish News, 504
Jewish Observer, 505
Jewish Observer of the East Bay, 502
Jewish Observer and Middle East Review (Gt. Britain), 298
Jewish Occupational Council, 475
Jewish Parent, 506
Jewish Peace Fellowship, 473
Jewish Post (Canada), 509
Jewish Post and Opinion, 131n
Jewish Post of New York, 506
Jewish Press (Nebr.), 504
Jewish Press (N.Y.), 506
Jewish Publication Society of America, 4, 453, 556–73
The Jewish Quarterly (Gt. Britain), 300
Jewish Quarterly Review, 508
Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, 461
Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, 461
Reconstructionist Federation of Congregations and Fellowships, 461
Jewish Record, 504
Jewish Reporter, 503
Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, 456
Jewish Review, 15
Jewish Social Studies, 15, 506
Jewish Socialist Verband of America, 473
Jewish Spectator, 15, 506
Jewish Standard, 504
Jewish Star, 502
Jewish Student Press-Service, 485
Jewish Teachers Association—Morim, 461
Jewish Teachers Seminary and People's University, 460
Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 509
Jewish Telegraphic Agency (France), 310
Jewish Telegraphic Agency Community News Reporter, 506
Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin, 506
Jewish Telegraphic Agency Weekly News Digest, 506
Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 11, 13, 174, 175, 181, 461
American Student Center in Jerusalem, 461
Cantors Institute and Seminary College of Jewish Music, 173, 461
Department of Radio and Television, 462
Fannie and Maxwell Abbel Research Institute in Rabbinics, 462
Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities, 462
Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 176, 462
Melton Research Center, 462
Schocken Institute for Jewish Research, 462
Seminary College of Jewish Studies—Teachers Institute, 462
University of Judaism, 462
Jewish Times (Mass.), 503
Jewish Times (S. Africa), 423
Jewish Times of Delaware County, 508
Jewish Transcript, 509
Jewish Veteran, 503
Jewish Voice, 503
Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, 126, 179, 450
National Memorial; National Shrine to the Jewish War Dead, 450
Jewish Week and American Examiner, 506
Jewish Weekly News, 503
Jewish Welfare Board (Gt. Britain), 296
Jewish Welfare Society (Australia), 430
Jewish Western Bulletin, 509
Jews' College, 292, 293
Jews for Jesus, 122
Jobert, Michel, 303, 305
Joel, Asher, 433
John Birch Society, 119
John Birch Society Bulletin, 134n
Johnson, James H., 126
Johnson, James P., 124
Joint Israel Appeal (Gt. Britain), 296, 298
Jona, Walter, 432
Jonas, Franz, 361
Jonas, Harriet Harris, 514
Jones, Nathaniel R., 132n
Jongejans, Gijsbert J., 318
Jordan, Charles, 390
Jordan, Colin, 297, 300
Jordan, Vernon E., Jr., 131
Jornal do Brasil, 278, 285
Joseph, Jacob, 21
Joseph, Samuel, 5n
Journal of American History, 22
Journal of Jewish Communal Service, 506
Judah Magnes Memorial Museum—Jewish Museum of the West, 454
Judaica Bohemiae, 393
Judaism, 15, 204, 208, 221, 222, 506
Jüdisches Wochenblatt (Argentina), 272
Juliana, Queen of Netherlands, 314
Juneau Jewish Journal, 227
Jung, Leo, 71n
JWB Circle, 506
Kadelburg, Lavoslav, 396–97
Kadima, 468
Kadimah (Italy), 336
Kadimah (Yugoslavia), 397
Kafka, František, 393
Kafka, Franz, 107
Kahana, David, 270, 271
Kahane, Meir, 203, 210, 218
Kahian, Leo F., 119
Kahn, Daniel, 320
Kahn, Reta, 227
Kalb, Marvin and Bernard, 191
Kallen, Horace, 4
Kamerlin, Leonard, 228
Kanee, Sol, 253
Kansas City Jewish Chronicle, 504
Kapelus, Mrs. F., 419
Kaplan, Marcos, 280
Kaplan, Mendel, 420
Kaplan, Mita, 337
Kaplan, Mordecai M., 4, 68n, 200, 218
Kaplan, Morton A., 280
Kaplan, Robert, 251
Kaplicky, Václav, 393
Kaplun, Elia, 377
Karabtchevsky, Isac, 280
Kariv, Avraham, 58n
Kariv, Ze'ev, 413
Kark, Wilfred, 423
Karminski, (Sir) Seymour, 301
Karp, Abraham, 12
Karpay, Dr. and Mrs. Richard, 227
Kats, Iudi, 381
Katz, Elihu, 78n, 79n
Katz, Jacob, 197, 218
Katz, Leon, 260
Katzir, Ephraim, 192, 341, 402
Kaufman, Gerald, 196, 218
Kaufman, Yehezkel, 56, 56n,
Kaufmann, Walter, 51n, 58n
Kaus, Klara, 346
Kaye, Emmanuel, 301
Kaye, W., 433
Kedouri, Elie, 299
Keeping Posted, 506
Keet, Freda, 422
Kehrer, Walter, 350
Kelani, Haissam, 154
Kelsen, Hans, 107
Kennedy, Edward M., 130
Kentucky Jewish Post and Opinion, 503
Keren Ha-hinnukh (Argentina), 270
Keren Kayyemt le-Yesrael (Argentina), 267
Keren-Or, 480
Kerkgenootschap (Netherlands), 319
Kesten, Hermann, 355
Keyfetz, Ben, 255
Khariton, Julii, 379
Kholodenko, Shifre, 381
Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiĭ ("Chron-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koren, Stephan</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korey, William</td>
<td>160-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>209, 218, 221, 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korff, Samuel I.</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kornilov, Lev</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koschitzky, Saul</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosher Products</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directory, 506</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosolapov, Valerii</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosygin, Aleksei N.</td>
<td>372, 396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kovadloff, Jacobo</td>
<td>268, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kovadloff, Santiago</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koven, Abba</td>
<td>61n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraiselburd, David</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kramer, Michael S.</td>
<td>204, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraschinsky, Dov</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krasnov-Levitin, Antolii</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krauss, Michael</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kreisky, Bruno</td>
<td>359, 360, 361, 362, 364, 365-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriendler, I. Robert</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krochmal, Nahman</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krohn, Helga</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krupsak, Mary Ann</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku Klux Klan</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubiašová, Milada</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuhn, Fritz</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kühnel, Adolf</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kühni, Werner</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kultur un Leben—Culture and Life, 506</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kultusgemeinde (Vienna Jewish Community), 369, 370</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurland, Philip B.</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurzweil, Baruch</td>
<td>59n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwiet, A.</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwintz, Chava</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Malfa, Ugo</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor-Mapam Alignment (Israel), 398, 408, 411</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor party (Australia), 425</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor party (Israel), 289</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor party (PvdA; Netherlands), 313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Zionist Alliance, 480</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Zionist Movement of Canada, 477</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Friends of Israel (Gt. Britain), 289</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour party (Gt. Britain), 289, 290,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Page(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladd, Jr., Everett Carll</td>
<td>5n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambert, Derek</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamm, Norman</td>
<td>59n, 199, 200, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanczos, Cornelius</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landa, Paul</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landau, Boris</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landau, Jacob M.</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landau, Samuel Hayyim</td>
<td>83n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landauer, Carl</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lande, Harold</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landmann, Salcia</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lansing, Robert</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapide, Pinchas E.</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapierre, Dominique</td>
<td>196, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laqueur, Walter Z.</td>
<td>15n, 191, 194, 218, 221, 298, 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Las Vegas Israelite</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laski, Audrey</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laskin, Bora</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lastman, Melvin</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lau-Lavie, Naphatli</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laub, Gabriel</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauck, Gary R.</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laufer, Bernard</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurini, Heladio Correia</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layton, Irving</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazarus, David</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazarus, Jacques</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Porrier, Herbert</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Conference of</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Women's Organi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Conference on</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League for Labor Israel</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League for the Prevention</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Religious Coercion</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League of Arab States</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League of Jewish Women</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gt. Britain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebenson, Josef</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecaunuet, Jean</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeuw, A.J. van der</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lehman, Rudolf</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lehrmann, Charles C.</td>
<td>199, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leigh, Michael</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leighton, Lionel L.</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lelyveld, Arthur</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemle, Henrique</td>
<td>280, 282, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenn, Theodore I.</td>
<td>200, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenz, Siegfried</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo Baeck Institute</td>
<td>13, 454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo Baeck Yearbook</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo N. Levi Memorial</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Arthritis Hospital</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leone, Giovanni</td>
<td>325, 327-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lerner, Ralph</td>
<td>91-97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leslie, Samuel Clement</td>
<td>42n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leventman, Seymour</td>
<td>5n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi, Arrigo</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi, John</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi, Ze'ev</td>
<td>67n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviev, Mikhail</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levin, Marlin</td>
<td>198, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levin, Salmon S.</td>
<td>213, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levin, Samuel</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lévinas, Emmanuel</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levine, Lou</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levine, Naomi</td>
<td>207, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levinson, Bernard</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levisson, Ral</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levitas, Elliott</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levy, Alan</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levy, David W.</td>
<td>215, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levy, Mark R.</td>
<td>204, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levy, Paul</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levy, Tom</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levy, Walter</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lévy-Valensi, Eliane Amado</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewand, Jan Alfred</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewin, Boleslao</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis, C. R.</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis, David</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewisohn, Anthony</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal-Country party coalition (Australia), 425, 427</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal party (Canada)</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal party (Gt. Britain)</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal party (Italy)</td>
<td>325, 326, 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberation Armed Forces (Argentina)</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licht, Louis W.</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieberman, Jacob J.</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liebermann, José</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liebman, Charles S.</td>
<td>3n, 86n, 208, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liebman, Paul</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lief, Donald</td>
<td>136n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Liehm, A. J., 394
Liga Feminina Israelita (Brazil), 280
Likud party (Israel), 401, 404, 407, 408
Lilienthal, Max, 27n
Lilker, Shalom, 62n
Lind, Jakov, 299
Lindbergh, Charles, 34
Lindblom, Johannes, 82n
Lipfriend, Alan, 301
Lippman, Walter, 515
Lippmann, Walter, 433
Lipset, Seymour Martin, 5n
Lipski, Sam, article by, 425–33
Lischka, Kurt, 349
L catcher Gazeta (Soviet Union), 169, 374, 379
Litvin, Baruch, 84n
Litvinoff, Barnet, 214, 218, 299
Litvinoff, Emmanuel, 300, 315
Litvinov, Maksim, 374
Litvinov, Pavel, 374
Liudnya i Svit (Ukraine), 379
Livneh, Eliezer, 47n
Loew, Judah, 49n,
Loewenthal, Lise, 337
London Board of Shechita (Gt. Britain), 295
Long, Russell, 165
Long Island Jewish Press, 506
Lopez Rega, Jose, 273
Lotan, Giora, 414
Louissac, Zachary, 224
Louvish, Misha, article by, 398–415
Lowell, Stanley H., 161, 165
Löwy, Ladislav, 394
Lowy, Simeon, 421
Lubavitch Movement, 173, 175, 308
Lubavitch Youth Organization, 174
Lubbers, Rudolph F. M., 316
Lubomirskii, Jeshua, 381
Lurie, Ted, 414
Luttwak, Edward N., 191, 221
La Luz (Argentina), 272
Lyons, Dennis, 300

Ma'arakh party (Israel) 81
Machado de Lemos, Mario, 279
Machne Israel, 462
Macmillan, Harold, 294
Madergerger, Silvia, 370
Maestro, Renato, 338
Mafdal (National Religious party; Israel), 84
Magen, Kalman, 414
Magid, Iasha, 381
Magne, Judah, 4
Magris, Claudio, 355
Mahew, René, 306
Maimon, Solomon, 226
Maisels, Israel A., 418, 423
Majshavot (Argentina), 272
Maksimov, Vladimir, 374
Malik, Yakov, 154
Malka, Viktor, 354
Manchete (Brazil), 285
Mandel, Arnold, article by, 303–12; 312
Mandel, Jean, 356
Mandel, Marvin, 123
Mandel, Uron, 285
Mandelstam, Nadezha, 378
Mandelstam, Osip, 378
Mann, David, 417, 418
Mann, Peggy, 211, 218, 299
Manners, Ande, 197, 218
Mannheim, Hermann, 301
Mapai party (Israel), 75, 272
Mapam party (Israel), 75
Marcus, Jacob R., 13, 15n, 19n
Margalit, Meir, 414
Margolin, Nikolai, 381
Margulis, Marcus, 285
Markish, Esther, 311
Markish, Peretz, 311
Markovic, 396
Marmorstein, Emile, 59n
Marmur, Dow, 294, 295
Marshall, Jack, 251
Marshall, Louis, 35
Masel, Alec, 433
Mason, Philip, 14n
Massarik, Fred, article by, 239–48; 206, 221, 229

McDonald, Lawrence, 119
MacEachen, Allan J., 257
McIntyre, Lawrence, 426
Massorah Intercollegiates of Young Israel, 464
Masters, Anthony, 214, 218
Mauberger, Morris, 423
Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies, 455
Maximos V, Patriarch (see Hakim, Maximos V)
Maxwell R. Maybaum Institute of Material Sciences and Quantum Electronics, 470
May, Julius, 299
May, Mortimer, 515
Maybaum, Ignaz, 299
Mayer, Egon, 200, 221
Mayer, Yitzhak, 296
Mayhew, Christopher, 289
Mazar, Natalio, 272
McBow, Natalio, 306
Medding, Peter Y., 195, 212, 218
Médici, Emilio Garrastazu, 277
Medvedev, Roy, 373–74, 380
Medvedev, Zhores, 374
Meerson-Aksenov, Mikhail, 378
Mehta, Zubin, 346
Meinzinger, Julio, 275
Meir, Golda, 214, 218, 289, 296, 366, 398, 399, 400, 402, 404, 408–09
Melton Research Center, 462
Memmi, Albert, 71n
Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, 267, 283, 396, 397, 454
Mendel, Fred, 260
Mendelssohn, Moses, 92
Menorah Journal, 4n, 109, 110
Méri-Radicals (Israel), 408
Merkos L’Inyanet Chinuch (Central Organization for Jewish Education), 462
Meroz, Yohanan, 343
Merzbacher, Leo, 27n
Meshel, Yerucham, 412
Mesivta Yeshiva Rabbi Chaim Berlin Rabbinical Academy, 463
Messmer, Pierre, 303
Meyer, John H., 515
Meyer, Marshall T., 271, 272
Meyer, Michael A., 17n, 199, 218
Meyer, Naomi, article by, 262–76
Meyer, Wim, 314
Michalsen, Georg, 350
Michigan Jewish News, 504
Michigan v. Tucker, 134
Midrasha Ha-Ivrit, 270
Midstream, 15, 193, 222, 506
Mikado, Ian, 289
Mikoels, Shlome, 381
Milano, Attilio, 338
Milhaud, Darius, 312
Militancia (Argentina), 274
Miller, Israel, 165
Miller, William, 22
Mills, Alan, 260
Millnitzky, Benno, 278
Milstain, Uri, 86n, 87n
Mindszenty (Cardinal), Josef, 330
Mirrer Yeshiva Central Institute, 463
Misrahi, Robert, 309
Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 22
Missouri Jewish Post and Opinion, 504
Mitchell, Clarence, 132
Mitri, Michel, 312
Mitterand, François, 303–04
Mizrahi-Hapoel Hamizrahi, 482
Mizrahi-Hapoel Hamizrahi Organization of Canada, 487
Mizrahi Palestine Fund, 482
Moeller, Charles, 332
Mohnwinkel, Wolfgang, 349
Moked party (Israel), 408
Moldavia Gvardiia (Soviet Union), 373
Monedeb, Moises, 271
Morales, Alfredo Gomez, 264, 265
Morante, Elsa, 337
Moreh, Mordechai, 338
Morelenbaum, Henrique, 280
Morgan-Witts, Max, 299
Morgenthau, Hans J., 191, 222
Morgenthau, Henry, 31, 35
Morning Freiheit, 506
Moro, Aldo, 326, 327, 328
Moroz, Boris, 257
Morrissussex Jewish News, 504
Moscow Human Rights Committee, 373
Moses, Siegfried, 414
Moskovitz, José, 268
Mosse, George L., 206, 222
Mossinson, Benzion, 65n
Movement of Progressive Judaism (S. Africa), 417
Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização (Mobral), 280
Movimento Sociale Italiano-Destra Nazionale (MSI-DN; Italy), 324, 325
Mundo Arabe (Argentina), 274
Mundo Israelita (Argentina), 265, 268, 272
Murer, Franz, 368
Musilin, Janko, 355
Mutti, Claudio, 334

Nabij (Netherlands), 318
Nachim, Zelig, 284
Nachmann, Werner, 352
Nager, Michel, 320
Nahan, Umberto, 414
Naïe Presse (France), 310
Narboni, Umberto, 338
Narkiss, Uzi, 273
Natel, Laudo, 280
Nathan, Charles, 418
Nathan, Ronald, 301
National Academy for Adult Jewish Studies, 469
National Association for Hebrew Day School Administrators, 466
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 132, 135
National Association of Hebrew Day School Parent-Teacher Associations, 466
National Association of Jewish Family, Children’s and Health Professionals, 475
National Association of Jewish Homes for the Aged, 475
National Association of Synagogue Administrators, 469
National Association of Temple Administrators, 466
National Association of Temple Brotherhoods, 467
National Association of Temple Educators, 467
National Association of Temple Sisterhoods, 467
National Asthma Center, 475
National Census of Jewish Schools—Information Bulletin, 506
National Center for Jewish Policy Studies, 454
National Coalition of American Nuns, 173
National Committee for Furtherance of Jewish Education, 463
National Committee for Labor Israel, 481
American Trade Union Council for Histadrut, 481
National Committee of Black Churchmen, 122
National Conference of Christians and Jews, 121
National Conference of Jewish Communal Service, 172, 173, 174, 476
National Conference of Synagogue Youth, 467
National Conference of Yeshiva Principals, 466
National Conference on Soviet Jewry, 161, 162, 450
Soviet Jewry Research Bureau, 451
National Council for Jewish Education, 463
National Council for Torah Education, 482
National Council of Beth Jacob Schools, 463
National Council of Catholic Women, 134
National Council of Churches, 121, 176
National Council of Jewish Prison Chaplains, 476
National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, 260, 487
National Council of Shechita Boards (Gt. Britain), 295
National Council of Synagogue Youth, 226
National Council of Young Israel, 463
Armed Forces Bureau, 463
Employment Bureau, 463
Eretz Israel Division, 463
Institute for Jewish Studies, 464
Massorah Intercollegiates of Young Israel, 464
Yisrael Hatzair, 464
National Council on Adult Jewish Education, 457
National Council on Jewish Audio-Visual Materials, 457
National Democratic party (W. Germany), 339
National-Demokratische Partei (NDP; Austria), 361
National Education Association, 178
National Endowment for the Humanities, 11, 15
National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs, 469
National Federation of Temple Youth, 174, 467
National Foundation for Jewish Culture, 14n, 15, 454
National Front party (NF; Gt. Britain), 300
National Hebrew Culture Council, 454
National Institute for War Documentation (Netherlands), 319
National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, 122
National Jewish Commission on Law and Public Affairs (COLPA), 451
National Jewish Committee on Scouting, 476
National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, 171, 177, 180, 181, 182, 183, 187, 188
National Jewish Hospital and Research Center, 476
National Jewish Hospitality Committee and Information Centers, 464
National Jewish Information Service for the Propagation of Judaism, 464
National Jewish Monthly, 503
National Jewish Music Council, 454
National Jewish Population Study, 239
National Jewish Welfare Board, 171, 172, 173, 174, 182, 183, 184, 188, 224, 225, 267, 476
Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy, 175, 476
Jewish Book Council, 476
Jewish Music Council, 476
National Joint Community Relations Committee of Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith of Canada, 487
National Memorial; National Shrine to the Jewish War Dead, 450
National Organization of Orthodox Synagogue Administrators, 468
National Organization of Women (NOW), 173
National ORT League, 455
National party (S. Africa), 417
National Religious party (NRP; Israel), 404, 408, 411
National Review, 131n
National Socialist White Peoples party, 126–27
National States Rights party, 126
National Trade Union Council for Human Rights, 450
National Unity party (Armenia), 375
National Urban League, 132, 135
National Yeshiva Teachers Board of License, 466
Nautico Hacoah (Argentina), 267
Near East Report, 503
Nedava, Joseph, 215, 218
Nederland’s Israëlietische Gemeente, 320
Nederland’s Israëlietische Hofdsynagogue, 319
Neher, André, 310, 311
Neher-Bernheim, Renée, 310, 311
Nekrasov, Victor, 374
Neppe, Max, 418
Ner Israel Rabbinical College, 464
Nessen, Ron, 129
Netherlands, 313–23
Neture Karta, 41, 59, 59n, 60, 414
Neue Jüdische Zeitung (Naie Yiddishe Zeitung; W. Germany), 352
Nouveau Kronen-Zeitung (Austria), 367, 368
Neusner, Jacob, 199, 200, 203, 208, 219
Nevins, Albert J., 120
New Communist party (Rakah; Israel), 408
New Democratic party (NDP; Canada), 249
New Jewish Media Project, 485
New Republic, 115, 125n
New York Public Library, Jewish Division, 13
New York Times, 120n, 130n, 136n
News Reporter, 506
Newsweek, 152
Newton, Huey, 130
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 58
Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad (Netherlands), 314, 320
Nirgad, Ram, 267, 269, 272
Nisenbom, Reuben, 271
Niskier, Arnoldo, 282, 285
Nissen, Andreas, 354
Nixon, Richard M. 115, 139, 142, 147–49, 151, 160, 303, 375, 398, 404, 405
Noar Mizrachi-Hamishmeret Hatzeira (NOAM), 482
Norland, Joseph A., 251
North American Jewish Students Appeal, 485
North American Jewish Students’ Network, 173, 485
New Jewish Media Project, 485
North American Jewish Youth Council, 174, 451
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 313, 340
Norwich, Mrs. R., 419
Les Nouveaux Cahiers (France), 310
Nová Mysl (Czechoslovakia), 388
Novak, Franz, 368
Novak, Michael, 49n
Novick, Paul, 379
Novosti (Soviet Union), 169
Novy Mir (Soviet Union), 374, 379
NS-Kampfruf, 342
Nueva Sión (Argentina), 272
Nunes, Danilo, 285
Nussbaum, Max, 516
O Estado de São Paulo (Brazil), 275, 278
OAPC (see Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries).
O’Ballance, Edgar, 298
Observer, 509
Ocamp, Victoria, 273
Offermann, Hans, 349
Office of the Jewish Chaplain (Alaska), 225
Ofroy, Raymond, 307
Ogonek (Soviet Union), 379
O’Hara, Jacques, 301
Ohio Jewish Chronicle, 508
Oko, Sinai, 72n
Olbracht, Ivan, 393
Oldenbourg, Zoé, 311
Öllinger, Hans, 360
Olomeinu—Our World, 506
Olschwang, Josefa, 346
Olszowski, Stefan, 330
O’Neill, Bart, 298
OPEC (see Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries).
Ordine Nuovo (New Order; Italy), 334
Organización Peronista Ortodoxa (Argentina), 275
Organización Sionista Argentina (OSA), 267
Organización Sionista Femenina Argentina (OSFA), 267
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 147
Organization of African Unity, 156
Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC), 144–45
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 146–47, 315
Organizations of Persecutees (W. Germany), 344
Orlean, Meir, 62n
Orlikow, David, 251
ORT (S. Africa), 419
ORT Institute of Technology (Brazil), 283
ORT Youth Fellowship, 456
Orthodox Institute for Jewish Education (Bet Hinnukh; Brazil), 281
Osservatore Romano (Italy), 332, 337
Österreichische Freiheitliche Partei (FPÖ; Freedom party), 360, 361, 366
Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP; Austrian People's party), 359, 360
Ottalagano, Alberto Eduardo, 275
Our Sunday Jewish Bulletin & Review, 509
Our Voice, 503
Ouziel, Ben-Zion Me'ir Hay, 74n
Oyfn Shvel, 506
Ozar Hatorah, 464
Ozick, Cynthia, 191, 222
Paasamanockey, S.M., 299
Page, Walter, 36
Pahlavi, Mohammed Reza, Shah of Iran, 146, 305
Pal, Richard, 350
Palatnik, Ronaldo, 280
Palestine Liberation Front, 289
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 121, 141, 143, 156–57, 257, 277, 305, 318, 328, 331, 336, 340, 358, 384, 404, 405, 406, 426–27
Palestine National Council, 141
Palsson, Mary Dale, 212, 219
Panorama (Italy), 334, 336
Panov, Valerii and Galina, 380
Passover Products Directory, 506
Pasternak, Boris, 374, 378
Patish, Yitzhak, 364
Patricia Peronista (Argentina), 274
Patrich, Saul, 268
Patterson, David, 299
Pavel, Ota, 393, 394
Paves, Bluma Sahm, 285
Paxton, Floyd, 119
Pazi, Margarita, 355
Pearlman, Moshe, 299
PEC Israel Economic Corporation, 481
Pedagogic Reporter, 506
P.E.F. Israel Endowment Funds, 481
PEN, 344
Penn, Jack, 423
People's Revolutionary Army (ERP; Argentina), 263
Perelmuter, Shlomo, 270
Peres, Shimon, 279, 404, 409, 411
Perón, Juan Domingo, 262–63, 270
Perón, Maria Estela Martinez de, 263, 264, 269
Persoff, Meir, 299
Peter, Friedrich, 367
Petrovic, Lucy, 396
Petry, Miriam Bernson, 92
P'eylim—American Yeshiva Student Union, 464
Philadelphia Tribune, 131
Philipson, David, 35
Phoenix Jewish News, 502
The Phyllis Schlafly Report, 134n
Piasenti, Paride, 330
Pick, Anton, 369, 370
Pinkuss, Fritz, 281, 282, 285
Pins, Arnulf, 267
Pioneer Woman, 506
Pioneer Women, The Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America, 481
Pioneiras (Brazil), 285
Piperno-Beer, Sergio, 336
Pittermann, Bruno, 359
Plaut, Max, 356
Plaut, W. Gunther, 256, 258, 259
PLO (see Palestine Liberation Organization)
Plohtkin, Frederick S., 200, 219
Pludek, Alexej, 393
Po'ale Agudat Yisrael party (Israel), 84
Poale Agudath Israel of America, 481
Women's Division, 481
Pocock, Philip, 258
Podgorny, Nikolai, 167, 303, 372
Pohl, Willi, 342
Polakovs, Nicolai (Coco), 301
Pollack, Herman, 213, 219
Pollack, Norman, 22n
Pompidou, Georges, 303
Pool, David de Sola, 11
Pope John XXIII, 333
Pope Paul VI, 324, 331–32
Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, 402
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), 142, 402
Porat, Ben, 354
Porath, Y., 299
Porter, Jack Nusan, 206, 218
Porter, Maurice, 419
Porto, Father Humberto, 281
Porush, Israel, 432
Posner, Michael Vivian, 301
Poussaint, Alvin F., 132n
Prais, Sigbert J., 292, 301
Pravda (Soviet Union), 169, 379, 382
La Prensa Comprometida (Argentina), 274
Presbyterian Churches in the U.S., 121
Present Tense, 506
Di Presse (Argentina), 272
Preti, Luigi, 337
Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 507
Proceedings of the Experts, 213, 217
Profil (Austria), 366
Progressive Conservative party (Canada), 249
Progressive party (S. Africa), 417
Pronk, Johannes P., 314
Protocols of the Elders of Zion, 275, 278, 328, 334
Public Law 480 Food for Peace, 149
Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society (PAJHS), 11
Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund, 132, 135
Pugliese, Fernando, 281
Pulmer, Hartmut, 350
Puttkamer, Jesco von, 344
al-Qaddafi, Muammar, 122, 273, 328
Raab, Earl, 3n, 5n, 125n, 210, 222
Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, 471
Rabbinical Alliance of America (Igud Harabonim), 464
Rabbinical Assembly, 172, 464
Rabbinical College of Telshe, 465
Rabbinical Council of America, 183, 184, 465
Rabbinical Council Record, 507
Rabin, Yitzhak, 142, 152, 341, 398, 403, 404, 406, 409, 411
Rabinovitch, Nahum, 293
Rabinowicz, Oskar K., 299
Rabinowitz, Jay A., 225
Rabinowitz, Joshua, 411
Rabinowitz, Louis I., 420
Radical party (PPR; Netherlands), 313
Radzik, Abraham, 226
Rafi party (Israel), 411
Rajchenberg, Jaime, 268
Ralbag, Aryeh L., 320
Ramselaar, Antonio C., 322
Randall, Claire, 121
Ranke, Leopold von, 20
Raphael, Gideon, 291
Raphael, Yitzhak, 411
Rassco Israel Corporation and Rassco Financial Corporation, 481
Rassegna Mensile di Israel (Italy), 338
Rassiner, Paul, 334
Rathenau, Walter, 107
Ratosh, Yonathan, 59n
Rattner, Henrique, 280
Ravenna, Eloisa, 337
Rawidowicz, Simon, 51n
Reader’s Digest, 250
Realidad Nacional (Argentina), 274
Rechter, Zvi, 413
Reconstructionist, 507
Reconstructionist Federation of Congregations and Fellowships, 461
Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, 461
Redden, Jack, 124
Reform Judaism, 507
Reform Synagogues of Gt. Britain, 295, 296
Rega, José López, 269
Rehfelt, Walter, article by, 277–86
Reif, Stefan, 293
Reifen, David, 354
Reimann, Viktor, 367–68
Sachs, Leo, 329
Sachser, Friedo, article by, 339–58
al-Sadat, Anwar, 143, 328, 366, 399, 400, 401, 405, 406
Sadowski, Ben, 261
Safrai, S., 354
Safran, Nadav, 191, 222
Safran, Elihu, 194, 219
Salamanca, Rene, 265
Salem, Ali, 343
Salmon, Paul, 138
Salomon, Karel, 414
Salpeter, Eliahu, 194, 219
Saltsman, Max, 251
Samizdat (Soviet Union), 374
Samkalden, Ivo, 323
Samuel A. Fryer Educational Research Foundation, 466
San Francisco Jewish Bulletin, 502
Sanbar, Moshe, 413
Sanchez, Castro, 262
Sanders, Ronald, 215, 219
Sanger, Herman, 432
Saphire, Saul, 516
Sapir, Pinhas, 270, 318, 410, 411, 412, 427
Saqqal, Omar, 277
Saron, Gustav, article by, 416–24; 418
Sartre, Jean Paul, 273, 306
Sasson, Moshe, 330
Sauvagnargues, Jean, 305
Saxbe, William N., 125, 125n
Saxl, Otto, 394
Scali, John A., 143, 156, 159
Scammon, Richard M., 127n
Schaffer, H.G., 300
Schallman, Lazaro, 265
Scharf, Kurt, 344
Schatz, Carol, 228
Schecter, Bernard, 228
Scheel, Walter, 339, 343, 351
Schjetner, Abel S., 279
Schenk, Max, 516
Scheuch, Manfred, 367
Schiff, Jacob, 29
Schlafly, Phyllis, 134
Schlesinger, Benjamin, 260
Schlesinger, Hugo, 281
Schlesinger, James R., 152
Schmelzer, Norman, 313
Schmidt, Helmut, 339, 341, 348, 349
Schmitz, Wolfgang, 359
Schneersohn, Phinehas, 414
Schneid, Otto, 261
Schneider, Gertrude, 211, 219
Schneier, Samuel S., 517
Schocken Institute for Jewish Research, 462
Schoenbrun, David 196, 219
Scholem, Gershom, 60–61, 60n, 61n, 355
Schönau camp, 314, 365–66
School of Education and Sacred Music, 460
Schoolman, Bertha Singer, 517
Schreiber, Adolph H., 517
Schroeder, Gerhard, 340
Schubert, Kurt, 370
Schuetz, Klaus, 344
Schulz, Friedrich, 350
Schulz, Lothar, 350
Schuster, Aaron, 319
Schwaetzer, Walter, 280
Schwartz, Gila, 78n
Schwartz, Irving W., 517
Schwartz, Joseph Joshua, 517
Schwarz, Simcha, 276
Schwarz, Louise L., 517
Schwarz, Stefan, 355
Schweid, Eliezer, 196, 219
Sciaky, Avner, 408
Scottish Nationalists (Gt. Britain), 287
Secunda, Sholom, 517
Segal, Lore, 299
Segal, Mordecai, 67n
Segal, Ronald, 197, 219
Segre, Emilio, 337
Seidenverg, Edward, 224
Seigewassser, Hans, 358
Selden, John, 107
Seligmann, Joseph, 23
Selzer, Michael, 210, 219
Semana Politica (Argentina), 274
Seminary College of Jewish Studies—
Teachers Institute, 462
Senesh, Hannah, 214, 219
Sentinel, 503
Sephardic Jewish Brotherhood of America, 473
Sephardic Leadership Council of UJA, 175
Sephardic Studies Program, 470
Sereny, Gitta, 299
Serlin, Joseph, 414
Servan-Schreiber, Jean-Jacques, 304
Seven Arts Feature Syndicate and World Wide News Service, 507, 509
Shab, Milton, 123
Sharon, Ariel, 400, 407
Sharot, Stephen, 213, 222
Shazar, Zalman, 269
Shahar, Tovia, 292
Shahid, Aziz, 403
Shahide, Ali, 343
Shafe, Michael, 252
Shalepin, Aleksandr, 372
Shehatiah, Amittai b., 106
Shepelovitch, Michael, 322
Sherezhevsky, Eras, 421
Sherf, Zeev, 84n
Sherman, Bezalel, 5n
Shavalia, Ana, 381
Shevet Achim (Argentina), 268
Shemole Habinuch, 507
Shikhanovich, Iurii, 374
Shinv (“Change”; Israel), 407
Shipton, Sydney, 298
Sh'ma, 507
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sternberg, Erich</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>Stetie, Salah</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stevenson, Adlai E. III</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>Stevenson, Charles Leslie</td>
<td>88n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart, Desmond</td>
<td>299</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stichting van Joodse Kerkgenootschappen en Sociale Organisaties in Nederland voor Schadevergoedings Aangelegenheden (JOKOS; Nederland)</td>
<td>319</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stiftel-Lipman, Rose</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>Stone-Sapirstein Center for Jewish Education</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoel, Max van der</td>
<td>313, 315-16</td>
<td>Stone, Richard</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strauss, Oscar</td>
<td>11, 35</td>
<td>Strauss, Leo</td>
<td>91-97, 518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strauss, Lewis L.</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>Strauss, Robert</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streckenbach, Bruno</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>Strober, Gerald S.</td>
<td>3n, 208, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strougal, Lubomir</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>Struve, Kurt</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry</td>
<td>451</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies in Bibliography and Booklore</td>
<td>508</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stuhlpfarrer, Karl</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>Stürmer,</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suall, Irwin</td>
<td>122n</td>
<td>Suajidi, Shmuil</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suchard, Shmuil</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>Suchy, Josef</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarman, Sidney</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>Šuler, Oldřich</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Times (Gt. Britain)</td>
<td>298</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Times of London Insight Team</td>
<td>190, 218</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppan, Walter</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>el-Surani, Gamal</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surkis, Reuven</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>Suskovich, Salomon</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susman, David</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>Sussman, Heinrich</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svichova, Raisa</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>Svirski, Grigori</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svoboda, Ludvík</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>Swartz, Rex</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swerdloff, Sol</td>
<td>207, 220</td>
<td>Swift, Morris</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Jewish News (Australia)</td>
<td>432</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sykes, Ben A.</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>Synagoge and Church in Support of Israel (Netherlands)</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synagoge Council of America</td>
<td>133, 171, 172, 175, 177, 180, 465</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research, 465</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synagoge Light</td>
<td>507</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synagoge School</td>
<td>507</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrkin, Marie</td>
<td>192, 214</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szajkowski, Zosa</td>
<td>197, 198, 220, 222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szekely, Lucy</td>
<td>196, 220</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szekely, Robert</td>
<td>196, 220</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szulc, Tad</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabenkin, Isaac</td>
<td>65n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacuara (Argentina)</td>
<td>274</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadic, Lubomir</td>
<td>396</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taft, William Howard</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiana, Jorge</td>
<td>263</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tal, Eliezer</td>
<td>346</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tal, Israel</td>
<td>407</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talks and Tales</td>
<td>507</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talmon, J. L.</td>
<td>16n, 20, 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talmon, Shmaryahu</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talmon, Yaacov</td>
<td>194, 222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tandetnyi, Mikhail</td>
<td>377</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanenbaum, Marc</td>
<td>121n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tass (Soviet Union)</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau, Max</td>
<td>355</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawney, R. H.</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchernichowsky, Saul</td>
<td>58n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers Institute for Women, 470</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teilhaber, Felix</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teitelbaum, Joel</td>
<td>59n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teitelbaum, Leon</td>
<td>255</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekoah, Yosef</td>
<td>154-55, 402</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temkin, Sefton D.</td>
<td>200, 222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tempel, Gudrun</td>
<td>354</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terracini, Umberto</td>
<td>329</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terre Retrouvée (France)</td>
<td>310</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tessadri, Elena</td>
<td>337</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teveth, Sabtai</td>
<td>214, 220</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas Jewish Post</td>
<td>509</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodor Herzl Foundation</td>
<td>480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Theodor Herzl Institute, 480
Herzl Press, 480
Thernstrom, Stephan, 22
Thijn, Ed van, 315
Thomas, Clemens, 370
Thomas, Gordon, 211, 220, 299
Thorpe, Jeremy, 289
The Thunderbolt, 126
Tibensky, Jan, 393
Time, 127, 147
Time Canada, 250
The Times (London), 290, 297, 298
The Times of Israel and World Jewish Review, 507
Tiso, Josef, 274
Tissenboim, Benjamin, 280
Tito, Josip Broz, 340, 395, 397
Tobias, Henry J., 214, 220
Toledo Jewish News, 508
Toncic-Sorinj, Lujo, 359
Torah Religious Front (Agudat Israel and Poale Agudat Israel; Israel), 85, 408
Torah Umesorah—National Society for Hebrew Day Schools, 465
National Association for Hebrew Day School Administrators, 466
National Association of Hebrew Day School Parent-Teacher Associations, 466
National Conference of Yeshiva Principals, 466
National Yeshiva Teachers Board of License, 466
Samuel A. Fryer Educational Research Foundation, 466
The Torch, 503
Torgov, Morley, 259
Tosco, Agustin, 265
Totenberg, Nina, 211, 222
Touro College, 466
Trachtenberg, Moises, 285
Trade Reform Act, 163–64, 169, 170
Tradion, 507
Traxler, Sister Margaret Ellen, 122
Tregor, Joshua, 318
Tribuna (Czechoslovakia), 389, 390
Tribune Juive (France), 303, 310
Troccoli, Antonio, 269
Trope, Harry, 423
Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, 249
Truman, Harry S., 34
Trunk, Isaiah, 211, 220
The Truth Seeker, 126
Tuck, Desmond Adolph, 301
Tucker, Richard, 227
Tulsa Jewish Review, 508
Tumin, Melvin, 5n
Turkow, Mark, 268
Tushnet, Leonard, 211, 220
Tuviyahu, Chaim, 80n
Tvardorskii, Aleksandr, 374
Twersky, Isadore, article by, 99–111
Tyndall, John, 297
Tzur, Michael, 413
Udim (W. Germany), 353
Uffenheimer, Benyamin, 68n
Uj Horizont, 507
UIF News, 509
UNDOF (see UN Disengagement Observer Force)
Undzer Aygn Vort, 507
Undzer Vez, 509
UNEF (see UN Emergency Force)
UNESCO (see UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)
Unger, Sidney Joseph, 518
Union Civica Radical party (UCR; Argentina), 262, 269
Union des Etudiants Juifs (UEJ; France), 304, 309
Union des Jeunesses Progressistes (UJP; France), 306
Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 132, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177, 178, 180, 183, 185, 186, 189, 259, 446
American Conference of Cantors, 466
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, 466
National Association of Temple Administrators, 466
National Association of Temple Educators, 467
United Synagogue (Gt. Britain) 294
United Synagogue of America, 176, 184, 468
Atid, College Age Organization, 468
Commission on Jewish Education, 468
Educators Assembly, 468
Kadima, 468
National Academy for Adult Jewish Studies, 469
National Association of Synagogue Administrators, 469
National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs, 469
United Synagogue Youth, 469
Women's League for Conservative Judaism, 469
United Synagogue of Israel, 74
United Synagogue Review, 507
University of Judaism, 462
Unna, Itzhak, 422
Unna, Moshe, 89n
UNRWA (see UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees)
Unser Stimme (France), 310
Unser Tsait, 507
Unser Wort (France), 310
UNTSO (see UN Truce Supervision Organization)
Uris, Leon, 284
Urofsky, Melvin I., 22n, 215, 220
Uttitz, Friedrich, 394
Vatican, 330–31, 333
Veghazi, Esteban, 304
Vergelis, Aron, 381
Verny, Thomas R., 260
Vestnik (Czechoslovakia), 385, 392–393
Veterans of Foreign Wars, 138
Veth, D. Giltay, 319
Vielmetti, Nikolaus, 370
Viewpoints (Canada), 510
Vigevani, Alberto, 337
Vilimková, Milada, 393
Villa, Don Luigi, 335
Villot, (Cardinal) Jean, 333
Viola, Humberto, 262
Vita, João Brasil, 280
Viterbo, Carlo Alberto, 338
Vivienne, Pauline, 338
Voce Republicana (Italy), 335
Voice, 504
Voinovich, Vladimir, 373
Volkstimm (Austria), 367
Voronel, Aleksandri, 380
Vredeling, Henk, 315
Wa'ad Ha-hinnukh (Argentina), 270
Wa'ad Ha-hinnukh (Board of Jewish Education; Brazil), 284
Wa'ad Ha-kehillo (Argentina), 266, 268
Waagenaar, Sam, 213, 220, 299
Wachsmann, Alfred, 356
Wacks, David, 419
Waddington, Miriam, 260
Wagner, Horst, 350
Wagner, Leopold, 362
Wagner-Rogers Bill, 30
Waldheim, Kurt, 154, 249, 359, 361, 399, 404
Wall, James M., 121
Wall Street Journal, 134n
Waller, Harold M., article by, 190–222; 254
Warner, Leonard, 261
Washington Post, 116, 120n, 126n, 137n
Waskow, Arthur I., 206, 220
Waterman, Philip M., 518
Wattenberg, Ben J., 127n
Weber, Max, 4, 8
Wechmar, Rüdiger von, 340
Der Wecker, 507
Wegner, Willi, 353
Weinberg, David H., 312
Weinberger, Caspar, 132
Weinreb, Friedrich, 319
Weinryb, Bernard, 213, 220
Weinstein, Jacob J., 518
Weinstein, Julius, 423
Weinzierl, Erika, 370
Weinzeig, John, 260
Weisman, Adele, 259
Weiss, Abraham J., 272
Weiss, Jan, 393
Weltlinger, Siegmund, 356
Wendroff, Zalman, 382
Werkgroep Israël (Netherlands), 318
Wesker, Arnold, 300
West Coast Talmudical Seminary, 469
West Coast Teachers College, 471
West Germany, 339–56
Westchester Jewish Tribune, 507
Western Jewish News, 510
Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly, 502
Weyand, Fred C., 152
Weyl, Nathaniel, 3n
Weyrauch, Wolfgang, 344
Wheeler v. Berrera, 120
White, Kevin, 129
White, Philip, 260
Whiteman, Maxwell, 26
Whitlam, Gough, 425, 426, 429, 433
Wichs, Lucien, 394
Wiener, Max, 52n
Wiener Zeitung (Austria), 368
Wiesel, Elie, 312
Wiesenthal, Simon, 360, 369
Wigoder, Basil, 300
Wilenski, Peter, 433
Wilkins, Roy, 131
Willebrands (Cardinal), Jan, 332
Willem Alexander, Prince of Netherlands, 318
William Wiener Library of Oral History, 14
Wilsker, Leib, 382
Wilson, Bryan R., 44n
Wilson, Edmund, 107
Wilson, Harold, 287, 289
Wilson, M. L., 122
Wilson, Woodrow, 35
Wimmer, Hed, 354
Windmueller, Steven F., 205, 220
Windsor Jewish Community Council Bulletin, 510
Winkler, Karen J., 129
Winter, Elmer L., 116
Winter, Zikmund, 393
Wirth, Louis, 5n
Wischnewski, Hans-Jürgen, 340

Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, 509
Wise, Isaac Mayer, 25
Withalm, Hermann, 359
Witt, Werner, 341
Witts, Max Morgan, 211, 220
Witty, Irwin, 253
WIZO (see Women’s International Zionist Organization)
Wochenpresse (Austria), 367
Wodak, Walter, 364
Wolf II, Edwin, 26
Wolfe, Carla, 259
Wolfson, Harry, 261
Wolfson, Harry Austryn, 99–111, 519
Women’s American ORT, 172, 419, 456
Women’s Campaign for Soviet Jewry (Gt. Britain), 298
Women’s Canadian ORT, 486
Women’s International Zionist Organization (WIZO), 285, 318
Women’s League for Conservative Judaism, 469
Women’s League for Israel, 482
Women’s League Outlook, 507
Women’s Social Service for Israel, 457
Woolf, Alfred, 294
Workmen’s Circle, 176, 180, 181, 473
Division of Jewish Labor Committee, 473
Workmen’s Circle Call, 507
World Bureau for Jewish Education, 453
World Confederation of United Zionists, 482
World Congregation of Slovaks, 274
World Council of Churches, 121, 313
World Council of Synagogues, 184
World Federation of Bergen-Belsen Associations, 261
World Federation of Jewish Community Centers, 476
World Food Conference, 249
World Jewish Congress, 272, 295, 317, 396, 451
British Section, 295, 391
Latin American Section, 267, 268
World Jewish Population, 434–42
World Over, 507
World Union for Progressive Judaism
184, 469

World Union of General Zionists, 296
World Zionist Organization, 83, 84, 336, 427
World Zionist Organization—American Section, 174, 175, 183, 185, 422, 483
Zionist Archives and Library, 13, 483
Writers Union (Soviet Union), 373
Wulff, Joseph, 356
Wunsh, Basil, 419
Wurzweiler School of Social Work, 471
Wyszinski, (Cardinal) Stefan, 330

Ya'ari, Judah, 61n
Yad Vashem Memorial (Israel), 79
Yaffe, James, 198, 220
Yakar, Jacob, 269
Yamani, Ahmed, 142
Yankelovitch, Daniel, 115, 118
Yariv, Aharon, 405
Yaron, Zvi, article by, 41–90; 61n, 66n, 90n
Yavne Hebrew Theological Seminary, 469
Yavneh, National Religious Jewish Students Association, 174, 469
Yavneh Review, 507
Yeshiva University, 470
Albert Einstein College of Medicine, 470
Alumni Office, 470
Belfer Graduate School of Science, 470
Bernard Revel Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, 470
Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, 471
Harry Fischel School for Higher Jewish Studies, 471
Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, 471
Society of the Founders of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, 471

West Coast Teachers College, 471
Women's Organization, 471
Wurzweiler School of Social Work, 471
Yeshiva University Museum, 455
Yeshivah College (S. Africa), 420
Yeshivah Torah Vodaath, 174
Yeshivath Torah Vodaath and Mesivta Rabbinical Seminary, 471
Alumni Association, 471
Beth Medrosh Elyon (Academy of Higher Learning and Research), 472

Yiddish, 507
Yiddish Press Inc. 510
Di Yidishe Heim, 507
Yiddishe Kultur, 507
Dos Yiddishe Vort, 507
Yiddisher Kemfer, 507
Yiddisher Kultur Farband (YKUF), 455
Yidishe Shprakh, 507
Yisrael Hatzair, 464
YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, 13, 508
YIVO Bleter, 508
YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 13, 14, 269, 455
Max Weinreich Center for Advance Jewish Studies, 455
Young Democrats (W. Germany), 344
Young Judea, 184
Young Judean, 508
Young Socialists (W. Germany), 344
Young Union (W. Germany), 344
Youngstown Jewish Times, 508
Your Community News (Canada), 510
Youth and Nation, 508
Yudkin, Leon, 299
Yugntruf, 508
Yugntruf Youth for Yiddish, 485
Yugoslavia, 395–97

Zadik, 338
Zaher, Mohammed, 343
Zalmanzon, Sylva, 257, 298, 380
Zamyatin, Leonid, 169
Zapf, Lilli, 355
el-Zayyat, Mohammed Hassan, 364
Zebel, Sydney H., 299
Ze'ira, Eliahu, 409
Zelditch, Morris, 519
Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, 349, 351
Zhitlowsky, Chaim, 4
Zhukov, Dmitri, 379
Zilberman, Lena Kichler, 285
Zimanas, Henrik, 379
Zimmels, Hirsch Jacob, 302
Zinger, Zvi (Yaron), 62n, 63n
Zionist Archives and Library, 13, 483
Zionist Federation (ZF; Gt. Britain), 292, 296, 297
Zionist Federation of Australia, 430
Zionist Organization of America, 483
Zionist Organization of Canada, 487
Zionistenbond (Zionist Federation, Netherlands), 317
Zuabi, Abd el-Aziz, 414
Zuchowicki, Rafael, 271
Zucker, Naomi F., 196, 220
Zucker, Norman L., 42n, 196, 220
Zukunft, 508
Zunz, Leopold, 38
Zuskin, Beniomin, 381
Zvieli, Benjamin, 421
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