

# Western Europe

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## Great Britain

### *Domestic Affairs*

**T**HIS WAS the year in which Prime Minister Edward Heath and the ruling Conservative party reversed the most important of the policies they had proclaimed in opposition and practiced during their first two years of office. The challenge to trade union power; the hostility to devaluation and statutory control of prices and incomes; the control on colored immigration; opposition to direct rule in Northern Ireland—all these principles went by the board.

The rot—if rot it be—set in on January 9 when a national coal strike began. It very soon brought a confrontation of naked power with the government, involving the massed picketing of coal dumps and clashes between strikers and police and nonstrikers, power cuts and the lay-off of 1.5 million workers. Work was not resumed until February 25 by which time the government had not only agreed to meet the miners' wage demands, but also to provide £1 billion for the support of the industry and a commitment to arrest its contraction. In April, May, and June it was the railwaymen's turn and in July the dockers', with a national dock stoppage that lasted for three weeks. In each case the government suffered defeat, despite the active involvement of the newly established National Industrial Relations Court.

The economic consequences were an accelerated rate of inflation and, in June, a rise in the bank rate from 5 to 6 per cent and the floating of the pound to halt the drain on the reserves. In October the Bank of England established a minimum lending rate which two months later had reached 9 per cent.

The government's response to inflation was an attempt to achieve voluntary wage and price control by way of agreement with the Trade Union Congress and the Confederation of British Industry. Failure to reach an agreement moved the government in November to reverse its policy and proclaim a 90 to 150 days' statutory freeze. The government similarly reversed its policy in December by sanctioning an increased rate of government spending over the next three years.

So far the government derived little comfort from these policy changes. In a parliamentary by-election, on December 7, the Conservative Sutton and Cheam constituency was lost to the Liberals in a 38.9 per cent swing.

The sole success was England's entry into the European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market). On February 17 the second reading of the European Communities Bill was carried by only eight votes. But by January 1, 1973, it was a *fait accompli*. Even this success was dimmed by a year-end poll showing 38 per cent of adults "happy" about entry and 39 per cent "unhappy." The rest had no opinion.

### *Relations with Israel*

Britain continued to tread a precarious middle-path in Middle East Affairs. In April Joseph Godber, Foreign Office minister of state in charge of Arab affairs, stated that official approval for the sale of British-made submarines to Israel did not indicate any "shift in the emphasis in the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards the Middle East." In December Lord Balniel, who succeeded Godber after cabinet changes in November, gave assurance that there was "no swinging of policy to an anti-Israeli stance." Throughout the year questions in the House of Commons by both pro-Israeli and pro-Arab members of Parliament on the supply of British arms to the Middle East elicited the reply that each application was considered on its own merit. "In each case, account will of course, be taken of the military balance in the area."

Nevertheless, anxiety persisted, based on two British votes at the United Nations. In June Britain, France, and Belgium sponsored a resolution at the Security Council condemning Israel for her operations against Arab-terrorist bases in Lebanon; in December Britain voted in favor of a General Assembly resolution inviting member states to "avoid actions, including actions in the field of aid, that could constitute recognition of Israel's occupation of Arab territories."

Policy changes also seemed implied in speeches by Foreign Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home. In March, on the first official visit to the State of Israel by a British Foreign Secretary, he called for dialogue as the vital need of the Middle East. In his welcome of the Egyptian Foreign Minister to London in September, Douglas-Home seemed to be advocating the use of an intermediary (possibly UN special envoy Gunnar V. Jarring) and stated that, "on the ingredients of a settlement," he still adhered to his Harrogate speech of October 1970 which called for an Israeli withdrawal subject only to minor territorial changes (AJYB, 1971 [Vol.72], pp. 318-19).

British public opinion remained relatively constant. In an October Gallup poll of a representative cross-section of 1,028 electors, commissioned by the *Jewish Chronicle*, 40 per cent said they sympathized with Israel in the Middle East dispute (as compared with 33 per cent in October 1970, and 59 per cent in June 1967); 5 per cent said their sympathies lay with Egypt and other Arab countries (8 per cent in 1970, and 4 per cent in 1967); 14 per cent wanted the Israelis to withdraw to their original territory (20 per cent in 1970, and 12 per

cent in 1967); 20 per cent said they should return most of the occupied Arab territory but retain such places as Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip (19 per cent in 1970, and 34 per cent in 1967); 27 per cent felt Israel should keep all or most of the occupied territory (24 per cent in 1970, and 42 per cent in 1967).

Britain's attitude on the implications of its entry into the Common Market for Anglo-Israeli trade, repeated at discussions throughout the year, was summed up in October by chief British Common Market negotiator Geoffrey Rippon. He pledged full British support for Israel's application for more favorable trade arrangements with an enlarged market, provided that these did not conflict with British interests. Israel Minister for Commerce and Industry Haim Bar-Lev stated that British export to Israel had risen by only 16 per cent since 1968, while that of other Western countries had doubled, partly because British investment to stimulate export was inadequate, partly because of the Arab boycott.

Still, Israel Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir told the Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce in March, Britain was Israel's second-largest trading partner, taking 10 per cent of Israel's exports and providing 17 per cent of its imports in 1971. British-Israeli trade continued to expand in the first half of 1972: Britain's exports to Israel amounted to £67.7 million, compared to less than £51 million in the corresponding period of 1971, and British imports from Israel to over £36 million, compared to £34.2 million in 1971. Encouraged by the expansion, the Israel Committee of the British National Export Council decided in March to continue its work as "The British Export Group for Israel," although the Council itself had been dissolved.

The Economic Council for Israel, which was formed in Britain after the April 1968 Jerusalem conference (AJYB, 1969 [Vol.70], p. 434), established in October a tourist industry committee aimed at developing economic cooperation on all matters affecting Anglo-Israeli tourism. One of its main objectives was the promotion of direct investment by British companies in Israel's tourist industry.

### *Anglo-Arab-Israel Relations*

There was concern with terrorism throughout the major part of 1972. In May the British post office temporarily suspended its airmail parcel service to Israel pending the introduction of new security measures after the Lydda airport massacre. In June the British government made a £1 million grant towards the cost of improved security arrangements for London's Heathrow airport.

With feeling running high, the British government's consent in June to the opening of a Palestine Liberation Organization office in London, the first such office in a Western country, drew a plea from Israel, as well as questions in both houses of Parliament, and petitions and protests from the Board of

Deputies and several other organizations. A motion deploring "the decision to allow the P.L.O., one of whose member groups has taken the lead in skyjacking international airlines to open an office in London" received 90 Conservative signatures within three days.

Labour signatories included an addendum calling on the Secretary of State for the Home Department "to refuse, where permission is necessary, admission to this country of members of this organisation." The British Foreign Office's attitude remained constant: the government had no power in law to refuse permission for the opening of the office but, if and when it were established, neither the office nor its occupants would have any kind of official or quasi-official status or immunity, and all its activities or those of any PLO representatives it employed would have to be within the law, or the appropriate action would be taken.

In September the Munich murder of Israeli Olympic team members aroused expressions of horror and condemnation from all shades of British public opinion. Scores of Jews picketed the London Arab League offices and the Fast of Gedaliah was the occasion for crowded memorial services throughout the country. Michael Adams, information director of the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (Caabu) described it as a "dreadful act," but added that the real guilt lay with all those who had done nothing to remove the cause for such violence.

Bomb threats and security precautions marked High Holy Day services in synagogues after the terrorist threat had moved to Britain with the murder of Dr. Ami Shachori, agricultural attaché at London's Israel embassy. Similar letter-bombs addressed to embassy officials and prominent British Jews reached the country in waves over the ensuing months. In November the British section of the World Jewish Congress denounced a declaration by Malvyn Benjamin, vice-chairman of British Herut, that Jews "might take the law into their own hands" in the fight against Arab terrorism.

In October Liberal party leader Jeremy Thorpe added his support to demands that all flights to and from Libya be banned while its premier, Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi, continued to harbor air pirates and murderers. In the same month BOAC engineers called for the "blackening" of all Arab airlines using Heathrow in protest against the Arab hijacking of the Lufthansa aircraft, which led to the release of the three Munich killers. In November more than 200 young Jews demonstrated outside the Libyan embassy in London to protest against Libya's assistance to Arab terrorists.

The government consistently repeated its pledge of complete support in the fight to end international terrorism. British representative Sir Colin Crewe in December voted against a United Nations resolution setting up an ad hoc committee to deal with the subject only because he considered its approach "defective." He stressed that "Britain was prepared to take part in the work of the committee and to join actively there in the effort to achieve effective measures."

Even the Young Liberals, known for their sympathies with the Palestinian peoples, in June totally repudiated a report that members of their national executive were to meet Palestinian terrorists associated with the Lydda murders. National chairman Peter Hain added: "We condemn the atrocities at the Tel Aviv airport without qualification. This kind of naked terrorism, as well as being abhorrent in itself, only serves to weaken the cause of the Palestinian people. . . . We disagree fundamentally with the whole approach of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine which resorts too often to symbolic violence." In December a leading Liberal party official told a *Jewish Chronicle* reporter that Young Liberal leadership was thought to have stopped its campaigns against Israel.

This did not prevent a national campaign by the Union of Liberal Students against Israel's treatment of prisoners and the arbitrary deportation of Arabs. A petition to this effect was signed by Liberal Chief Whip David Steel in April. A booklet, "Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Israel," written by Louis Eaks (a former Young Liberal national chairman) with an introduction by Peter Hain, was published in December.

In July Thorpe deplored the "undue prominence" and "exaggerated publicity" given to some of his party's younger elements "who have seen fit to identify themselves with opposition to Israel." They were, he said, a small unrepresentative group of people, whose activities deeply offended many people, Jews and non-Jews, Liberals and others. He deplored both the activities of the group and their consequences.

Liberal M.P. Graham Tope, elected to Parliament in the Sutton and Cheam by-election in December and a past advocate of eliminating the State of Israel, was at present "neutral" in his views on the Middle East situation. Of the eight Liberal members in the House of Commons, five were known to be sympathetic to Israel. In December Jewish Councillor Cyril Carr was elected chairman of the Liberal party.

Labour party chief Harold Wilson consistently voiced pro-Israeli views (in December he visited Israel where his son was working on a kibbutz), so much so that, in September, 16 Arab envoys in London accused him of displaying "an antipathy towards the Arab people." However, three Labour M.P.s sponsored a new anti-Israel organization, Palestine Action, launched by Louis Eaks and aimed at organizing a boycott of Israeli products. The group also advocated the purchase of shares in public companies contributing to Israel so that it could use shareholders' meetings to voice its views.

According to a *Jewish Chronicle* report of March 10, governments were to contribute over £300,000 for the establishment in London of an Arab-British Centre to operate under the auspices of Caabu and the Anglo-Arab Association. Caabu's Michael Adams said the Centre was to be a focal point in Britain for all who were interested in the Arab world.

In January, on the third anniversary of the Baghdad hangings, an all-party motion on the plight of the Jews in Syria was presented to the House of

Commons. However, in reply to repeated petitions Prime Minister Heath reaffirmed the government's refusal to intervene on their behalf. He stated regretfully that he saw no reason why his government's representation should carry weight with the Syrians or bring practical benefits to Jews in Syria.

## JEWISH COMMUNITY

### *Demography and Communal Data*

Jewish women were one-fifth less fertile (in terms of numbers of children) than the general population in Britain, according to a study of 700 Jewish mothers who gave birth in 1971, conducted by the statistical and demographic unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and published in October 1972. The study found that, whereas the spacing of the first three children in Jewish families was similar to the general pattern, there were fewer Jewish mothers with three or more children; their child-bearing period was also shorter than the general average: only 4.6 per cent of Jewish births took place after 10 years of marriage, compared with a 13.3 per cent general average. Only the small ultra-Orthodox group showed a higher fertility rate.

The study also found that a total of 3,730 people were married in synagogues in 1971, a drop of 3.7 per cent from the previous year. In the same period, the marriage rate in the general population declined by 2.8 per cent. The number of Jewish burials in 1971 totaled 4,902, compared with 4,845 in 1970 and 4,851 in 1969. There had been virtually no change, the report said, in the distribution of marriages in the past decade: 81 to 82 per cent took place in Orthodox, 11 per cent in Liberal, and 7 to 8 per cent in Reform synagogues.

It was reported earlier, in July, that the decreasing number of ritual circumcisions performed at London's Bearsted Memorial Hospital was seriously hampering the training of *mohelim* (17 cases in 1971, as compared with 33 in 1970 and 37 in 1969).

### *Jewish Education*

Protest against a decision in August by the London Board of Jewish Education to introduce tuition fees for religion classes of up to £40 a year caused the Council of the United Synagogue to agree (November) to replace it by a temporary levy on every male member. The proposed levy of £2.5 a head would go entirely to the London Board so that it could meet its financial commitments and an estimated deficit of £78,000 in 1973. This procedure was to remain in operation until the United Synagogue was restructured financially to take into account also "the overall needs of the London Board."

The education trust of Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits, established in November 1971 (AJYB, 1972 [Vol.73], pp. 464-65), received pledges of

over £1.25 million in its first year. Within 15 months of commencement, it was expected to have spent about £250,000. In 1972 the trust began payments of grants to the Lubavitch movement (for a sixth form at its girls' school); the comprehensive Jewish Free School (for a sixth-form extension), and the Sir Israel Brodie Centre of Jews' College. The Hasmonean Boys' School in Hendon, London, and the King David High School, Manchester, received funds for the expansion of their Jewish studies programs. The trust also awarded nine scholarships to teachers for study in Britain, the United States, and Israel, and four scholarships to teachers-in-training to attend *ulpanim* in Israel during the summer vacation. In October Moshe Davis, former head of the Jewish National Fund's education department, replaced Yaacov Lehmann as director of the trust.

Meanwhile, in May, work started on a new Yesodey Hatorah girls' primary school for 280 pupils in Amhurst Park, London, which was expected to be state-aided. In the same month the Zionist Federation appealed for funds towards a £450,000 development plan for its day schools throughout the country.

By contrast, as S. S. Levin, United Synagogue president and former board chairman expressed it, "The sun is setting over our part-time system of Jewish education." It showed a drop of 3,000 in enrollment over the past decade to the present attendance of 7,000.

Changes were announced in February in the governing body of Carmel College, the Jewish public school, and also in its academic structure to "allow for the greatest advance academically on the one hand, and the maximum opportunity for those less gifted academically on the other." At the school's speech-day in July, headmaster Jeremy Rosen emphasized that Carmel could not be selective since it had a commitment to the Jewish community to provide secular and religious education to all who needed it. In November the new chairman of the board of governors, Roland Franklin, told the *Jewish Chronicle* that a £1 million fund was to be established to provide a greatly increased number of scholarships to make Carmel available to every Jewish child wishing to study there, regardless of parents' incomes.

In July Rabbi Isaac Newman was appointed the first full-time lecturer in Jewish studies at Trent Park College of Education, London. Trent Park assumed full financial responsibility for the new appointment. The Jewish studies course there had until then been financed by the Faculty for the Training of Teachers under the joint auspices of Jews' College, the Jewish Agency Torah Department, and the London Board of Jewish Religious Education.

### *Jews' College*

Concern with finances at Jews' College, London, which caused the resignation of its treasurer Levi Stern in November and a request for

investigation of its financial position by the College's finance and education committees, stood in marked contrast to the largest gift in the College's history: £75,000 received in August from Sir Charles Clore to endow a Chief Rabbi Hertz chair in rabbinics in commemoration of his birth. The chair, Principal Rabbi Nachum Rabinovitch said, would enable the college to raise the standard of rabbinical teaching and research; it also inaugurated a new development plan envisaging the establishment at Jews' College of chairs in various branches of Jewish learning.

In July Rabbi Rabinovitch described his first year of "stewardship" as a period of "planting the seeds," the full fruits of which would begin to show in five, perhaps ten years. In June the College had announced three new appointments: Rabbi Maurice Unterman as head of a new department of applied rabbinics; Dr. Aaron Lichtenstein as visiting lecturer in history, and Rabbi Simcha Lieberman as lecturer in Talmud. In October a two-year course in modern Hebrew to give Jewish studies teachers proficiency in the language opened at the College.

In November the Murray Committee of Enquiry into the governance of London University declined to recommend the admission of Jews' College as a school of the university (AJYB, 1972 [Vol.73], p.466). Moreover, the College's link with the university as an "institution with recognized teachers" (IRT) is threatened by the committee's findings that ". . . the IRT system—even if we were not proposing its discontinuance—barely meets the present needs of the College, let alone the developments which it envisages for the future."

### *At the Universities*

Jewish studies at the universities enjoyed a boom year. In June came the announcement of the establishment of a Centre for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies at Oxford University. David Patterson, Cowley lecturer in post-biblical Hebrew at the university and director of the Centre, said its activities, including research, teaching, publication, and translation, were designed to encourage Hebrew studies at post-doctoral level. Although the Centre enjoyed university sponsorship, it was to be an independent institution governed by a board of 11 trustees, five of them appointed by the university. By November two fellowships had been established.

In July the Birmingham Association of Jewish Graduates launched an appeal for £500 to help establish a program of Jewish studies at Birmingham University. The university was agreeable to the establishment of a lectureship in Jewish history if the necessary funds were made available.

Hebrew language studies at Cambridge University had been boosted by an endowment for the Pauline Recanati Lectorship in Modern Hebrew, it was reported in August. In the same month, too, the lectureship in Modern Hebrew at Glasgow University which had run out of funds in February could

be continued through the efforts of Benjamin Tammuz, counsellor (cultural affairs) of the Israel embassy, and the Glasgow Jewish community.

One in three of the Jewish student population in Britain “. . . is likely to marry out; seven out of eight have no active connection with Jewish life; nine out of ten know next to nothing about Judaism,” wrote Rabbi Cyril K. Harris in the *Jewish Chronicle* of September 8. When Rabbi Harris became national Hillel director in March, he indicated that, “of specific Jewish identity dimensions used by sociologists to determine the extent of Jewish attachment, only ‘concern for co-religionists in other parts of the world’ is the feature instantly recognizable on the student scene. Intense interest in Israel and enthusiastic demonstrations on behalf of Soviet Jewry characterize the committed more than any other, even the religious factor.”

An early attempt by Rabbi Harris to combat this situation was the launching, in October, of the Hillel “University” in Jewish studies aimed at bringing to the interested, but not specialist, student some of the pleasures of Jewish studies at the university level, while he was taking a full-time secular course elsewhere. Two other Hillel developments in October were the formation of the Friends of Hillel for sounder fund raising and the establishment of a national Hillel Foundation reflecting growing awareness throughout the country of the need to pool resources of experience and expertise.

It was announced in November that University College, Cambridge, was to be renamed for Sir Isaac Wolfson in recognition of a £2 million grant from the Wolfson Foundation. Thus, for the first time colleges in both Oxford and Cambridge would bear the name of the same benefactor (Wolfson College has existed in Oxford since 1966).

An appeal was published in the *Jewish Chronicle* in September for a Cecil Roth trust to advance study and education in the history and literature of the Jewish and Italian people. In June a Michael Goulston Educational Foundation, with an annual budget of some £10,000 was launched to carry on the Jewish educational work of the former Reform minister.

### *Chief Rabbi, United Synagogue, and Religious Life*

The desirability of secularizing the Board of Deputies of British Jews as a means of restoring communal unity was increasingly voiced by both Orthodox and Progressive leaders in view of repeated failure to heal the breach that caused the Orthodox faction to leave the Board (AJYB, 1972 [Vol.73], p. 467). Secularization would entail the deletion of the controversial Clause 43 of the Board’s constitution and therefore the abolition of the Board’s ecclesiastical authorities, as well as the consultative status granted to the Progressive leaders by the October 1971 amendment of the clause. Such a move was expected to make it possible for the Federation of Synagogues to

return to the Board and work in harmony with all sectors of the community on such nonsectarian matters of common interest as Israel, Jewish defense, foreign affairs, and Soviet Jewry.

In November leaders of the Orthodox groups called for the immediate establishment of an Orthodox Community Council in a booklet, *Tell It in Gath*, by Bernard Homa and Abba Bornstein (before their resignation, Homa was chairman of the Board's Shechita Committee, Bornstein vice-chairman of its Eretz Israel Committee). The Council would take over all religious functions now carried on by the Board in conjunction with its ecclesiastical authorities (*shehitah*, marriage registration, and religious education). Chief Rabbi Jakobovits, however, was reported as not favoring secularization "in the present circumstances." There could be no question, he said, even of contemplating phasing out the Board's religious functions until an alternative body had been successfully set up by the Orthodox community to which these functions could then be transferred. And that was not likely to be achieved in the foreseeable future.

The Chief Rabbi was the central figure in a controversy in June when he banned Danish Chief Rabbi Bent Melchior from preaching at London's Kenton Synagogue because of Melchior's association with the World Council of Synagogues founded by American Conservative Judaism. "The constitution of the United Synagogue," Jakobovits said, "by charging me with a responsibility to approve of preachers occupying its pulpits, clearly and understandably wants to ensure that such preachers reflect the views of authentic and unimpeachable orthodoxy." The opinions of both Chief Rabbis, together with editorial comment, appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* at the end of July.

In June Harry Landy, co-treasurer of the United Synagogue, warned members that the proposed reforms of its general and financial structure (detailed preparation for which was now complete) would require massive increases in its membership contributions. All synagogues would have to bear some increases, he said, but "it is our avowed intention that no-one whose circumstances do not permit will be priced out of membership of the United Synagogue." Another factor in increased costs was new salary scales raising the top rate for a minister in a constituent synagogue from £2,921 to £3,225. Also, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported in September, many Jewish communal organizations would be severely hit when major tax changes (the introduction of value-added tax and reduced allowances for subscriptions and donations) came into effect in 1973—which in the case of the United Synagogue would amount to some £50,000 a year. Representations were being made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be accorded value-added tax zero rating.

In November the Israel committee of the United Synagogue, set up some three years ago, announced it would appoint a full-time director "to administer the ramified work of the committee as a major department of the United Synagogue in cooperation with the Jewish Agency."

### *Kashrut and Shehitah*

Concern with kosher food prices dominated the year. In September a committee was set up of representatives of the National Council of Shechita Boards, the Kashrus Commission, Kedassia, the Bet Din, women's organizations, and the trade to enquire into Passover food prices. Fears were also expressed in many quarters that the cost of kosher meat and poultry would rise when Britain entered the Common Market in January 1973. Jack Brenner, secretary of the National Council of Shechita Boards and the London Board for Shechita, warned that regulations affecting meat and poultry could raise prices, since special equipment and extra staff would be required at abattoirs. Also, *kashrut* authorities in Europe, he said, had already indicated that they might wish to buy kosher meat from Britain, and the resulting shortages could further raise prices. The British housewife would have to adjust to new methods when the regulations came into force (which might take up to three years), but would benefit from improved hygiene.

A factor in current high prices was a pay rise awarded in March to poultry *shohetim* employed by the London Board, and in May (following a slow-down that caused a 25 per cent drop in London meat supplies for a fortnight or so in April) to cattle *shohetim*.

### *Soviet Jewry*

The campaign for Soviet Jewry reached new heights, prompting Greville Janner, M.P., to say that “. . . Soviet Jewry was doing infinitely more for our Anglo-Jewish community than we are doing for them. For the cause of Soviet Jewry and the campaign on its behalf have injected into our community a new verve and enthusiasm which has not existed since 1948 with the exception of the period of the 6-day war. . . .” New societies were formed and existing ones expanded and increased their adherents; motions were presented to Parliament; petitions were signed; public functions were picketed; demonstrations were held outside the Soviet embassy and Soviet offices in London; endless letters and cables were sent to the Soviet ambassador and to Jews in the Soviet Union, and contact was made with individual Jews in Russia by telephone calls.

Advantage was taken of every opportunity for demonstration: at the Soviet booth at the Ideal Home Exhibition, London, in February; at the London opening night of the Russian film *The Brothers Karamazov*, in March; at a symbolic Seder held on Passover within singing distance of the Soviet embassy; at a Diaghilev centenary concert, in May; during a visit by residents of Moscow's October suburb to the London suburb of Newham, in May, and to the Russian oarsmen at the Henley regatta, in July; at a torchlight demonstration outside the Russian embassy, on Simhat Torah, and so on.

In October the government refused requests from many sections of the

community to cancel or postpone a festival of Soviet and Russian music held under the provisions of the 1971 Anglo-Soviet cultural agreement. The United Synagogue urged its members not to support or patronize the concerts, and a spokesman for the Board of Deputies said that while responsible Jewish organizations had no intention of disrupting performances, it was hoped that they would draw the attention of both the Soviet participants and the audiences to the plight of Soviet Jews, including musicians.

Protest reached a height in August when all participating major communal organizations, headed by the Board of Deputies, decided at an emergency meeting in London to mount a full-scale campaign against Russia's imposition of an "education tax" on would-be Jewish immigrants to Israel. An emergency conference held in London in September and attended by 52 communal leaders from 13 countries announced that world Jewry would not pay the tax. The Women's Committee for Soviet Jewry held a torchlight vigil on the day the tax was to be ratified.

Campaigns were also organized on behalf of individual Soviet Jews including scientists Vladimir Slepak (emphasis was placed on the *bar mitzva* of Slepak's son in Moscow in May) and Benjamin Levich (who, it was alleged, had been refused permission by the Soviet authorities to take up a fellowship at Oxford University). A group of M.P.s introduced a motion in the House of Commons in May deploring the harassment of Soviet Jewish scientists who had applied to join their families in Israel and calling on the Soviet authorities to "desist from dismissing scientists from their posts when they apply for visas and from thereafter labelling them as parasites for having no jobs." Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Joseph Godber told the House in October that the British government could not make representations to the Russian authorities on behalf of individual Soviet Jews; but that it already had made, and would continue to make, representations in connection with the Russian "education tax." Among the many protests by professional bodies was an appeal by some 200 leading British politicians, clergymen, academics, writers, and entertainers, published in *The Times* in November, which called for the release of Jewish prisoners in the Soviet Union. In March the Chief Rabbi's office launched a campaign to raise £100,000 for Russian immigrants to Israel. The fund was to be administered by the Federation of Jewish Relief Organisations (for religious purposes). A fund-raising project was also announced by the Russian Immigrant Aid Fund (for social, religious, and educational activities). The Board of Deputies announced in May that its Soviet Jewry Action Committee would extend its activities on a nationwide basis.

### *Broadcasting*

The British Broadcasting Corporation announced in March the introduction of an "experimental" 15-lesson course in Arabic on BBC Radio; it had decided against a similar program in Hebrew. In September the London BBC

Sunday-morning Jewish radio program, *You Don't Have to be Jewish*, was made available to a wider public and lengthened by ten minutes.

### *Charity and Fund Raising*

In October the Joint Palestine Appeal (JPA) transferred control from its ten honorary officers to a 25-member national executive committee. JPA spokesman stated that campaign activities had greatly increased and the amount raised had more than doubled in the past two years. For the first time JPA disclosed how funds raised through the Kol Nidre appeal were distributed: the record £410,000, it reported in November, was divided between the Jewish Agency, Youth Aliyah, and a number of organizations chosen by the Chief Rabbi.

It was announced in October that the Queen agreed to accept, as an expression of the Anglo-Jewish community's loyalty and affection, a million-tree Royal Forest to be planted in Israel by the Jewish National Fund to commemorate her silver wedding.

More than £3 million were to be spent in the next five years by the major Jewish social-welfare organizations on building operations to increase accommodation for the elderly, the sick and the young, it was announced in September.

### *Publications and Culture*

Jewish history, ancient and contemporary, was the subject of many books published during the year. *Judges* (volume three of the *World History of the Jewish People*), a collection of essays by recognized authors and edited by Benjamin Mazar, dealt with the biblical period. It was complemented, on the archaeological side, by *Timna: Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines*, by Beno Rothenberg; *Silent Cities, Sacred Stones, Archaeological Discoveries in the Land of the Bible*, by Jerry M. Landay, and *An Archaeological Companion to the Bible*, by H.T. Frank. More recent history was covered in a reprint of G.F. Abbott's *Israel in Europe* (first published in 1907), a clear, well-documented account, and in *Diaspora: The Post-Biblical History of the Jews*, by Werner Keller, a non-Jewish German. Slightly more specialized was *The Sephardi Heritage: Essays on the History and Contribution of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, edited by Richard Barnett, which consisted of 17 essays (nine in English, four in Spanish, three in French, and one in Hebrew). Abraham Levy brought the story up to date with *The Sephardim: A Problem of Survival?*, a study of contemporary Sephardi life, particularly in Israel.

Zionist activity from the romantic 19th-century stirrings to 1947 was covered by Walter Z. Laqueur's comprehensive analytical survey, *A History of Zionism*. This was supplemented by *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann, Letters Volume III* (general editor, Meyer W. Weisgal) for

1903-1904. Other aspects of Jewish affairs were discussed in *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe*, by Paul Lendvai, an important study of the Jews as a special ethnic minority between the wars and during Soviet domination; *The Alien Invasion*, by Bernard Gainer, a study of the agitation in Britain against Jewish immigration, which culminated in the 1905 Aliens Bill, and *Palestine Papers, 1917-1922: Seeds of Conflict*, compiled and annotated by Doreen Ingrams, a distinguished member of Caabu.

The State of Israel was the subject of several books. *O Jerusalem*, by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, and *Genesis 1948*, by Dan Kurzman, dealt with the 1948 war of independence. Peter W. Medding provided a history of the Mapai party in *Mapai in Israel*, an attempt to discover why and how Mapai succeeded in maintaining power. Michael Brecher published *The Foreign Political System of Israel*, a study of how Israeli foreign policy was shaped, with short biographies of Israel policy-makers and copious facts, figures, and diagrams. David Pryce-Jones gave an objective account of the current situation of the Palestinian Arab refugees in *The Face of Defeat*.

On Nazi Europe there was *The Warsaw Uprising: 1 August-2 October 1944*, by George Bruce, an account of the political and military background as well as a reconstruction of the event. Clinical psychiatrist Henry W. Dicks studied the Nazi mass-killers in *Licensed Mass Murder*.

Even fiction kept close to historical fact in three novels: *The Book of Daniel*, by E.L. Doctorow (a fictionalized account of the Rosenberg case), *The Odessa File*, by Frederick Forsyth, and *The Settlers*, by Meyer Levin (a family saga against a background of pre-World War I Palestine up to the Balfour Declaration). Other notable fiction included *Roses are Blooming in Picardy*, by Chaim Bermant, a study of the egotism of third-rate violinist Sam Zucker; *The Financiers*, by Brian Glanville, and *April, June and November*, by Frederic Raphael.

Personal memoirs include *The Street*, a look by Mordecai Richler at his St. Urbain's childhood, and *Journey Through a Small Planet*, in which Emmanuel Litvinoff speaks of his London East End youth. Peggy Mann produced *Golda*, a lively biography of Golda Meir. Wolfgang Lodz gave a personal account of his espionage activities as Israeli's *Champagne Spy* in Egypt. In a more serious vein were two biographies of Stefan Zweig: *European of Yesterday*, by D. A. Prater, and *Stefan Zweig*, by Elizabeth Allday. *The Life and Teachings of Isaiah Horowitz*, by Eugene Newman, was the first comprehensive treatment of Horowitz's life and thought and a source of considerable information on 16th- and 17th-century Jewry. Other memoirs and writings were *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*, edited by Alex Bein, and *Not for the Record*, selected speeches and writings by Lord Goodman.

A collection of Isaac Deutscher's previously unpublished essays and lectures, *Marxism in our Time*, was an attempt to update Marxism and show its relevance to the present. Two books appeared on Alfred Rosenberg: his

*Selected Writings*, edited and introduced by Robert Pois, and *The Myth of the Master Race, Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi Ideology*, by Robert Cecil.

On religious themes, Sidney Brichto edited *Facts and Fallacies* about Liberal Judaism, and a beautifully produced Haggadah, newly translated with copious historical notes by Chaim Raphael, was included in *A Feast of History*. There were also two books on Hasidism: *Hasidic Prayer*, by Louis Jacobs, and *Souls of Fire*, by Elie Wiesel.

Plans of the Jewish Historical Society for a £30,000 publication program over the next three years were announced in December.

### *Race Relations*

In a statement issued in October "on behalf of the Anglo-Jewish community," the Board of Deputies expressed its abhorrence of the expulsion of Asians from Uganda and called on Jewish organizations and individuals to assist them in their settlement in Great Britain. The Chief Rabbi was among religious leaders supporting the Ugandan Asians Relief Trust Charitable Fund, it was announced in November.

In February the Board of Deputies decided on the continuation of district subcommittees of its defense and group-relations committee. Chairman Victor Mishcon said the defense machinery had to be kept on the alert since "the current loosening of law and order and growing unemployment could be dangerous to minorities and could carry in its trail people who look for scapegoats."

A December report of the committee drew attention to the large vote given to candidates of parties preaching intolerance and racial prejudice in recent parliamentary and municipal by-elections. In the Uxbridge by-election in December, extreme right-wing candidates obtained 12 per cent of the votes; John Clifton, National Front candidate, received almost 3,000, or 8 per cent of the total votes. Earlier, at its November conference, the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women decided on the establishment of a research center to document the activities and identity of every antisemitic or anti-Jewish group operating in Britain. The information obtained would be published and made available to the police authorities and the press three or four times a year. The center was to be part of the association's program to combat the current wave of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish violence.

Despite Board of Deputies protests, a paperback edition of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was published by Hutchinson's in August.

### *Zionism and Aliyah*

Hostility from several quarters greeted the visit to Britain in January by Menahem Begin, leader of the right-wing Israeli Herut party, and led to the cancellation of Herut functions in his honor. In May a party spokesman stated

that membership of British Herut was approaching 2,500; local branches had been established in London and six provincial centers. In December all Herut members resigned from the Zionist Federation's Soviet Jewry Committee in protest against a decision by its honorary officers not to invite Russian-Jewish poet David Markish to a demonstration outside Albert Hall in November.

At the Zionist Federation conference in March, its newly-elected chairman Abraham Kramer cited as the major tasks for the organization increased support for Jewish day schools, stronger participation in fund-raising activities for Israel, and an attempt to establish closer links with the Conservative party.

The Mizrahi-Hapoel Hamizrachi Federation, according to its new chairman Manny Klausner, would make strong efforts to establish closer links with Britain's Sephardi community. He cited the disturbingly small number of Sephardim among officials and even members of the organization.

In view of the decline in British immigration to Israel from 1,400 in 1971 to 1,000 in 1972, head of the Jewish Agency's immigration department Uzi Narkiss stated in October, the number of emissaries would be reduced by almost one-third and new promotion methods, such as the organization of Israel Week in cities throughout the country, would be used. The particularly sharp drop (22 per cent) in the first seven months of the year, the department explained, was due to the lack of antisemitic pressures on British Jews, as well as the widespread publicity given in the past 18 months to Israel's social problems and popular discontent over concessions to newcomers. However, Agency officials in London said the number of cases being processed was "exceedingly high and indicative of a possible increase next year." There was an increase of 17 per cent in the number of British Jews settling in *kibbutzim* during the first ten months of 1972 over the comparable 1971 period.

### *Personalia*

A number of British Jews received honors in 1972. Lord Goodman, former chairman of the Arts Council, was made a member of the Order of the Companions of Honour for public services; Sir Harold Samuel, property magnate and philanthropist, was made a life peer for public and charitable services. Martin Roth, professor of psychological medicine at Newcastle University, and Michael Sobell, chairman of Radio and Allied (Holdings), were appointed Knights Bachelor. Knighthoods were also bestowed on Professor Misha Black for services to industrial design and on Dr. Ernst Hans Josef Gombrich, professor of the history of the classical tradition at London University.

Lord Justice Karminski was elected treasurer of the Inner Temple for 1973. Cyril Salmon was appointed a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary. Morris Finer, Q.C., was appointed a High Court judge and Charles Lawson, Q.C., a judge

on the southeastern Crown Court circuit; Israel Finestein, Q.C., Mark Barnet Smith, Q.C., and Miss Myrella Cohen, Q.C., were all sworn in as circuit court judges. Miss Rose Heilbron, Q.C., became the first woman judge to preside at Old Bailey. Dr. Harold Price became one of the twelve full-time coroners in England and Wales.

Mrs. Jessica Blooman was appointed deputy commissioner of the Girl Guides movement, possibly the first Jewess to hold the post.

Sir Bernhard Katz, professor of physics at University College London and joint winner of the 1971 Nobel prize for medicine, and Dr. Monty Finniston, deputy chairman and chief executive of the British Steel Corporation, were appointed vice-presidents of the Royal Society. Professor H.L.A. Hart, fellow of Oxford's University College and former professor of jurisprudence, was elected principal of Brasenose College, Oxford. The trustees of the British Museum appointed Dr. Daniel Philip Waley, professor of history at the London School of Economics, keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum.

The 1972 *Jewish Chronicle* Book Award was won by Mordecai Richler for his novel, *St. Urbain's Horseman* (AJYB, 1972 [Vol.73], p.473).

Among notable British Jews who died in 1972 were: John Sebag Montefiore, prominent member of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue and chairman of the Jewish Welfare Board's welfare of the aged committee, in London in January, at the age of 79; Rabbi Michael Goulston, Reform minister of the West London Synagogue, in London in January, at the age of 40; Israel Moses, Lord Sieff of Brimpton, president of Marks and Spencer and leading supporter of many Israeli and communal causes, in London in February, at the age of 82; Dr. Harold Avery, distinguished physician, in London in February, at the age of 68; Professor Louis Mordell, scientist and fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, in Cambridge in March, at the age of 84; Herbert Bueno de Mesquita, outstanding social worker, in London in March, at the age of 70; Maurice W. Domb, London Board of Shechita president, in London in April, at the age of 76; Gerald Stollard, archivist of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in April, at the age of 76; Julius Braunthal, author of *The History of the Socialist International*, in London in April, at the age of 81; Israel Panter, chief parliamentary editor of the *Daily Telegraph* and author (pseud. Ike Rennap) of Middle Eastern literature, in Manchester in May, at the age of 64; Lewis, Lord Silkin, minister of town and country planning in the 1945-50 Labour government, in London in May, at the age of 82; Eleanor, Lady Nathan, chairman of London County Council 1947-48, president of Union of Jewish Women, in London in June, at the age of 79; Sir Albert Clavering, communal worker and political figure, in June, at the age of 85; Sol Cohen, communal worker and curator of London's Jewish Museum, in London in July, at the age of 65; Frank Renton, former chairman of the Board of Deputies' Jewish defense committee, at Hove in July, at the age of 76; Judge Clifford Theodore Cohen, county court judge and chairman

of Durham quarter sessions from 1966 until his death in August, at the age of 66; Sydney Goldberg, prominent member of the Jewish and British socialist movements, in August, at the age of 52; Aron Rapoport Rollin, trade union leader and writer, in London in September, at the age of 86; Ephraim Milner, vice-chairman of the Board of Deputies' education and youth committee, in September, at the age of 66; Rabbi Isaac Chait, minister of the Sheffield United Hebrew Congregation, in Portugal in October, at the age of 66; Maurice Wingate, property man and philanthropist, in London in October, at the age of 62; Mrs. Muriel Elsie Sacks (nee Landau) distinguished London gynecologist, in Israel in November, at the age of 77; Max Leonard, Lord Rosenheim, eminent physician, president of the Royal College of Physicians from 1966 until his death in December in London, at the age of 64; Rose Louise, Lady Henriques, welfare worker, director of religious, educational, and club activities in London in December, at the age of 83.

LIONEL AND MIRIAM KOCHAN

# France

## *The Political Year*

**T**HE FRENCH government's Middle East policy continued to be pro-Arab, as it had been since 1967. At the United Nations, on March 22, France was the only Western power to vote for a Human Rights Commission resolution condemning Israel for its conduct in the occupied territories.

Domestically, the year was marked above all by the stepped-up activities of the parties preparing for parliamentary elections scheduled for March 1973. A united Left consisting of Socialists, Communists, and dissident Radicals conducted a vigorous offensive. In June the Socialist and Communist parties signed an agreement for a joint governmental program; the left-wing Radicals added their signatures in July. This program was principally concerned with a number of economic reforms including some nationalizations. None of the proposed changes were of a strictly socialist nature. They envisaged improved conditions for the most disadvantaged sectors of the population. No real change in foreign policy was proposed. There was an appeal for peace in the Middle East, with mention of Israel's right to exist, and a call for a reduction in the manufacture of nuclear arms. It was a program vaguely described as one of "advanced democracy."

The sponsors stressed that the program had nothing to do with revolution or the establishment of Socialism, or even a sort of prelude to Socialism. Since it was important to take the majority of the votes away from the governmental parties, and therefore to reassure the middle-class voters as much as possible, they set out to show exemplary moderation in their pronouncements, the Communists even more than the Socialists.

The centrist coalition, called Reformers, was expected to win between 13 and 16 per cent of the vote. Led by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Jean Lecanuet, it offered no novel program. It stressed the need for change in government personnel and methods, rather than in the social structure. Because they seemed likely to hold the balance of power, the Reformers had an importance far beyond their influence on the vote. On foreign policy they were generally more "European" than the Gaullists or the Left. In regard to the Middle East, they were more sympathetic to Israel than the other parties, and they let it be understood, without a formal promise, that there would be a change of policy if they were to win. In November 1972 a former Gaullist cabinet minister, Jean-Marcel Jeanneney, joined the camp of the Reformers.

The Union of the Left seemed to be sailing with the wind. Several public

opinion polls indicated that it would make substantial gains and might even win; that the Socialists would be particularly successful—an entirely new development.

The Gaullist Union of Democrats for the Republic (UDR) and its ally, the National Federation of Independent Republicans (RI), were hard pressed. Bespattered by financial and other scandals, buffeted by dissension, held responsible for the conduct of the economy and especially the continual rise in prices, the party, which had held power for almost 15 years, found it difficult to answer the attacks of its opponents. Unable to object to the fundamental democratic theory of alternation in power, which the opposition called a necessity, the government parties held that a victory of the Left, with its predominance of Communists, would put an end to alternation. The defensive counterpropaganda of the Gaullists, which was based on the anti-Communism and fear of disorder of the majority of Frenchmen—a line which had been successful in 1968 (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 330–31)—was impeded by the government's foreign policy of rapprochement with Moscow, which demonstrated that the Soviet Union and Communism no longer frightened the French ruling classes.

The Gaullists also were at a disadvantage in their campaign because their own man, President Georges Pompidou, would continue as head of state. Socialists and Communists in fact exploited this situation; they pointed out to those who would normally vote Gaullist that they would risk little by changing their votes for once. For with Pompidou in the middle of his seven-year term and the extensive powers of the chief of state under the Gaullist constitution, which the Left was not seriously thinking of amending, the Gaullist heritage would be preserved even under a government of the Left.

In April a referendum took place on admitting England, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries to the European Economic Community (Common Market). This referendum was not constitutionally required; a vote of the parliament would have been enough. But the president and cabinet wanted to use it to test their support. Of those who voted, 67.7 per cent were for admission; 39.52 per cent of the electorate abstained. The Socialists had called for abstention, while the Communists advocated a vote against admission and the Reformers voted for it. Since some of the "yes" votes came from their opponents, the referendum result was not too encouraging for the Gaullists in terms of the coming elections. However, the disagreement on the referendum between Socialists and Communists, already engaged in working out a joint program, gave the governmental camp some illusions about the possibility that their joint venture would fail even before it was begun. Socialist leader François Mitterand and the new Communist leader René Marchais did all they could to play down the conflict. After the referendum, discussions between Communists and Socialists resumed and finally reached a successful conclusion.

The resignation of Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas was announced at the end of a cabinet meeting, on July 5; he was replaced by Pierre Messmer. This surprising, brusque shift was attributed to a decision by President Pompidou, who had had a disagreement with the premier.

### *Foreign Relations*

The government continued to seek the consolidation and extension of relations with the states of Africa and the Middle East. There were numerous visits to Paris by Third World heads of state and political leaders. Turkish Minister Niher Erim came in January; President Marien Nguouabi of the People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) in February; President François Tombalbaye of Chad and Moussa Traoré, chief of state of Mali, in April; Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, in June; President Suharto of Indonesia and Major Abdal-Salem Jallud, Libyan minister of industry and economy, in November.

Other visitors included Queen Elizabeth of England and Queen Juliana of the Netherlands, in May, as well as various European political figures. Among the latter were Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany, President Franz Jonas and Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria, Premier Edward Gierek of Poland, and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Soviet Marshal Andrei Grechko. Twice during the year President Pompidou visited sub-Saharan Africa, including Niger and Chad.

After a meeting between Israel's Ambassador to France Asher Ben-Natan and President Pompidou, an agreement was reached on February 15 by which France would buy back the 50 Mirage planes embargoed since 1967.

One of the financial and political scandals that broke in 1972 and were fully exploited by the opposition was the Aranda affair, which initially seemed to involve Israeli or Jewish interference. In September Gabriel Aranda, a former high civil servant and collaborator and personal friend of Albin Chalandon, former minister of equipment and housing, wrote to the press that he had in his possession photocopies of documents revealing numerous administrative irregularities in awarding contracts and export licenses and in invoices—illegal acts that had been committed with the active or passive complicity of politicians close to the government. Aranda threatened to reveal the full extent of the scandal unless the government reversed its decision to embargo the Mirages sold to Israel and delivered to that country the arms to which it was entitled. The threatening letter ended with the Hebrew salutation "Shalom." The first impression of newspaper readers and radio listeners was that Aranda was a Jew and an Israeli agent. But it turned out that he was a Catholic with no ties to Israel; in Paris Israeli circles said they did not know this unusual champion of justice.

Although the police were officially searching for Aranda—whose flight to

Israel had already been reported—on a charge of stealing documents, he appeared almost everywhere in interviews and press conferences. Asked why he was so pro-Israel and whether he was naive enough to think he could thus bring about the lifting of the embargo, he answered that, despite his orthodox Gaullism, he was a fervent sympathizer and admirer of Israel. He said he had never believed his threat would be effective or win the day for Israel. For him it was a question of a “poetic” gesture, “planting a flower on the dungheap.” This touchingly romantic outlook made him rather attractive, but did not help his reputation as a serious figure. A judicial inquiry found that the facts contained in the documents, which had been purloined (and subsequently returned), were not sufficiently important to warrant prosecution.

At the end of December it was announced that Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir would visit Paris in the following month to attend a conference of the Socialist International. A polemic immediately broke out on the appropriateness of the visit, which President Pompidou and the cabinet saw as an indirect interference in the French elections, since François Mitterand was expected to profit politically from the presence of the prestigious foreigners and, in the case of Mrs. Meir, to influence the Jewish voters of France. This was the first time the press took notice of the existence of such a specific electorate in France; it was estimated that there were about 300,000 Jewish voters.

### *Antisemitism, Anti-Zionism, Terrorism, and Counterterrorism*

Expressions of naked classical antisemitism, directed against Jews as Jews and without political motivation, were increasingly rare in France. The cloak of anti-Zionism generally served to cover anti-Jewish psychoses, both conscious and unconscious. It claimed not to be antisemitic, and, to emphasize this, a new slogan current in the Latin Quarter proclaimed, “Long live the struggle of Jews and Arabs against Zionist fascism.”

At the end of February a doll called “the Jew,” bearded and grimacing in the usual way of anti-Jewish caricatures, was found on sale at the toy counter of a department store in Dijon. Immediate protests from the city’s Jewish community, the International League Against Anti-Semitism (LICA), and the Jewish and antiracist press led to the withdrawal of this article imported from Germany.

In June the indignation of Jews and former members of the French resistance was aroused by the announcement of a presidential pardon for Paul Touvier, the commander of the Lyons militia during the Nazi occupation who, after the liberation, had been condemned to death *in absentia* for murder. Among his victims had been Professor Victor Basch, president of the International League for the Rights of Man, and his wife. For years Touvier had been in hiding in southeastern France, apparently protected by influential members of the Catholic clergy. These powerful protectors appealed for, and

finally obtained, his pardon for which not the slightest justification or explanation was ever officially offered. Since the presidential pardon was irrevocable, the protests were in vain. Efforts by jurists, who had served in the Resistance, to have Touvier tried again on a charge of stealing Jewish property remained unsuccessful at year's end.

Another scandal of the same type was the Barbie affair. Klaus Barbie, a German and head of the Gestapo in Lyons, was responsible for the deportation of Jewish children from France, as well as for the death of the French resistance leader Jean Moulin while he was being transferred to Germany. Barbie was discovered in Bolivia, where he lived under an assumed name and conducted a business; he had acquired Bolivian citizenship. French demands for his extradition were unsuccessful, despite an insistent letter from President Pompidou to the Bolivian chief of state. The Bolivian authorities refused on the ground that Barbie was a naturalized Bolivian and entitled to the protection of the country's laws.

In September U.R.S.S., the official French language bulletin of the Soviet embassy in Paris, published a violently anti-Jewish article signed by someone with a Jewish-sounding name. Among other things, it accused the Talmud of propagating racism and inciting its students to despoil non-Jews, and charged that in Israel children were taught in school that the Arabs must be exterminated. This specimen of the lowest type of antisemitism in the tradition of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* gave rise to violent protests. It also resulted in an official (though not officially confirmed) protest from the French foreign ministry to the Soviet embassy. The Jewish Communists of *Presse Nouvelle* immediately disassociated themselves from the article's assertions and condemned them categorically. The publication of the article violated French law, which prohibits incitement to racial or religious hatred. LICA also brought civil suit against the Soviet embassy.

On the night of October 4 a small explosion occurred in the Palestine bookstore specializing in pro-Palestinian, anti-Zionist, and anti-Israeli literature, which was located in a workers' district of Paris. The damage was slight, and no one was hurt. A hitherto unknown group called Massada distributed leaflets claiming responsibility for the act, which, it said, was a warning to Arab terrorists after the Munich murders. Zionist organizations, including Betar and the extreme right-wing Front des Etudiants Juifs (Front of Jewish Students), denied participation in, and responsibility for, the affair. The perpetrators have not been found.

A Conference of the Youth of Europe and the Arab Countries was raided on December 2 by helmeted and armed commandos, who wounded several conference participants. Action Universitaire Juive (Jewish Action of the University), another right-wing Zionist group, denounced the raid as a provocation which would draw public attention to this anti-Israel meeting.

Kannou Khober, who claimed to be a Syrian journalist but was unknown in press circles, was machine-gunned to death in his lodgings, in November. It

was thought that this was an act of vengeance by Arab terrorists who suspected the victim of being a double agent. A police investigation led to the arrest of a non-Jewish French woman, who had joined the organization France-Israel to camouflage her pro-Arab ideological ties.

As a result of the investigation in Israel of the Commando de Pâques (Passover Commando)—young French girls sent to Israel by their Arab friends with explosives for bombings—the French police arrested some accomplices in Paris. Eight men and women were tried in Paris in October and received light sentences; the two principal defendants were sentenced to two years and eighteen months in prison, respectively.

On September 9 the Paris representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mahmoud Hamchari, was seriously wounded by an explosion set off when he lifted the receiver to answer his telephone; he later died in a hospital. Because of the technical perfection of preparations, the assassination was attributed by police experts to the Israeli secret service. It led to violent anti-Israeli agitation in leftist circles, with vain attempts to incite the Paris population against the “Zionist fascists.” The moving spirits were two Jews, the Trotskyist leader Alain Krivine and the Maoist leader Alain Geismar.

In 1972 frequent confrontations, altercations, and even brawls—but not really serious ones—took place in Paris high schools between pro-Palestinian leftist and Zionist Jewish students. Certain freedom of political debate in the high schools had been established after the May 1968 revolt of students demanding reform. As a result, many small meetings were constantly taking place in the schools, most notably on the anti-Zionist theme favored by the leftists: “Palestine will be victorious!” The Zionist Jewish high school students, too, organized meetings for the purpose of imparting information on Israel. But they ran into opposition from leftists who tried to impose a ban on all Zionist activity. Being in the minority, the Jewish students generally lost out. Nevertheless, meetings of this kind did take place in several high schools. Various reports on the political climate in the French high schools indicated that the leftist students often were joined by teachers in the campaign against Israel.

At the October conference of UNESCO in Paris, Soviet Russia, Byelo-Russia, and the Ukraine presented a resolution condemning “Zionist racism.” They also asked that a UNESCO investigating commission be sent to the Israeli occupied territories. The resolution finally adopted was limited to a censure of Israel for conducting archaeological excavations in Jerusalem and an appeal to Israel to scrupulously preserve the Old City of Jerusalem.

## JEWISH COMMUNITY

A quarter of the Jewish population of France was concentrated in the suburbs of Paris: 30,000 families totaling 140,000 to 150,000 individuals, almost all

of North African origin. The heaviest concentration in the area was in the commune of Sarcelles-Garges-Villiers, with 15,000 Jewish inhabitants. This information was given by Simon Aziza, regional representative of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié.

### *Communal Activities*

In 1972 the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU; United Jewish Philanthropic Fund) was forced to adopt a "distress budget" for 1973 because of a steady and progressive drop in contributions in recent years. The principal reason for this situation was that two-thirds of FSJU's funds for its philanthropic, cultural, and educational activities came from its share of the Appel Unifié Juif de France (AUJF; United Jewish Appeal) proceeds. (Before 1967, there were separate campaigns for FSJU and for Israel.) These proceeds were expected to decrease, since many big contributors had made one-time special gifts.

The original 1967 agreement between the Jewish Agency and FSJU provided for an equal division of income up to 20 million francs; above that, FSJU was to receive only one-third and Israel two-thirds. Because of Israel's pressing needs, changes were made in favor of Israel. However, at FSJU's request a new three-year agreement signed in November 1972 restored the original ratio.

The significant decrease in FSJU allocations was felt on the institutional level by the Consistoire, the Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF; Representative Council of Jews of France), and the religious institutions. Generally, purely philanthropic activities were to be sacrificed in favor of Jewish education. Thus aid to the aged was to be reduced, while the construction of a new community center in the Paris Latin Quarter, intended primarily for Jewish university youth, was kept in the budget. FSJU continued to receive an annual subsidy of 5.5 million francs from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

After long hesitation and consideration of various plans, the Fonds Social Juif Unifié changed its structure 23 years after its establishment to a system of individual membership and the democratic elections of officials on all levels, including the top leadership. A special council meeting in November approved this change. FSJU thus became the central organization of the French Jewish community in the social, cultural, and educational fields.

Julien Samuel, FSJU director since 1950 and AUJF head since 1967, gave up the latter post at year's end to devote himself exclusively to FSJU. Alfred Zemmour succeeded Samuel as AUJF director.

The activities of CRIF included various interventions on behalf of Jews in the Soviet Union and the Arab countries. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union, the Consistoire, through its President Alain

de Rothschild and Grand Rabbi Jacob Kaplan, sent a telegram to the Kremlin asking amnesty for Jews who were arrested for applying for emigration to Israel. At the national conference of CRIF in December, its president, Professor Ady Steg, once again deplored French Middle East policy. Earlier, at the beginning of November, Prime Minister Pierre Messmer told a CRIF delegation headed by Steg that he desired frank and direct dialogue between his government and Israel for "mutual understanding and relations free of all bitterness and based on friendship."

The second Forum of European Communities, held in Paris in October, was attended by 532 delegates from 72 Jewish communities in 18 European countries, who discussed various problems of the European diaspora.

The Federation of Zionist Youth, established in October, included the majority of the political groups, ranging from Betar to Hashomer Hatzair. The Federation's purpose was to prevent the liquidation of Zionism in favor of a vague and meaningless "pro-Israelism" or passive assimilation.

According to the Jewish Agency office in Paris, French *aliyah* dropped off sharply in the last months of 1972; it averaged some 120–150 a month.

A new, ultra-modern community center was opened in Nancy for its 3,000 Jews.

### *Jewish Education*

There was no significant increase in Jewish school enrollment, which in recent years represented about 5 per cent of Jewish children of school age. This was due more to the shortage of schools and teaching personnel than to a lack of interest in Jewish education by parents and students. At the opening of the 1972–1973 school year, there was a rush to register in the Jewish high schools as well as in the only Jewish primary school in Paris, the Lucien de Hirsch school, which had to turn away 150 applicants for whom it had no room.

The de Hirsch school's director, Madame Marianne Picard, polled 171 heads of Jewish families and 200 young people on the subject of their attachment to Jewish values. Of those interrogated, 95.33 per cent said they wanted their children to remain attached to Jewish values, and 75.5 per cent thought the role of the family was essential to the transmission of these values.

Still, the new rush for enrollment in Jewish schools was not entirely a sign of awakening Jewish consciousness. There were other reasons, the most important of which undoubtedly was the tumultuous and disturbed atmosphere in the French high schools. The authority of the teachers was undermined, often by their own action, and school work was disorganized or neglected. Besides, if nothing else, Jewish students encountered "anti-Zionist" prejudice among the mass of leftist-inculcated students. To this should be

added the impact of youth's new attitude toward sex, which dismayed particularly the puritanical Jewish parents of North African origin. This dismay was understandable enough in view of the fact that among activist groups in some French high schools were organized sections of the Revolutionary Front of Homosexuals. None of this existed in the Jewish high school. Its students worked hard, and average examination results, especially for the baccalaureate, were excellent.

In the 1972-73 academic year, the enrollment of students in FSJU-subsidized schools was as follows:

	<i>Paris</i>	
Ecole Maimonide		305
Ecole Yabné		500
Ecole Lucien de Hirsch		548
Ecole de Pavillons s/Bois		119
Ecole Ariel		59
Ecole d'Aubervilliers		54
Ecole de Villemomble		270
Ecole de Sarcelles		64
	<i>Aix-les-Bains</i>	
Yéchiva d'Aix		160
	<i>Lyon</i>	
Ecole Otzar Hatorah		130
Ecole Beth Riwkha		130
	<i>Marseille</i>	
Ecole Yavné		246
	<i>Strasbourg</i>	
Ecole Aquiba		573

There also were several ultra-Orthodox schools which were subsidized by FSJU; the one exception being the Oriental Jewish Normal School of Paris, which was maintained by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. To these must be added other *yeshivot* such as that of Aix-les-Bains; the numerous ORT vocational schools, and the Institute of Jewish Higher Studies connected with the Liberal Synagogue. Together, these accounted for about a thousand additional students.

The Centre Universitaire d'Etudes Juives (CUEJ; University Center of Jewish Studies) had about 400 regular students and slightly over 200 others not taking a full program. Founded by Leon Askenazi, now director of the Grand Sephardic Yeshivah of Jerusalem, CUEJ was solidly established in Jewish university life. When Askenazi now and then returned to France to lecture, attendance always far exceeded the capacity of the hall.

A total of 5,000 students in France pursued rudimentary studies in what euphemistically were called Talmud Torahs. Actually, they offered very scant

religious instruction, primarily intended as preparation for *bar-mitzvah*; they had about 150 teachers, some of them volunteers (rabbis' wives, for instance). Experience has shown that treating the introduction of children to Judaism on the elementary level as an incidental matter could be more harmful than beneficial because this tends to foster a certain contempt for Judaism. The Consistoire appointed an educational adviser with a view to instituting some improvements.

### *Crisis Among Jewish Students*

The political disputes within the Union des Etudiants Juifs de France (UEJF: Union of Jewish Students of France) led to the takeover in 1972 of the Paris executive committee by a group of militants who described themselves as non-Zionist; the national leadership remained Zionist-Socialist. These militants were not Leftists, but members or sympathizers of that faction of the French Socialist party which sought to avoid blatant pro-Israelism. Only 111 out of the 2,000 members of the Paris section voted in the elections for the Paris leadership. Belief in Socialism was a requirement for membership in the Paris UJEF. Aside from the non-Zionists, it included some genuine Leftists, sympathizers of the Matzpen in Israel also called Trotskyists; some Socialist Zionists of Mapam, and some religious elements who also called themselves Socialists. The right-wing elements of Herut-Betar had left UEJF for the Front des Etudiants Juifs (FEJ; Front of Jewish Students), a group most active in demonstrations against Soviet antisemitism, the persecution of Jews in Syria and Iraq, and Arab terrorism. Much less politicized than the Paris section, the provincial branches of UEJF functioned better and generally maintained good relations with Jewish communities of their cities, which was not the case in Paris. In 1972 a new right-wing group of university Zionists, Action Universitaire Juive (Jewish University Action) was formed to carry on propaganda for a "Great Israel" implying the annexation of the occupied territories.

### *The Press*

The major Jewish publications—*l'Arche*, *Information Juive*, *Tribune Juive*, and *La Terre Retrouvée* (The Retrieved Land)—generally gained readers. (There were also a number of bulletins and small periodicals with very limited circulations.) This progress was most notable in the case of *l'Arche*, the richest in content. One of its special issues, July-August 1972, contained a section entitled "*Dictionnaire du Judaïsme Français*," (Dictionary of French Judaism), with entries pertaining to the early and modern history of French Jewry by some 40 French writers and scholars. It was very widely read and was reprinted in book form.

In very modest format, the monthly newspaper *Information Juive* continued

to maintain a high standard. It carried articles by the country's best Jewish authors, journalists, and scholars, while continuing to appeal to a popular audience. The majority of its subscribers were Jews of North African origin. *La Terre Retrouvée* expanded its scope; it has become something like the official organ of the Zionist movement. At the same time it continued to be a "free platform" where divergent opinions could be expressed.

The most political of the major Jewish publications was the Strasbourg weekly, *Tribune Juive* (whose cover now bears the name *T. J. Hebdo*, meaning "Weekly"). Its motto could be "Israel, halakha, and good opinion of the Left"—elements that sometimes are not easily reconcilable. In December Rabbi Jean Grunewald, the paper's editor, and his colleague Henri Smolarski were received by some of the leaders of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party whom they asked embarrassing questions regarding their position on Israel and Jewish religion and culture. They did not defend, or try to explain, Soviet anti-Jewish policy; neither did they repudiate it. The interviewers were not successful in their attempt to have the French Communists intervene with the Soviet authorities for a modification of the anti-Jewish measures. They did not want to become involved; they preferred to stick to their agenda: the elections and the program of the Left for which, they thought, Jewish citizens ought to vote no matter what their view of the Soviet Union.

The small Communist Jewish weekly, *Presse Nouvelle*, increased its concessions to Jewish sentiment as the elections approached, disassociating itself clearly enough from Soviet and Polish antisemitism and trying to equate the attitude of French Jewish Communists with that of the "loyal" Israeli Communist party, Maki.

## Books

Among the mass of political and historical-political books dealing with Middle Eastern problems, Maxime Rodinson's *Marxisme et monde Musulman* ("Marxism and the Muslim World"; Seuil) as well as Mony Elkaim's *Panthères noires d'Israël* ("Black Panthers of Israel"; Maspero) are noteworthy. The first, a scholarly study committed to a pro-Palestinian and "anti-imperialist" viewpoint, deals with the history of the Moslem and Arab peoples, their political destiny, and their spiritual attitudes. The second discusses demands and the economic and social causes of the revolt of the Israeli Black Panthers.

Christian Jelen's *La Purge* ("The Purge"; Fayard), which received LICA's prize for antiracism, discussed the history of Communist antisemitism in Gomulka's Poland, the role played by General Moczar, and the persecution and elimination of Jewish Communists before 1970.

Judaica included a new edition of André Chouraqui's beautiful French

translation of a medieval Jewish classic on ethics, Ibn Paquda's *Les devoirs du coeur* ("The Duties of the Heart"; Desclée de Brouwer) as well as a small annotated anthology of Talmudic ethics, *Le Talmud et ses maîtres* ("The Talmud and Its Teachers"; Albin Michel), by David Malkine. The same publisher also brought out a new book by André Neher, *Dans tes portes, Jerusalem* ("In Your Portals, Jerusalem") and a new edition of Neher's *l'Essence du Prophétisme* ("The Essence of Prophetism"). Chouraqui published also *La sage des juifs d'Afrique du Nord* ("The Saga of the Jews of North Africa"; Desclée de Brouwer), a presentation of the history and contemporary life of the Jews of the Maghreb, with important observations about their role in Israel.

Manès Sperber brought out in French his *La Psychologie individuelle d'Alfred Adler* ("Alfred Adler's Individual Psychology"; Gallimard), a study which had appeared in German some years ago. As one-time assistant to Adler, Sperber not only discussed his theories and methods of psychotherapy, but gave a history of the Vienna School of psychoanalysis which throws significant light on its psychosocial context and the major role of Jews in the field. A collection of poems, *Le soleil sous la mer* ("The Sun Beneath the Sea"), by Claude Vigée, was published by Editions Flammarion.

Albert Cohen's *O vous frères humains* ("Oh You Humane Brothers"; Gallimard) was an evocation by that great French Jewish author of a mortifying memory of his childhood, the little Marseilles schoolboy's encounter with antisemitism, and the destruction of the idealized image of France as the cradle of the Rights of Man. Alain Spiraux's *Jeanne d'Arc et l'enfant juif* ("Joan of Arc and the Jewish Child"; Julliard) describes the author's childhood world in the poor quarters of Paris in the thirties, of unskilled and indigent Jewish immigrants from Poland. In part nostalgic and vaguely poetic, it reminisces about an anemic and degraded remnant of Yiddish folklore and imparts a vivid sense of the remembered humiliations of a little Jewish schoolboy of foreign parentage. Victor Malka's *Voir Israël* ("To See Israel"; Editons Hachette) is a very beautiful album of scenes from Israel, with penetrating text, showing the greatness of Jewish culture.

A first novel by Sylvia Korkaz, *Ma jolie Palestine* ("My Pretty Palestine"; C. Denoël), is an unskillful attempt to satirize Jewish and Zionist circles of Paris. *Ma* (Mercure de France), by Jacques Zibi, a young Jewish novelist of Tunisian origin, is an account of the death of a North African Jewish mother in a cold and indifferent Paris. It is a unique *Kaddish* with a solemn cadence—certainly one of the most beautiful Jewish books to appear on the French literary scene.

Michel Rachline's *Le Bonheur Nazi* ("Nazi Happiness"; Anthier) seeks to describe the perversion of Hitlerian man in the form of a mock defense of Nazism, a disastrous attempt at satire that is both clumsy and shocking in its effect. The narrator in the book, a French Nazi, speaks for the Jew Rachline when he says that Nazi doctrine and methods are still very much alive in the

world today. Israel, in the author's distorted view, is the terrain *par excellence* for the triumph and return of Hitlerian ideology.

*Partout où ils seront* ("Wherever They May Be"; Edition Speciale), by Beate Klarsfeld, describes the transformation of a young non-Jewish German, married to a Jewish French girl, into a hunter of Nazi criminals in hiding. It evidently is an account of the authors own adventures while she was hunting Nazis and traveled to Prague and Warsaw to protest against antisemitism. The book, though naive, theatrical, and perhaps a bit presumptuous, evokes the interest and sympathy of the reader.

*La Périphe* ("Periplus"; Fayard), by Arnold Mandel, is not, as it was incorrectly interpreted, a "confessional novel." Rather, it cuts across space and time, so that experiences and encounters, disquiets, confusion, and irony, all converge in a global view of Jewish destiny in the past and today. It achieved notable critical success in the French press, but the Jewish press had some reservations, criticizing the author for including too many erotic "moments." In *Le Monde*, the critic Jacqueline Piatier saw the book as a Jewish interpretation of the universe and the quest for the "hidden face of God." The French book-trade publications listed it among the ten best literary works of the year.

The 1972 French Academy Grand Literary Prize was awarded to Patrick Modiano, a young half-Jewish novelist, whose latest book *Boulevards de Ceinture* ("Peripheral Boulevards"; Gallimard), is a highly sophisticated and brilliantly written description of the dangerously ambiguous feelings of a Jewish father towards his son in German-occupied Paris. The new collection "Diaspora" of Editions Calmann-Lévy has published a most remarkable historical work, *Les juifs français à l'époque de L'Affaire Dreyfus* ("The French Jews at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair"), by a Canadian, W. Marrus. The same publisher reissued *Qu'une larme dans l'océan* ("Only a Drop in the Ocean") by Manès Sperber, of which a film was also made.

Pierre Lazaref, publisher of *France Soir*, fighter against Nazism and the Vichy regime, died in Paris on April 21, at the age of 65.

Publicist and journalist Jacques Calmy, who was called "the most Parisian of Zionists and the most Zionist of Parisians"; former secretary-general of the French League for a Free Palestine; until 1969 editor-in-chief of *Monde Juif*, the monthly of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine; important public-relations worker for the cause of Israel and of Judaism in French literary circles, died in Paris in October, at the age of 76.

Dr. Eugene Minkovski, a noted psychiatrist and author of classic works of modern psychiatry, a leader in Paris Jewish circles; a principal supporter of OSE, underground worker during the Nazi occupation, who saved hundreds of Jewish children from deportation, died in Paris in December, at the age of 86.

# The Netherlands

## *Foreign Policy*

**F**OLLOWING the lead of the United States, the Netherlands changed its policy with regard to Communist China. Although the Netherlands was among the first countries to give diplomatic recognition to Peking, relations between the two countries remained cool. Supporting the new China policy were the findings of a study of relations with Peking commissioned in July 1971 by Premier Barend Biesheuvel. In the United Nations in October the Netherlands voted for the Albanian motion to admit Peking and expel Taiwan. This was followed in May 1972 by a joint declaration by Communist China and the Netherlands that they would exchange ambassadors.

There also was a change in Dutch policy on East Germany. On December 22, one day after West Germany and East Germany signed the treaty on basic relations, the Dutch cabinet decided to establish diplomatic relations with East Germany. Delegations from both countries held talks in The Hague between December 27 and 29. The Dutch government was urged by parliament and the public to ask for reparation for Nazi victims and compensation for Dutch property nationalized by East Germany.

## *Domestic Affairs*

The declining economy, as indicated by an unemployment rate of 3 to 4 per cent and an annual price rise of about 9 per cent, turned the Dutch against workers from Italy, Morocco, Greece, and Turkey, who were admitted to the Netherlands at a time when jobs were plentiful and the Dutch refused to do certain kinds of work.

An incident in August in the so-called Afrikaander quarter of Rotterdam, where Dutch tenants attacked a Turkish landlord because he pressed them to vacate their apartments, sparked off a week of rioting in which property of Turkish workers was destroyed. The police arrested 72 persons. The Turkish government requested through its ambassador to the Netherlands and its foreign minister to protect Turkish subjects in Holland. Later that month, 12 rioters were tried and sentenced to one to five months' imprisonment.

A decision by the Rotterdam city council in September 1972 that no more than 5 per cent of any district's population should consist of foreign workers, including also natives from Dutch overseas territories, was suspended by the Crown (the Queen and the government) two weeks later in the face of protests by committees of residents in several Amsterdam districts. Repeated conflicts

occurred in Amsterdam, too, between the police and natives of Surinam, most of whom were living in the Bijlmer district. (There has been a weekly influx of about 200 Surinamese, 50,000 of whom now lived in Holland, half in Amsterdam.) Since most of them were poor, unskilled, and uneducated, they constituted a problem for the government. All natives of Surinam and the Antilles were legally Dutch subjects and entitled to welfare provisions without restriction. Minister of Justice Andries van Agt, who visited Surinam in December 1972, declared upon his return that, in his view, natives from Surinam and the Dutch Antilles should not have the automatic right to settle in Holland.

### *Elections*

Elections to the Second Chamber of parliament were held on April 28, 1971, and again only 18 months later, on November 29, 1972. The first were the regular quadrennial elections. The returns showed a slight shift to the left, which undermined the Right-Center coalition led by Prime Minister Petrus J.S. de Jong since 1967. However, a slightly expanded Right-Center coalition was returned to office. It consisted of the former coalition partners—the large Catholic People's party, the Liberals, and the Calvinist Anti-Revolutionary party (ARP)—but now included a new right-wing Socialist group led by Willem Drees, Jr., the Democratic Socialists '70 (DS '70). The new prime minister was Barend W. Biesheuvel, leader of ARP.

DS '70 was the big winner in the election. It unexpectedly captured 5.3 per cent of the vote, or 8 of the 150 chamber seats, giving the new government a majority of 82. One of its successful candidates was Jacques Z. Baruch, president of the Dutch Sephardi community, the first member of parliament since World War II to be sworn in with a covered head. The moderate Socialist Labor party, with 24.6 per cent of the popular vote and 39 seats in the chamber, again was the Netherland's strongest single party. ARP and the Christian Historical Union (CHU) lost two seats each, holding 13 and 10 seats respectively; the Catholic People's party's (KVP) seats dropped from 39 to 35.

The new government did not remain in power long. It fell in July 1972, when a dispute over anti-inflationary measures could not be resolved. DS '70 wanted the government to impose immediate wage and price controls to curb the more than 8 per cent annual price rise, a move opposed by the other coalition parties which hoped that labor, management, and government could agree on voluntary anti-inflationary action. Efforts were made to repair the coalition; but differences were so fundamental that new elections were called.

In the 1972 elections, KVP dropped eight seats and CHU three, while ARP gained one. DS '70 lost two of its eight seats. The splinter Radical Political party gained five seats, the government-loyal Liberal party gained six, and the

opposition Labor party (PvdA) gained four. At year's end no new government had been formed as yet.

### *War Criminals*

In January 1971 parliament unanimously decided to eliminate the statute of limitation on Nazi war crimes, as well as on any other possible future war crimes. In the following months Holland was to deal with the three convicted German war criminals still held at Breda (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], pp. 351-52). They were Ferdinand Hugo aus der Fünten, found guilty of deporting 70,000 Jews from Amsterdam; Franz Fischer, of deporting 13,000 Jews from The Hague and Joseph Johann Kötalla, of crimes committed as commander of the Amersfoort concentration camp in Holland. Their 1948 death sentences were later commuted on appeal to life imprisonment. A fourth war criminal, Willy Lages, convicted with the others, was released in 1966 when he became incurably ill. He died in April 1971 in West Germany.

In connection with the various attempts to secure their release, Minister of Justice van Agt told the press in September 1971: "I am an Aryan, which my predecessor was not, and a very young one who has hardly been aware of the war." He expected to find it more difficult to decide on the cases than did his predecessor, Carel Polak, who was a Jew.

Reaction to the use of the term "Aryan" was strong. The *Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad*, the only Jewish weekly in Holland, stated: "By identifying himself as an 'Aryan,' Mr. van Agt has given credence to the race theory of the Nazis. Whoever makes such a distinction in this day and age seems completely unsuited to hold the high office of minister of justice." The matter was also discussed in parliament, and shortly thereafter van Agt apologized for his remark.

Indeed, van Agt later proposed the release of the war criminals, a move which, in the view of several members of parliament, was made because of Queen Juliana's impending visit to West Germany on October 26, 1971, and pressure by Bonn that they be freed. The Dutch government denied this allegation. On October 27 van Agt revealed that the prisoners had again petitioned for pardon. In January 1972 the Dutch Supreme Court and the Amsterdam Court of Justice ruled favorably on the petition, and in February van Agt sent a letter to the Second Chamber of parliament stating: "It is the judgment of the government that the imprisonment of the three war criminals, which has lasted for 27 years, should now come to an end." He added: "Continuation of the imprisonment cannot serve any purpose recognized by our criminal law."

The three Jewish religious communities of Holland (Liberal, Ashkenazi, Sephardi) immediately telegraphed the government that "they took note of the intention to release the three prisoners with great indignation." The *Nieuw*

*Israëlietisch Weekblad* of February 10, 1972, commented: "This is not a matter of justice for the three of Breda. What is important is justice for the victims and their relatives." Van Agt invited Amsterdam Chief Rabbi Aaron Schuster and Sal Boas, vice-president of the Nederlands Israëlietisch Kerkgenootschap, to give him their views of the matter. Liberal Rabbi Awraham Soetendorp of The Hague, too, discussed the matter with him.

Amsterdam's Liberal Rabbi Jacob Soetendorp opposed the release in an article, "Our Blood Screams From the Earth," in the *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* of February 25. Chief Rabbi Schuster did the same in another article, "My Soul Calls for Righteousness." Abel J. Herzberg, lawyer, author, and former president of the Dutch Zionist Federation, argued for release: "We will not be better off by revenge, it will not heal the wounds inflicted on us and our people." These three statements, published on the same page of the weekly, were reprinted by many newspapers and quoted on radio and television.

Protest against the government's intention spread and intensified. The commemoration on February 25 of the 1941 strike of Amsterdam laborers in protest against the Nazi persecution of the Jews grew into a mass demonstration against the government, with nearly 50,000 participants. Since this occurred on a Friday, Jews held a separate demonstration, 1,000-strong, in order not to desecrate the Sabbath. The day before, the justice committee of the Second Chamber heard the views of representatives of 39 organizations, 33 of them Jewish, against the release, particularly the release of all the prisoners. Five Roman Catholic organizations pleaded for release on humanitarian grounds. While the organizations were heard, demonstrations were held in front of parliament. Chief Rabbi Menachem Fink of The Hague recited *minha* and the Amsterdam Liberal cantor Paul Goren chanted the *kaddish*.

Rabbi Awraham Soetendorp arranged for members of parliament to see the film, *Do You Now Understand Why I Am Crying?* on the effects of concentration camp imprisonment. Against the wishes of the government, the Vara Socialist television station showed the film on February 26. There were also protests from the European division of the World Jewish Congress. Emotions in Holland ran so high that van Agt and his family, who had received several threats, were placed under police protection.

On February 28 the Israel embassy informed the Dutch foreign affairs ministry of Israel's concern over the prisoners' possible release. Gideon Hausner, president of Yad Vashem and prosecutor in the trial of Adolf Eichmann, sent a telegram to Dutch Prime Minister Biesheuvel and to the presidents of the First and the Second Chambers of parliament, protesting against the intention to grant mercy to the war criminals. Irgoen Olei Holland, the organization of Dutch Jewish settlers in Israel, joined in the protest.

On February 29, the Dutch parliament debated the question of release

behind closed doors guarded by police. It was the day of Purim. The *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* published a special edition; on its front page was a reproduction of Rembrandt's painting of Haman leading Mordechai on horseback. "Mordechai did not kneel and did not bend," the headline cried out. Referring to some suicides committed in this period of fierce emotions over the question of release, the paper said: "None of us must permit them to achieve results which they could not achieve during the war. Those in Breda shall not draw satisfaction from knowing that now, and because of them, Jews cannot control their nerves. They shall not score a success, no matter how small." And again: "We are the Mordechais of our time. We do not kneel and do not bend. They cannot break us."

The Chief Rabbinate had proclaimed Purim as a "Day of Reflection." In parliament, after heated debate, Jan Voogd of the Socialist PvdA introduced a motion against release. Although van Agt objected, Prime Minister Biesheuvel declared the government would act in accordance with parliament's wishes. The motion was altered, urging the government to "seriously deliberate on not granting pardon." The motion was carried by a vote of 85 to 61, and on March 4 the government declared it would now abandon its intention to "immediately release the three German war criminals."

### *Nazi Crimes Remembered*

On February 18, 1971, the Anne Frank House, which had been closed for some months for necessary repairs, was reopened to visitors (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 357). In July Otto Frank, Anne's father, gave to the museum thousands of letters he had received in the course of time. Also, art objects created in Anne Frank's memory were sent to Amsterdam from Basel, Switzerland, where Otto Frank has been living.

Protesting the census taken on February 25, 1971, requiring all Dutch residents to register, many persons in Amsterdam wore the yellow Star of David, which Dutch Jews had to wear during the Nazi occupation. At a meeting of Auschwitz survivors, the group's chairman Jos Slagter said: "We know from past experience what registration may lead to. We do not want to be selected again by computer."

The Weinreb case, too, was in the news again (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 351). In March 1971 the Amsterdam municipality rejected a literary panel's recommendation to award the 1970 Amsterdam prize of \$1,250 for prose to Dr. Friedrich Weinreb for his three-volume memoirs, *Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1945, An Attempt to Kill a Myth*. The municipality based its decision not on the literary value of the work, which it conceded, but on the fact that the author was a "compromised person." Weinreb, now living in Zurich, Switzerland, was born in Lvov. He had been charged and convicted

by a Dutch court in 1948 of collaboration with the Nazi occupation forces and freed after serving three-and-a-half years of a six-year sentence. He has always protested his innocence, and many rallied to his defense.

From February 25 to May 17, 1971, the Amsterdam Historical Museum had an exposition on the history of the Jews in Holland. In Groningen, in the north of the Netherlands, another exposition dealt with the history of the Jews in that region.

The publication on the eve of Yom Kippur, 1971, of *Memorabilia: Picture Atlas of Jewish Life in Holland From the Middle Ages to 1940*, by Mozes Heiman Gans, aroused much interest throughout the country. It was discussed by every newspaper and TV and radio station. The first lines of the more than ten-pound volume are: "This is the history of the life of the Jews in Holland, told on the basis of what has been recorded in paintings, drawings, and photos. It is their history, not life itself." A few months later, the book was reprinted a third time, and, in June 1972, Prince Bernhard honored the author with the Silver Carnation at the Palace on the Dam, in Amsterdam.

Volumes two to four of Professor Lou de Jong's ten-volume work, *The Netherlands in the Second World War*, appeared during the period under review. The Dutch press paid special attention to the part dealing with the inception of the Nazi persecution of Jews in occupied Holland. De Jong has been director of the National Institute for War Documentation in Amsterdam. A.H. Paape of the Institute's staff wrote *Studies of Holland in War Time*, which deals with the Nazi confiscation of Jewish property and the transfer of Jewish businesses to non-Jews.

The history of the Jews in the Frisian town of Sneek was recalled on May 4, 1972, designated as the day for the Commemoration of the Dead, when a memorial stone was erected on the site of the synagogue which had been destroyed by the Nazis.

On August 30 a bridge across the Herengracht, one of Amsterdam's canals, was named for Walter Süskind, a high official of the Jewish Council during the occupation who had helped thousands of Jews, especially children, escape deportation. He and his wife had been murdered in Auschwitz.

### *Financial Aid to War Victims*

The government took no action on a May 1970 motion in parliament for the institution of a pension scheme for Jewish war victims. Therefore the Socialist representative Jan Voogd introduced another motion on the matter in March 1971, which again was adopted. And again, there was refusal, by the ministry of culture, recreation and social welfare, to implement the motion on the grounds that Dutchmen who had been imprisoned in camps in what used to be the Dutch Indies and in other Japanese-occupied parts of Asia would then, too, have a claim to pension. Voogd then promised to make changes in the present plan for the support of former Jewish inmates of concentration camps.

Under the new plan, financial aid for these Jews was increased on January 1, 1971, to a minimum \$360 and a maximum \$670 a month. Provision was also made to make possible allowances to Dutch Jews living abroad.

Finally, in October 1972, parliament passed a motion by Jacques Baruch that the question of war victims be handled by a separate legal entity; that, instead of a pension, they receive allowances, which they could claim as a right, provided they needed them for psychological or physical reasons. The matter was to be handled by a special allowance committee in which also Jewish social workers were represented. It would no longer be a matter of charity. The number of applications for allowances, originally estimated at about 4,000, had grown to 13,000, including victims of the Japanese camps.

### *Terrorism*

On April 15, 1971, ten Russians were hurt, none seriously, in an attempt to blow up the Russian trade delegation building in Amsterdam. Near the site were found leaflets saying: "Message from Jewish Youth—Never again, let my people go!" The act was strongly condemned by Prime Minister de Jong, Amsterdam Chief Rabbi Schuster, The Committee of Solidarity with Russian Jews in Holland, and many others. The American-Jewish painter Fred René Willner, a resident of Germany and Holland, was falsely charged with the attack and arrested, but was released soon thereafter.

Despite strong pressure on the country's Olympic committee, it decided not to pull Dutch athletes out of the Olympic games in Munich after the murder of 11 Israeli participants (p. 451). Seven of the Dutch athletes disagreed with this decision and returned home. Princess Beatrix and Prince Claus abandoned their plan to attend the games. The prince went to the Israeli embassy in The Hague to sign the register of condolence, as did Prime Minister Biesheuvel, Foreign Minister Norbert Schmelzer, and Henk Vonhoff, deputy minister for sports. The Queen sent a telegram of sympathy to Israel President Zalman Shazar.

Most Dutch synagogues held special services on September 7. A West German diplomat attended synagogue memorial services in The Hague. Amsterdam Lord Mayor Ivo Samkalden opened the Holy Ark during the prayer for the State of Israel at services in his city. The Dutch Palestine Committee, too, issued a statement condemning the Munich terror, but at the same time asked sympathy for the Palestinian cause.

The three-month-old daughter of the slain coach of the Israeli team, André Spitzer, who had a Dutch wife, was in Holland at the time of the tragedy. She was given police protection for several days until she could be taken to Israel. The Dutch authorities also decided to increase security for El Al airplanes; armored cars were stationed near the planes at Schiphol airport.

The first letter-bombs were mailed to several Israeli VIPs on September 17 at one of Amsterdam's 400 mail boxes. One of them fatally wounded Ami

Shachori, trade attaché at the Israeli embassy in London; a large number of others from the same source arrived a day later at post offices in Israel, where they were defused. The police guarding the rear of the Israeli ambassador's residence in The Hague were shot at during the night of October 8-9; the culprit escaped.

On October 23, the police arrested Kemal al-Khatib on his arrival at Schiphol airport on a KLM airplane from Damascus. Traveling with an Algerian diplomatic passport to Caracas, Venezuela, he carried with him bags with letter-bombs and firearms. He was permitted to continue his journey after a 24-hour detention. According to the Israeli security police al-Khatib was a member of al-Fatah. The many protests against his release moved Prime Minister Biesheuvel to state publicly that "very disagreeable circumstances forced us to release the Algerian diplomat."

Fearing possible attacks, Mayor Jan M. Smeets of Kerkrade, a town not far from the German frontier, canceled a number of concerts by the Tel Aviv Young Israel Strings, a youth orchestra, which had been scheduled for October.

### *Relations With Israel*

Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns stated in January 1971, after he returned from a visit to Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, that these Arabic states did not believe Israel could defeat them in the long run. He added that their attitude was "sort of understandable." Several days later Luns conferred in New York with Secretary of State William P. Rogers, UN Secretary-General U Thant, UN envoy Gunnar V. Jarring, and Ambassador Muhammed el-Zayat. Luns made it clear that his role was not that of an intermediary in Middle East affairs. "At best I am a messenger," he said.

The old resistance fighter Piet Nak returned to Israeli Ambassador Shimshon Arad in The Hague the Yad Vashem citation he had received for having been one of the leaders of the Amsterdam workers' strike in protest against the Nazi persecution of Jews. He wished to express by his action opposition to the constant protests against the Kremlin's policy regarding Soviet Jews. In 1969 Nak helped found the Palestine Committee.

On the occasion of the inauguration in May 1971 of the Queen Wilhelmina Forest near Nazareth (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 355), Queen Juliana sent a telegram in Hebrew to Yaacov Tsur, president of the Jewish National Fund in Israel, expressing her gratitude "for the honour done to my mother's memory. It is my ardent hope, that these young fir trees will grow in peace, the way my mother would have wished it." Trees were bought by Queen Juliana, Princess Beatrix, and Prince Claus.

The first shoot of an Atlas cedar from the Joseph Luns forest in the Galilee was planted at the Israeli embassy in The Hague in September 1971.

The Dutch government was strongly criticized at the annual assembly of the Netherlands Zionist Federation (Nederlandse Zionisten Bond), on December 19, 1971. In a telegram to the government the Federation expressed "surprise and astonishment" at the Netherlands' support in the UN Assembly of a resolution asking the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories. There were other protests as well. In January 1972 Foreign Minister Norbert Schmelzer, answering questions in parliament, said that action was an attempt by the government "not to isolate Holland politically in any way."

Schmelzer visited Israel in May and Egypt in June. In his talks with Prime Minister Golda Meir and Foreign Minister Abba Eban it was agreed that no differences existed between Holland and Israel. Eban expressed his appreciation of Holland's support and its cooperation in representing Israel's interests in Warsaw and especially in Moscow, where the Dutch embassy has been handling the technical work in connection with Soviet-Jewish emigration to Israel.

Eban and Schmelzer agreed that the Dutch airline KLM would increase its flights to Israel from three to four per week. El Al's reaction was to refuse KLM permission for extra tourist flights, a policy that was criticized by the Dutch press.

At the summer 1972 Floriada in Amsterdam, the world's largest horticultural exposition, Dutch and Israeli experts collaborated in laying out the Biblical Garden. Another attraction was the Israeli Pavillion.

There was a change in Israel embassy personnel in The Hague. Ambassador Shimshon Arad, who left in September 1972, was succeeded by Chanan Bar-On. Trade attaché Shragai Tsur was replaced by Awraham Good.

## **JEWISH COMMUNITY**

The Jewish population of the Netherlands remained about 30,000. Of the estimated 15,000 Jews in Amsterdam, 4,000 were members of the Ashkenazi, 2,000 of the Liberal, and 800 of the Sephardi communities. The Hague had 2,500 Jews and Rotterdam, 750.

### *Communal Activities*

In November 1971 a new wing of the Sinai Centrum, the psychiatric institution of the Jewish Social Work Foundation, was officially opened by Chief Rabbi E. Berlinger of Utrecht. It was to house emotionally disturbed youths in a family environment.

In December the cornerstone of a new building for the Jewish day school was laid at Buitenveldert, a modern suburb of Amsterdam. The new facilities

were to be used by all Amsterdam children attending Jewish day schools—from kindergarten to high school. Six months later the Foundation for Special Jewish Education threatened to close all its schools if Jewish organizations did not make available funds to cover deficits. The schools, attended by some 500 Jewish children between the ages of three and 19, were not closed.

The Amsterdam Jewish community, which has been in financial difficulties for some time, took measures to cut its deficits. It decided to freeze staff salaries and to replace employees who left only in the most urgent cases. The Rotterdam Jewish community began negotiations with municipal authorities for the sale of its synagogue, which had been inaugurated only in 1954. The building had become too large and its maintenance too expensive. The only Jewish health resort and convalescent home in Den Dolder was closed in October 1972, when its annual deficit rose to about \$35,000 and the number of guests had decreased to only seven.

More encouraging was the inauguration by F. Kranenburg, Queen's commissioner for the province of North Holland, of a new Jewish home for the aged in Bussum, near Amsterdam, in November 1972. Youth Dutch Jews also founded an independent club called Gutsa in the ancient quarter near the Amsterdam harbor; in no time it had 600 members between the ages of 18 and 30.

Coinciding with the congress of the World Sephardi Federation held in January 1971, Dutch educational television broadcast several programs on "Listening to Jewry" from the Portuguese Jewish Synagogue in Amsterdam. At the same time, the synagogue's Etz Haim library arranged an exposition of manuscripts and books by the Spanish poet, philosopher, and moralist Solomon Ibn Gabirol in commemoration of the 950th anniversary of his birth.

### *Religious Activities*

In March 1971 Chief Rabbi Leon Vorst of Rotterdam was honored on the occasion of his retirement and departure for Israel after having been rabbi for 40 years; he was named officer of the Order of Orange-Nassau by the Queen. Vorst was succeeded in September by Daniel Kahn, a 29-year-old New Yorker of Danish parentage and a graduate of the Lubavitcher *yeshivah*, who had been rabbi of a small Copenhagen Orthodox congregation for a number of years.

Twenty-four-year-old Menachem Fink, who was born in Argentina and whose father was a member of the Haifa *Bet Din*, became Chief Rabbi of The Hague in May 1971, succeeding Chief Rabbi Salomon Beerli who settled in Israel.

In December 1972 Rabbi David Brodman left his pulpit in Amsterdam to become rabbi in Israel. Cantors Uriel Keesing and Uriel Moskovits also left

Amsterdam for Israel. At year's end, Amsterdam Chief Rabbi Aaron Schuster, who had been relieved of his rabbinical duties two months earlier, retired. Chief Rabbi Eliezer Berlinger of Utrecht was appointed to succeed him as rector of the Dutch Jewish Seminary.

In March 1972, 27-year-old David Lilienthal succeeded Dr. Jacob Soetendorp as rabbi of the Amsterdam Liberal congregation. Born in Gothenborg, Sweden, and educated at Leo Baeck College, London, Rabbi Lilienthal had been assistant rabbi only a short time when Rabbi Soetendorp became ill, and he had to take over the rabbi's work. Lilienthal's induction, conducted by Rabbi Soetendorp, caused quite a stir. Chief Rabbi Schuster had issued a *p'sak-din* (legal decision) forbidding the council members of his Orthodox Nederlands Israëlietische Hoofdsynagogue, the largest community in Holland, to attend the Liberal religious services at which the induction took place. A controversy ensued between Schuster and the council members who threatened to resign over the interdiction. Peace was restored when some council members said they could have attended the ceremony in an official capacity if the council had declared that "their presence did not imply religious acknowledgement of the Liberal-Jewish community."

In June 1971 Chief Rabbi Eliezer Berlinger inaugurated a synagogue in Breda, Southern Holland. The ceremony was attended by Bishop H. Ernst of Breda and by the Roman Catholic deacon P. Baeckx. Christian churches had organized a campaign to raise funds for the construction of the synagogue. A large donation came from the head of an American concern who had learned of the church drive. In Almelo, eastern Holland, a temporary synagogue was consecrated in November 1971.

In July 1972 the *eruv* (markers of the Sabbath boundary) around Amsterdam was declared invalid when one of the poles holding the wires fell down. As a result, Jews were prohibited from carrying on the Sabbath. The prohibition was not lifted even after the pole was repaired because, after Chief Rabbi Schuster's retirement, the Amsterdam rabbis examined the *eruv* and detected other imperfections.

In December 1972, for the first time in two centuries, instrumental music was permitted at an Orthodox marriage ceremony by officiating Rabbi Hans Rodrigues Pereira of the Nederlands Israëlietische Hoofdsynagogue. A string orchestra accompanied Cantor Hans Bloemendal, but only when the bride entered. However, the ceremony had to be performed outside the synagogue because, Rabbi Pereira said, "it would not be understood" if music were permitted there.

The Federation of Liberal-Religious Jews in the Netherlands, the umbrella organization of the Liberal communities, celebrated its 40th anniversary in October 1971. In January 1972 the Liberal community of the province of Limburg in southeastern Holland was dissolved because it failed to attract members. At the same time, a new Liberal-Jewish community was founded in

Twente in east-central Holland; the area's Orthodox congregations warned their members not to join this community.

The Portuguese-Jewish Synagogue in The Hague, built in 1726 and last used in 1946, was bought by the city's Liberal community for \$100,000.

### *Israel and Zionism*

Emigration of Dutch Jews to Israel remained at about one per cent of their total population per year. In the Jewish calendar year 1970-1971, 317 Jews left, about 68 per cent of them below 26 years of age. In 1971-72, the total was 154, with 30 per cent below 26.

Contributions to the United Jewish Appeal in 1970-71 numbered over 10,000—many by non-Jews—and totaled close to one million dollars. One gift of \$150,000 was left over from a German reparations payment. Contributions in 1971-72, though almost equal in number, were some \$100,000 less.

The Dutch press gave wide coverage to a statement by Professor Marius Tels, president of the Dutch Zionist Federation, in his 1971 annual report of the organization's work that, while the propaganda of the Palestine Committee in Holland had done no actual harm, there has been an increase of anti-Jewish sentiment. Still, Tels said, "It would be absurd. . .to regard Holland as an anti-Semitic country." Press interviews with Professor Tels followed. "Better to Go to Israel by Conviction Than by Force," the Amsterdam Calvinist daily *Trouw* wrote in its headlines. And the regional daily *Tubantia* reacted: "Dutch Jews regard attacks on Israel as attacks on themselves."

The February 1971 annual meeting of the Zionist Federation was so stormy that it had to be adjourned. Three Zionist youth organizations withdrew from the Federation because no action was taken on a 26-point program they submitted. They asked, among other things, that Zionism express solidarity with all oppressed groups: Soviet Jews as well as Kurds, Southern Sudanese, and Palestinians. In their view the interests of Jews and Palestinians were along parallel lines.

When the annual meeting was resumed three months later, Tels resigned from the presidency following threats by the youth organizations to introduce a motion of no confidence. As an expression of solidarity, the entire presidium resigned, and Sal Cohen, one of its members, was asked to take charge until a new presidium could be formed. He was elected Federation president at the 1972 annual meeting. Shortly thereafter, *Kova Tembel*, organ of the Zionist opposition—all youngsters—was discontinued; its editors had emigrated to Israel.

In May 1971 the graphic artist Otto Treuman received an Israeli prize for a postage stamp he created depicting the struggle of Jews in various countries to

maintain their identity. In June an agreement between the Israeli Institute for the History of Jews in Holland and the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, made the institute staff and library an integral part of the university.

The *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* took a strong exception to a conclusion drawn by sociologist Freddy Lange in his doctoral dissertation published in October 1971. The paper was based on a study commissioned by the Foundation of Special Jewish Education, which maintained some Jewish schools in Amsterdam. Wrote Lange: "The idea often expressed by Jews that there should be no criticism of Israeli policy and conditions in the state should be rejected on moral grounds and because it does not serve Israel well."

A report in January 1972 that head of the Jewish Defense League Rabbi Meir Kahane would come from Israel to Holland met with opposition. *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* wrote that, while he was welcome if he came as a rabbi, he was not to come as an activist. The question of how to keep him out was never raised in parliament; he decided he was "too busy" to take the trip.

Among welcome Israeli visitors were Gideon Rafael of the foreign ministry who launched the Dutch United Israel Appeal in September 1971, and Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren who came on an unofficial visit in April 1972.

### *Reactions to Arab and Soviet Treatment of Jews*

There were many expressions of sympathy in Holland with the Jews in the Soviet Union and in Arab countries. On January 20, 1971, when a Russian delegation headed by Supreme Soviet member Aleksei Surkov visited the Amsterdam city hall, young Jews demonstrated near the building. Lord-Mayor Samkalden spoke to the visitors of the precarious situation of Soviet Jewry, and they left city hall in anger, taking with them the gifts they had brought.

On April 13 an open air Seder was held outside the Russian embassy in The Hague, with Orthodox and Liberal rabbis reading the Haggadah.

In June Dutch nurses tried to deliver to the Russian embassy a petition with hundreds of signatures, asking for the release of Ruth Alexandrovich, who had been sentenced to a year of hard labor in Riga. The embassy refused to accept the document. Similarly, in September, Admiral Volobuev refused to accept a petition, when he entered Rotterdam harbor with two Russian destroyers.

In December 1971 the wife of Lassal Kaminsky, one of the defendants sentenced to five years' imprisonment at Leningrad in May, spoke to a large assembly in Amsterdam. She also told her life's story to Rabbi Awraham Soetendorp for publication in the *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*. Minister of State Marga Klompé attended with Rabbi Soetendorp a congress on Soviet Jewry, held in Rome in January 1972.

Andrei Gromyko's visit to the Netherlands in July 1972 triggered many demonstrations. Foreign Minister Schmelzer explained that he did not discuss the situation of the Soviet Jews when he met with Gromyko because Holland has been representing Israel in Moscow and Warsaw, and he was afraid of jeopardizing this arrangement. In September members of the Dutch parliament addressed to the Supreme Soviet a letter protesting the education tax imposed on Jews attempting to leave the USSR.

In the Wester Church in Amsterdam, Christians met in December to protest against anti-Jewish discrimination in the Soviet Union. In November 1971 members of parliament representing 11 political parties asked Foreign Minister Schmelzer to make representations in behalf of the Jews in Syria. His answer implied that this had already been done, but that "for the sake of the purpose sought, nothing was spread abroad about the support given."

### *Cultural Activities*

In February 1971 the Israeli Habimah theater performed in Amsterdam under the auspices of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO). The Israeli Bat Dor dancers performed at the yearly Holland Festival in June 1972. The Bathsheba dancers came from Israel in November. Jan Peerce of the Metropolitan Opera in New York gave a recital in Amsterdam in December for the Netherlands State of Israel Bonds drive.

In an effort to preserve the songs of the Sephardim in Holland, recordings were begun at Vara broadcasting company in 1972. They were sung by Cantor S. Nunes Nabarro, perhaps the only person who still knew the peculiar Amsterdam-Portuguese *hazanut*. The Massada exhibit was shown in The Hague municipal museum in September-November 1971 under the auspices of the Friends of the Hebrew University.

A Dutch translation of *Solomon's Song*, by Judith Herzberg, poet, author and daughter of former Zionist Federation president Abel J. Herzberg, was published in November 1971. Among other new books were *Israel is Different*, a very sympathetic description by L. van Looy; *The Ravine*, the personal war experiences of the Jewish physician, Dr. Eli A. Cohen, and *Because of a Spoonful of Soup*, by Abel J. Herzberg, a lawyer's reminiscences of a 50-year practice in which the Jewish element played no small part.

Volume II of the two-volume Hebrew-Dutch edition of the Pentateuch appeared in the second half of 1972 (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 363).

### *Personalia*

Leo Slagter, chaplain in the Dutch Armed Forces, was promoted to the rank of colonel in September 1971. Professor David Simons, an active member of

the Zionist Federation and the council of the Nederlands Israëlietisch Kerkgenootschap, was appointed commissioner for Dutch Constitutional Affairs in October 1971.

Upon his retirement from medical practice in November, Dr. Izak Dasberg, former chairman of the Board of the Nederlands Israëlietisch Kerkgenootschap, received the silver medal of the city of Amsterdam from Mayor Samkalden. Dr. F.J. Krop, mayor of Bleiswijk, resigned as chairman of the Netherlands-Israel Society in January 1972; Alexander Stempels, former editor-in-chief of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, was his successor.

On the occasion of Queen Juliana's birthday in April, a number of Dutch Jews were honored: the High Order of the Knight of the Dutch Lion was awarded to Professor Maurits Troostwijk, Mayor of Amersfoort, and to Eduard Spier, then chairman of Jewish Social Work and many other Jewish and non-Jewish organizations, upon his retirement from the office of notary. Attorney Karel J. Edersheim was named Knight of the Order of Orange-Nassau in December 1972 on the 50th anniversary of his admission to the bar.

Dr. A.A.E. Wolff, secretary of the board of the Amsterdam Home for the Aged and board member of the Paramaribo Jewish community in Surinam before World War II, died in Switzerland on January 20, 1971, at the age of 64. Professor S. van Greveld, renowned specialist in blood diseases, member of the resistance during the Nazi occupation and one of the leaders in the reconstruction of the Jewish community immediately after the war, died in Amsterdam on March 10, 1971, at the age of 76. Mirjam Waterman, for more than 20 years director of the Central Jewish Home in Rotterdam, died in Rotterdam on April 2, 1971, at the age of 66. Liebman Prins, chairman of the Amsterdam Jewish burial society, died in Amsterdam on April 2, 1971, at the age of 65. Dr. Arthur Polak, who reestablished and was director (1947-1960) of the Centraal Israëlietische Ziekenverpleging in Amsterdam, the only Jewish hospital in the Netherlands after World War II, chairman of the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam, died in Amsterdam on May 8, 1971, at the age of 62.

Professor Louis Kukenheim, chairman of the Dutch branch of Keren Yaldenu in Israel, died in Leiden on April 18, 1972, at the age of 67. Dr. Martin Levie, honorary president of the Jewish community of Rotterdam, of which he had been chairman for many years, died in Rotterdam on September 27, 1972, at the age of 76.

# Spain

ON JUNE 8, 1973, the 80-year-old Generalissimo Francisco Franco appointed his close collaborator Vice Premier Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, aged 70, as prime minister. This was the first time since the end of the Spanish civil war of 1936-39 that Franco shared the total power he had exercised as chief of state, prime minister, head of the National Movement, and commander-in-chief of Spain's armed forces. While the years had brought no serious challenge to the undisputed rule of Franco, social, religious, and political ferment in Spain in the 1970s demonstrated significant jockeying for position in anticipation of the post-Franco era.

Constitutionally, Spain was scheduled to revert to a monarchy after Franco, with Prince Juan Carlos as king and the authoritarian system to be retained, according to two succession laws Franco promulgated in July 1972. How much real power the monarch would have, however, was debatable: the same laws barred him from removing the prime minister without the approval of the consultative Council of the Kingdom. Late 1969 had seen the rise to prominence in the Spanish cabinet of ministers belonging to the semi-secret Catholic lay congregation, Opus Dei, who were generally considered the "technocrats" behind Spain's considerable economic advance. One of them, Gregorio López Bravo, had been foreign minister.

Cabinet changes made by Carrero Blanco in June 1973 saw a clear diminution in Opus Dei influence and increased strength for veterans of the orthodox Falange party. The latter had joined forces with ultra-nationalist elements like the Warriors of Christ King, headed by Madrid notary B. Blas Pinar, and with the commandos of Cruz Iberica to organize a Madrid street demonstration protesting the May Day murder of a police officer, Juan Antonio Fernandez (allegedly by a small leftist group, the Patriotic Anti-Fascist Revolutionary Front). The demonstration was made the occasion for denouncing "red priests" and the "feeble government" of Opus Dei. However, the subsequent cabinet shift to the right could by no means be considered decisive for the future. Opus Dei long had sought the premiership of Carrero Blanco—himself unimpeachably orthodox by Falange standards—and retained various key posts like the foreign ministry, by Laureano López Rodó.

## *Protest Movement*

Although Spain's Organic Law of 1967 contained provisions for limited internal liberalization, these were never executed, and there was manifest

discontent in intellectual circles, particularly in the universities. The government had tightened control over the campuses in 1968, but student strikes continued to be frequent, bringing further restrictive measures in December 1971 and July 1972. Underground "workers' commissions," which tended to be dominated by Communists, were more effective than official syndicalist organizations; and there were major strikes in the SEAT auto works in Barcelona in October 1971, in El Ferrol and other cities of Galicia in February and March 1972, and throughout Catalonia in April 1973.

Basque separatists posed problems of another kind with their occasional forays, like the dynamiting in April 1972 of a radio television station in the Pyrenees or the bombing, six months later, of the French consulate in Saragossa to protest increased French-Spanish police cooperation against the Basque movement and Spanish refugees in the border areas.

### *Catholic Church*

Since the mid-1960s it has not been uncommon for young priests to participate in both worker and student activities. The more liberal elements in the Spanish Catholic Church in fact was seeking to dissociate the Church from too close identification with the Franco regime. By fall 1971 the Spanish Bishops Conference, under its president Vincente Cardinal Tarancón, was moving in this direction. It formulated rather sweeping programs of social action and democratization. This met with serious opposition from integralist and more conservative churchmen headed by Madrid Auxiliary Bishop Jose Guerra Campos, from Opus Dei, and the government. Nonetheless, the conference went ahead and in January 1973 adopted a document asking revision of the 1953 Concordat that regulated relations between Spain and the Church. It called for complete separation of Church from the state, except for financial aid. The move was denounced by then Vice Premier Carrero Blanco; and Foreign Minister López Bravo sought countervailing intervention by Pope Paul VI, but to no avail.

### *Economy*

Political and church shifts were very slow when compared to Spain's rapid, though unequal, economic transformation. Gross national product steadily advanced at the rate of 7 to 9 per cent annually. The country had more than \$5 billion in reserves, and, as a result, the government in 1972 for the first time permitted Spanish businessmen to invest abroad. Per capita income had risen from \$500 of the early 1960s to over \$1,700, and was expected to reach \$2,500 between 1975-80. Tourism, the largest single source of foreign exchange, continued to expand. Some 25 million visitors a year poured into this country of 32 millions, bringing in their wake booming real estate development as well as new ideas and ways of life. Powered by hydroelectric

energy from the Pyrenees, the northwestern province of Galicia was on the way to becoming a major industrial center whose shipyards grew in international importance. Barcelona, the nation's traditional commercial center on the Mediterranean, prospered. Work was begun on an international Trade Mart in Madrid, whose head was Max Mazin, former president of the Madrid Jewish community.

### *Foreign Relations*

Foreign policy initiatives were moderately successful. In May 1973 the British politely, but firmly, rejected Spain's claims to Gibraltar, pointing to the 1967 referendum in which its inhabitants had voted 12,138 to 44 against change of status. Conversely, Morocco pressed its claim to Spain's African enclaves of Ceuta, Melilla, and Ifni; the two countries, moreover, got into a minor fishing-rights squabble. More fundamentally, long-term Spanish efforts for fuller participation in the European Economic Community came to nought, but Common Market trade agreements were extended for two years early in 1972.

López Bravo successfully concluded trade agreements with a number of Communist states, including an extensive one in July 1972 with the Soviet Union. He had also initiated steps that led to Spain's recognition of China and East Germany. This Spanish *Ostpolitik* (as well as the too close friendship with the United States) drew criticism from the Spanish right, which doubtless helped bring about López Bravo's dismissal from the cabinet.

In January 1970, shortly after taking office, López Bravo announced during a visit to Cairo that Spain would not recognize Israel unless the Arab states did and that the Arab League would be allowed to open an office in Madrid, a concession his predecessors had refused. Despite an occasional rumor to the contrary, the nonrecognition of Israel has continued, though Spain maintains a consulate general in Jerusalem, which had been established centuries before the establishment of Israel. There were shipping and trade contracts: in 1972 Israel's exports to Spain totaled some \$12 million, primarily in manufactured goods, and its imports were about half that amount.

The Spanish foreign ministry and particularly Angel Sagaz, the current Spanish ambassador to the United States and former envoy to Cairo, have played a truly remarkable role in assisting persecuted Jews in Arab countries in the years following the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict. Spanish ambassadors have been authorized to issue passports to these Jews and arrange for their transportation and to press Arab governments to release imprisoned Jews. They often have intervened quietly to urge a more liberal emigration policy. Early in 1973 the ministry was preparing a documentary volume describing these activities, as well as Spain's humanitarian efforts on behalf of Jews during World War II.

## JEWISH COMMUNITY

The number of Jews in Spain, including the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, was estimated by communal leaders at about 10,000. There had been a slight annual increase due to the immigration of some scores of Jews from Morocco and from troubled South American countries like Chile and Argentina. There were, too, occasional British or American citizens who retired in Spain. The increase led to the organization and legal recognition of new Jewish communities in the Majorcan capital, Palma, in September 1971, and in Alicante, in September 1972. Madrid with over 3,000 Jews and Barcelona with approximately the same number remained the major Jewish centers; but there were communities also in Malaga, Seville, Valencia and Las Palmas and Tenerife in the Canary Islands. Emigration was nominal, at about 120 a year, primarily from the North African enclaves to Israel. Relatively few Jews were Spanish citizens, except for those in Ceuta and Melilla. Most were engaged in various forms of commerce and associated occupations like insurance and accountancy.

### *Recognition of Jewish Religion*

The period under review (June 1967-June 1973) saw the Jewish community receive worldwide attention as, for the first time in modern Spanish history, its status was affirmed in the context of Spain's new religious liberty law of June 28, 1967, and with the Spanish government's explicit recognition on December 16, 1968 that the 1492 order of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella banning the Jews from the kingdom was void. Announcement of this, by decree of Justice Minister Antonio Oriol, was made at impressive opening ceremonies in Madrid of the first public synagogue to be built in Spain since the expulsion. (A synagogue constructed by the Barcelona community in 1954 was not permitted to have any visible identification, since public display of any religion but Roman Catholicism was forbidden; Madrid synagogues established earlier had been housed in private apartments.) Among the speakers at the ceremonies was Samuel Toledano, then vice-president of the Madrid community, a descendant of the rabbi of Toledo's famed El Transito Synagogue, who had been expelled in 1492. On the south wall of the new structure was inscribed in similar lettering the psalm in El Transito, as a mark of reaffirmation and continuity. El Transito was restored by the Ministry of Beaux Arts as it had looked in the 14th century. The edifice, completed in 1971, also housed a Jewish museum.

The June 28, 1967, law recognized "religious liberty as a fundamental right of the dignity of the human person" and assured that the legitimate exercise of this right was not to be disturbed or prevented by coercion. It

guaranteed also the public profession and practice of religion and a variety of individual rights flowing from this, e.g., equal facilities for marriage and burial for non-Catholics, as for Catholics; the right to choose the faith of one's children, and others. It also enabled "all non-Catholic religious confessions [to] apply for legal recognition by constituting religious associations," to be governed by their own statutes and to "obtain juridical personality in all respects once inscribed in a special government register provided for by the law." Before this, only Madrid's Jewish community had officially recognized status, and only as a private association.

All the local communities have now registered under the terms of the new law. However, there were a number of unresolved questions. For one, the provisions were vague as to the extent religious associations may engage in welfare and social work. Problems have arisen, too, regarding whether and how much taxation would have to be paid on properties held until now by Jewish communities in the guise of private corporations—the only way they could be held—when these assets will be turned over to Jewish bodies formed under the new law.

Nor have the Jewish communities established a formal national body, partly because they cherish their independence, partly because of old-time rivalries. There was, however, an informal federation bringing together heads of the different communities for discussion of mutual problems a few times a year.

One Jewish organization was recognized by the Spanish authorities as being national in scope. It was the *Asociación Hebrea de España*, whose statutes were approved on June 28, 1972, by the ministry of the interior, rather than—as was the case with religious associations falling under the 1967 law—by the ministry of justice. The declared purpose of the *Asociación* whose president was Max Mazin was similar to that of Jewish defense agencies in other lands, as contrasted with consistorial or religious Jewish activity: to strengthen the values and image of Judaism, and to promote Christian-Jewish amity.

The organization was formed as a result of a bitter fight that split the Madrid Jewish community for several years, leaving wounds not yet healed. The Mazin administration, which began in 1961, was one of considerable achievement in improving the status of Jews, actively working with government and Christian groups, and strengthening communal institutions, as through the construction of the synagogue-center. There was, however, internal opposition headed by vice president Joseph Lasry; points of conflict were the degree to which the community should be involved in Christian-Jewish relations, the running of the Jewish school, and the degree of centralization of communal activity. In February 1970, after heated discussions, Mazin and his council resigned, and Sam Bensadon became president of the community.

The next two years were marked by continuous dispute between the opposing factions, which was finally resolved in April 1972 when it was decided that a provisional administration, headed by Henri Mizrahi, would prepare new elections. A neutral administration—neither Mazin nor Bensadon ran—with Philippe Halioua as president and a United States resident of Madrid, Bertram Schader, as one vice president, was finally installed without opposition in April 1973. Still to be resolved were such issues as the relationships between the Asociación Hebrea and the rest of the Jewish community structure and the settlement of the disposition of communal properties held in the name of two companies, Bet Keneset and Bet Zion, in which former administration members like Mazin continued to have certain signatory rights.

Head of the Barcelona Jewish community was David Ventura, a prominent merchant who was responsible for the construction of the synagogue center in that city in 1954. Barcelona vice president Carlos Bennarosh was secretary of the informal federation of Jewish communities.

### *Jewish Education*

Jewish education was a primary concern for both Madrid and Barcelona. Roughly, 80 per cent of Jewish children of school age attended community day schools in those cities: 128 in Madrid and about 80 in Barcelona. New government regulations concerning school facilities will force the Madrid community shortly to find a new building for its school which presently rented its quarters. Construction of a new building was being considered.

### *Youth*

Active youth groups and Jewish center activities existed in both communities. Both had summer-camp facilities, and the Barcelona camp site in the hills north of the city was in the process of being substantially improved in the hope of establishing an international Jewish youth camp. There also were occasional group youth trips to Israel. An emissary from Israel and his wife worked with Barcelona youngsters.

Quite a few Jewish students from Morocco and about 25 from the United States were attending Spanish universities.

### *Religious Life*

The religious heads of the Madrid and Barcelona communities were Rabbis Baruch Garzon and Salomon Bensabat, respectively. Madrid now had a kosher restaurant, Sinai; but Palma, Majorca, could boast of having the

country's only kosher hotel, the De Mar, whose *kashrut* supervisor Alec Kesselman took the lead in organizing the local Jewish community.

### *Christian-Jewish Relations*

Jews living in Spain declared that, as individuals, they experienced no discrimination, that, indeed, they often met with positive interest. However, the pervasiveness and strength of Catholicism in Spanish life set obvious limits to integration. On the whole, improvement of the status of the Jewish community in 1967-68 was approved by the press and public.

Vatican Council II gave impetus to several efforts to further Christian-Jewish understanding and to combat traditional pejorative stereotypes of the Jew. This occurred primarily at the initiative of the Amistad Judeo Cristiana, which celebrated its 10th anniversary in November 1971 in ceremonies at Toledo and in the village of Hervas, where a street was named for the Amistad in what once had been the Jewish quarter.

In 1967 the Amistad, whose co-presidents were Father Vincente Serrano of the Madrid chancery and Max Mazin, had undertaken a study of the treatment of Jews and Judaism in Spanish school texts. It reported that 81 per cent of the books examined, and particularly the more modern ones, "contained nothing that could be criticized," and that it received considerable cooperation from publishers who were asked to remove objectionable material from other volumes. One important accomplishment was the deletion from a widely used Spanish primer of offensive text and illustration showing the kidnapping and crucifixion by Jews of a young medieval Spaniard, Domingo del Val. But Amistad met with failure when it requested the Spanish Bishops Committee on Ecumenism in May 1970 to abolish the cults of Domingo del Val, in the Madrid diocese, and of Nino de la Guardia venerated as the alleged victim of ritual murder in the Middle Ages, in the Toledo area.

Another major analysis of the treatment of Jews and other non-Catholic groups in Catholic religious textbooks used in Spain was made by leading sociologists under the auspices of the Sperry Center for Intergroup Cooperation at Pro Deo University in Rome. The findings were published in the volume *Religion and Prejudice* (Rome, 1967). The American Jewish Committee cooperated in both textbook study projects.

Amistad's normal activities, carried on in conjunction with the Sisters of Zion, included promotion of a better understanding of Judaism through dialogue; education (one course was taught by Rabbi Garzon), including a correspondence course, and publications. In recognition of this work, Cardinal Tarancon authorized in October 1972 the creation of a Center of Jewish-Christian Studies in Madrid.

### *Arab Propaganda*

Despite the government's unequivocal pro-Arab position in foreign affairs, which always was reflected in some newspapers, a considerable number of reports and commentaries were favorable to Israel, as was a good deal of popular sentiment. Many Arab students attended Spanish universities and 10,000 of them belonged to an association that has been active in propaganda, as has the Fatah office in Madrid. But the effectiveness of this propaganda was questionable. In January 1973 Madrid became a target of Black September terrorists who shot and killed Baruch Cohen, an Israeli agent, and announced to the world press, from Cairo, that they also had kidnapped Mazin, who, however, was vacationing in Israel at the time.

An Islamo-Christian Association, established in May 1968, has claimed in its monthly publication, *Alcor*, that it made a distinction between antisemitism and anti-Zionism, though it has printed virulent attacks on Zionism and on Israel. After a poll of Spanish university people, *Alcor* admitted, in its March 1973 issue, that nearly 80 per cent of the sample held negative stereotype images of Arabs, and that the majority were "indifferent" to them.

### *Antisemitism*

Overt antisemitism was rare during most of the period under review. It existed primarily on the extreme right and cropped up in an occasional article, or, as early in 1972, in the swastika daubings on the walls of the Madrid synagogue for which the Junta Espanola Traditionalista was responsible. When, in the spring of 1973, these grouplets became significantly more active on the political scene, Jewish community leaders showed concern.

Early in April the CEDADE, a small Barcelona group with ties to international neo-Nazi "New Order" movements, met in the cultural center of Madrid townhall to inaugurate a branch in that city, its members sporting brown and black shirts. At the end of the month, a gang calling itself Spanish National Socialist party ransacked the offices of a progressive Catholic review in Barcelona, painting swastikas on its wall. Right-wing extremists tried to break up a meeting of Catholic workers, chaired by an auxiliary bishop of Madrid.

In a rather spectacular episode, the editorial board of *Cruz Iberica*, revolvers in hand, openly robbed the Banco Atlantico in Madrid because it was owned by Opus Dei. The magazine has been published by a group of rightist extremists by the same name, which advocated the annexation of Portugal to form an Iberian entity; considered Opus Dei weak and feeble and strongly opposed the Church prelates and organizations for working with

labor and intellectuals. But *Cruz Iberica* has also turned to blatant antisemitism, denouncing "Judaism, Communism, capitalism and Freemasonry," and calling for the "extirpation of the Jewish Masonic press and the physical elimination of all its members," as well as for "special courts for Jews." Hard on the heels of the bank robbery, early in May, came the unauthorized street demonstration—an unusual occurrence in Spain—protesting the shooting of a Madrid policeman. Extremists prominently participated in the demonstration, together with Falange, police, and army representatives.

What was most troubling about these extremists was not their strength, but their apparent ties with influential power groups in Spain. However, none of the far-right groups, of which the most important was the Warriors of Christ King, were represented in the Carrero Blanco cabinet after the June government changes.

ABRAHAM S. KARLIKOW

# Italy

## Political Scene

AT THE BEGINNING of 1972 the left-center government coalition—Christian Democrats (DC), Socialist party (PSI), Social Democratic party (PSDI), and Republican party (PRI)—came to an end after ten years of disunity and little achievement in introducing social reforms, which was to have been its primary task and *raison d'être*.

The immediate cause for the rupture was the Socialists' ambiguous policy of "advanced equilibrium," of collaborating with the Communists in local governments and pushing through reforms in parliament against the wishes of the coalition partners. This policy had a paralyzing effect on the government, especially in the preceding three years.

Having in mind the disastrous results of the partial elections in 1971—when many Christian-Democrats voted for the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) because they feared that the policy of the Socialists might bring the Communists into power (AJYB, 1972 [Vol.73], p. 502)—the DC leadership realized that if the left-center government remained in power until the next scheduled parliamentary elections in 1973, this would strengthen the neo-fascists even more, most probably with disastrous results. DC therefore announced a new policy of centralism (*centralità*): the party would continue working with all free democratic forces, right and left of its central position, but would not regard as "irreversible" a possible coalition with any of them. As a result, Colombo resigned in January, and Giulio Andreotti, close collaborator and disciple of Alcide De Gasperi, formed a Christian Democrat government. As expected, it did not receive a vote of confidence in parliament. Both chambers were then dissolved by President Giovanni Leone, and the Christian Democrats thus achieved their first goal: new elections without the encumbrance of coalition partners.

In the general elections, which took place in May, 93.1 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls. Against heavy odds and contrary to most forecasts, DC held its position, obtaining 38.8 per cent of valid votes for parliament against 39.1 per cent in the previous general elections (May, 1968). It gained one seat in the Chamber of Deputies, with 267 out of 630 total, and retained its 135 seats, out of a 322 total, in the Senate.

The gains by Giorgio Almirante's Movimento Sociale Italiano were large, but not larger than generally anticipated. Merged with the Monarchists, it polled 8.7 per cent of the votes, against 5.8 per cent in 1968, and now had 56

deputies and 26 senators, compared to 30 and 13, respectively, for the two parties combined in the previous parliament.

The Communists more or less maintained their position, with 27.2 per cent of the votes, against 26.9 per cent in 1968, and 179 deputies, against 177. This meant, however, that they failed to absorb the votes lost by their satellite, the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP), which dwindled to 1.9 per cent from its previous 4.5 per cent, with a loss of the 23 seats it had held in the previous Chamber of Deputies. This reduced the representation of the extreme-left opposition in the lower house from 200 to 179. For the Senate, the Italian Communist party and the PSIUP had put up a common list that received 28.4 per cent of the vote, against 30.0 in 1968, and 91 senatorial seats (including 11 PSIUP), against the previous 101. PSIUP dissolved soon thereafter, and most of its leaders joined the Communist party. A few of them rejoined the Socialist party from which they had split in 1964; a splinter group endeavored to keep PSIUP alive.

The Socialists and Social Democrats, who had formed one party in 1966, were heavily defeated in the 1968 elections with extremely bad consequences for the left-center, recuperated their losses in the 1970 regional elections. Running again as separate parties, the Socialists polled 10.3 per cent and the Social Democrats 6.8 per cent of total votes cast, raising their hopes for the 1972 elections. However, they polled even fewer votes than in 1968: 9.6 and 5.1 per cent, respectively, though their representation in parliament remained almost the same: 61 and 29 deputies, against a combined 91 in the past legislature; 33 and 11 senators, against the former 46.

The Liberals were badly defeated. They received 3.9 per cent of the total vote, compared to 5.8 per cent in 1968, giving them 20 deputies, compared to 31, and eight senators, compared to 16 in the previous parliament.

Clear winners again were the Republicans, obtaining 2.9 per cent of the vote, against 2 per cent in 1968; 14 deputies, against the previous nine, and five senators, against the previous two.

Apart from the 1.9 per cent (650,000) PSIUP voters, another 1.4 per cent (450,000) votes were cast for various leftist splinter groups—among them the PCI dissidents of the “Manifesto”—which, like PSIUP, obtained no parliamentary representation (they did not run for the Senate), but constituted “a voting reserve” for the Communists and Socialists. Here the voting behavior of the youngest group of the electorate was noteworthy. Since the voting age for the lower house was 21 and for the Senate 25, the 21-to-25-year-olds could easily be isolated. It was found that half of them voted DC and 40 per cent PCI. The question then was whether they would diversify their political choices as they grew older, or whether Italy indeed was destined to become a “red-black Conciliar Republic,” one with a cleric-Communist division of power (AJYB, 1971 [Vol.72], p. 365).

As planned, Andreotti formed a center government of Christian Democrats,

Social Democrats, and Liberals (PLI), with the "external" support of the Republican party. Thus, after ten years, the Liberals left the opposition seats. Though reduced in ranks, they were essential for the life of the new coalition; but it was clear from the outset that they would be ousted again if and when circumstances required.

While the new government had the advantage of greater unity of opinion and intent than any left-center government, its scant majority (30 in the Chamber of Deputies and nine in the Senate) seriously limited its freedom of action. This was all the more so since the Christian-Democratic leftists did not participate in the government and frequently broke party discipline in secret balloting. As a result, Andreotti had to withdraw several important draft bills, and this undermined his government's prestige. Equally damaging were all too frequent references by other DC party leaders to the coalition's provisional character. They feared the Socialists, if they remained in the opposition for long, might be pushed into a new "popular front." Recent developments in France seemed to justify such fears.

Despite these problems, the government succeeded, in the short time it was in power, in enacting an improved form of the great tax reform as well as amendments modernizing the penal code (conscientious objection, custody regulations). At year's end, an impressive number of bills dealing with loans to small industries, narcotics, housing-law revision and school, university, and sanitary reform were either ready for introduction or in the process of formulation.

In November local elections were held in some parts of the country, with about 7 per cent of the total electorate voting. If the results were a yardstick for national tendencies, the neo-fascists seemed to have lost their impact, receiving about one-fifth fewer votes than in the same districts in the May general elections. Either many former DC voters, satisfied that the left-center coalition had been replaced, returned to their party, or the loss reflected opposition to the rising extreme-rightist violence (MSI leader Almirante publicly denied there was such violence) because that obviously was not what voters had understood the MSI "Law and Order" election slogan to mean.

PCI lost about one-tenth of its voter support, which was contrary to expectations in view of the "reserve of leftist voters" in the PSIUP. It appears that the Socialists profited from this reserve, since their total vote increased by one-third, from 9.1 to 12.1 per cent.

The Social Democrats and Republicans also showed marked gains, while DC and PLI suffered slight setbacks. As a whole, the government bloc appeared to be strengthened, but with a shift in favor of the lay parties. The democratic sector (i.e. government coalition plus the Socialists) rose to 61.2 per cent, but this was only of theoretical value as long as the Socialists insisted on their type of collaboration with the Communists, a policy they reiterated at their party congress held in Genoa in November. One hopeful

sign at Genoa was that Francesco De Martino, who was chosen to succeed Giovanni Mancini as party secretary, formed a new majority faction with the moderate Pietro Nenni. De Martino expressed a certain readiness to form a new left-center government.

### *Economy*

In the meantime stagnation and inflation plagued the economy. Production costs rose as a result of incessant demands for higher wages, strikes, and the widespread absenteeism of workers. This together with the uncertain political situation, greatly curtailed new private investment for which government investment could not compensate. Many plants were sold either to government holding companies or to foreign competitors, who often only intended to close the plants. Monetary problems arose from the government's refusal to adopt anti-inflationary measures introduced by its Common Market partners, which, it feared, could lead to greater stagnation.

Underemployment became more frequent, and unemployment was rising, especially among the young. Andreotti knew that only cooperation between trade unions and employers could remedy the situation, but his attempts in this direction had little success. One reason for this was the situation in the trade unions. The merger of the three national unions (CGIL, CISL, UIL) planned for September failed because CISL and UIL suspected that the Communists would try to win control over a unified trade union. Social strife marked the end of the year as five million workers were still waiting for new contracts.

### *Foreign Policy*

In Andreotti's government difficult internal problems pushed foreign policy into the background. Senator Giuseppe Medici succeeded Aldo Moro as foreign minister.

Great Britain's entry into the Common Market (together with Ireland and Denmark), which Italy had advocated for a decade, shifted the focal point in the community to the North, however. To counterbalance this situation, closer links were established between Rome and Paris during Georges Pompidou's visit to Italy in July. Stronger Italian influence was felt at the Summit Conference in Paris in October, as well as at the important but thus far fruitless negotiations for a new international monetary system. Andreotti went to Moscow for talks on long-term Italian credit in kind. PCI was obviously "not amused" at Leonid I. Brezhnev's cordial reception of the "reactionary" prime minister.

For the Mediterranean area, Moro had already launched the idea of a conference for security and cooperation which had the sympathy and support

of other European countries, such as Austria and Finland. However, since the plan was predicated on a Middle East settlement, it was only of theoretical value at this point.

Public opinion was critical of Italy's wooing of Libyan Premier Muammar al-Qaddafi, which ended in a crude-oil agreement most favorable to Libya. Qaddafi repaid with verbal abuse, the continued expulsions of Italians, and the seizure of their property.

In the Middle East, Italy's principal aim was the reopening of the Suez Canal at the earliest possible moment. Insistence on a policy of good relations with both antagonists in the area, or of "evenhandedness," must be seen in this context.

### *The Vatican*

Pope Paul resolutely pursued his version of *Ostpolitik*. In June 1972—not more than 25 years after Pius XII had ordered the excommunication of Communist leaders and many priests had refused absolution to Communist voters—Pope Paul VI, acceding to a long-standing request by Warsaw, appointed six Polish bishops in the former German regions of Oder-Neisse and East Prussia. He had promised to take this decisive step as soon as Bonn-Warsaw relations became normalized. In the fall the newly appointed bishops, together with Cardinals Stefan Wyszynski of Warsaw and Karol Wojtyla of Cracow, spent many weeks in Rome discussing strategy for future negotiations with the Polish government, mainly with regard to freedom of religious (Catholic) teaching. The ultimate aim was the normalization of relations between the Vatican and Poland, which had remained strained since World War II.

In November contact was established with a representative of the German Democratic Republic, and it appeared that talks would lead to diplomatic relations, the first with a Warsaw Pact country. Negotiations with Czechoslovakia made progress, and at year's end it seemed likely that the Holy See would succeed in nominating bishops for the Czech dioceses. The *modus vivendi* with Hungary, agreed upon after Cardinal Mindszenty's departure from his refuge in the American legation in Budapest, was functioning; but not much progress was made on the many pending questions.

There were also signs of a detente with Soviet Russia. Jan Cardinal Willebrands, president of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, attended the funeral of Moscow Patriarch Alexius and the installation of his successor Pinem. The cardinal was received by high officials of the religious affairs department in the Kremlin. He again went to the Soviet Union to pay a return visit, at Erevan, the head of the Independent Orthodox Church of Armenia Patriarch Vasken Catholicus II, who had come to see Pope Paul the year before. The Pope was able to appoint two bishops in Baltic dioceses as

apostolic delegates and to consecrate them in Rome, obviously with the consent of the Soviet authorities.

Monsignor Giovanni Cheli, consultant to the Church's Council for Public Affairs, visited the People's Republic of China, where he met with local authorities. In line with this development, the Papal pro-Nuntius in Taiwan, who had returned to Rome for a short stay, did not go back to his post. Vietcong Foreign Minister Madam Binh was received at the Vatican by Monsignor Agostino Casaroli, the Council's secretary.

A discordant note in this Vatican policy was sounded by the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic (uniate) bishops, who reproached the Vatican for having abandoned them to the Russian Orthodox Church. The Vatican did not react; nor did it authorize them to convene a synod.

Tensions developed with Spain. Generalissimo Francisco Franco insisted that he retain, at least provisionally, the right to have a voice in the nomination of bishops, of which the Spanish Church sought to deprive him in line with the Ecumenical Council's recommendations. The Church took a stand against Franco in many other issues, though he threatened to retaliate by cutting government subsidies it received. Even the sizable conservative wing of the Spanish bishops felt that, as the Franco regime was coming to an end, their continued identification with it would do irreparable harm to the Church in the post-Franco period. Negotiations regarding a revision of the Concordat made no progress.

In Italy, the divorce question continued to be a stumbling block impeding here, too, the start of talks for a revision of the Concordat.

#### RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND THE JEWS

On a visit to Israel in January, Vatican Deputy Secretary of State Monsignor Giovanni Benelli was in touch with Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir and Justice Minister Yaakov Shapiro, as well as Jerusalem's mayor Teddy Kollek. Before the Monsignor's arrival the Israeli government stepped in to resolve a problem which had arisen when the Vatican bitterly opposed the sale by the Assumptionist Fathers of the Notre Dame de France convent, to Hadassah. The government cancelled the sale as a "gift to the guest," a move that was greatly appreciated by the Holy See. The very influential Monsignor Benelli gave the Pope a favorable report on Israel's policy regarding the Holy Places.

In February Chaim Herzog, publisher of the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, was granted an audience by the Pope and presented him with a set of the *Encyclopedia*.

Efforts for Christian-Jewish dialogue continued on the level and the initiative of single institutions, such as the International Service for Jewish-Christian Documentation (SIDIC) in Rome. SIDIC's new director was

the Reverend Cornelius Rijk, the Dutch priest who had resigned from his former post in the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity.

Dr. Augusto Segre, head of the cultural department of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, conducted a lecture course for a group of about 30 students at the Pontifical Lateran University in 1972–73 on “Post-biblical Judaism as continuation and evolution of classical Judaism; problems and meanings.” When he introduced the course, the university’s dean, Monsignor Vladimir Boublik, made the following remark: “This is the first time a Jewish professor occupies a chair at this university. This marks the hope that the future will be better than the past.”

During the year, Dr. Joseph L. Lichten, Rome consultant of the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, lectured at the North American College Seminary in Rome on “The American Jewish Community” and “Catholic-Jewish Relations, Past and Present.”

## JEWISH COMMUNITY

### *Antisemitism*

On the fertile soil of political and economic unrest a threatening wave of antisemitism from various sources was taking shape during the year.

#### EXTREME RIGHT

Desecrations of ancient cemeteries and synagogues, swastika daubings, and menacing letters were mostly the deeds of extreme-rightist groups, or were loudly applauded by them. In April the interior of the rarely used 18th-century Gorizia synagogue was vandalized by four teenagers allegedly having no political affiliations. After the incident, however, Gorizia Jews received many menacing, abusive letters signed by extreme-rightist groups. In June a Molotov bomb was hurled against the gate of the Trieste synagogue, and in September a similar assault occurred in Padua. Swastikas appeared in Rome, Milan, Ferrara, Perugia, Turin, and Genoa, and Jewish citizens received threatening letters.

More dangerous were the publication and the intensified distribution of antisemitic trash—from Gobineau and Henry Ford to Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* (the latest “edition” was serialized in a pornographic periodical) and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (two editions in December 1971), with high preference given to the racist philosophies of a certain prolific Julius Evola. Very active were the Edizioni AR (AR standing for the “etymological roots” of the sacred word “Aryan”) and the “Ezzelino” library (with countrywide distribution of catalogues), both in Padua.

The way of life, the mode of fighting, and the abusive language of the

1,000 to 1,500 rightist extremists were reminiscent of Nazi racism. They were particularly active in the northeastern part of Italy, near the Yugoslav and Austrian borders, which has always been a stronghold of rightist nationalists. Most of them had once belonged to MSI, which they either left because they considered it too weak, or from which they were expelled because they "lacked political discipline." But some of them continued to maintain some sort of secret links with their mother party. On several occasions they organized meetings in Italy with their political counterparts from other European countries.

Three leaders of the group, Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura of Padua and Pino Rauti of Rome, were arrested at the beginning of 1972 on charges of responsibility for a series of terrorist bomb assaults in 1969 which culminated in the dynamiting of a Milan bank in which 16 were killed and 70 wounded. They were also charged with antisemitic activities, propagating and glorifying Nazi and fascist ideology and writings, and particularly with calling the Nazi extermination camps a Jewish invention. During the questioning Freda admitted that he had delivered to an Algerian secret agent electronic time fuses, which were to be used "in the struggle of the Palestinians for liberation from Zionist genocide." After the Munich massacre, Padua Jews received threatening letters signed "Friends of Freda."

Rauti had been released provisionally even before his election as deputy in May 1972 gave him parliamentary immunity. He ran on the MSI slate and received an astonishingly large number of write-in votes. Rauti was the founder of the Ordine Nuovo (New Order) movement in Italy, but returned to MSI in 1969. As a member of parliament he might, for the time being, even become more moderate, but potentially he remained an antisemite.

Giorgio Almirante insisted again, in an interview with a *Kol Yisrael* correspondent in December, that MSI was not antisemitic; that Mussolini's anti-Jewish laws had been a blunder. He added that he was preparing an official declaration to this effect for the forthcoming party congress. He also gave assurance that antisemites would be expelled from MSI.

Other rightist and notoriously antisemitic groups thus far not suspected of violence were the Friends of the Forces (Associazione degli Amici delle Forze Armate), founded and led by Gino Ragno and believed to tend toward Nazi ideology, and the Committee for the Defense of Christian Civilization (Comitato per la Difesa della Civiltà Cristiana), which was headed by Franco Antico of clerical-antisemitic fame and for which Ragno was raising funds. Ragno maintained contacts with the rich Moslem community in Rome, but also with the leftist Committee for Palestine and with circles representing Arab oil interests in Italy. Through them promises were being filtered to the Italian press and the public that after Israel's defeat Arab countries would definitely disengage from Soviet influence and help make the Mediterranean a "Communist-clean" sea.

The traditional religious anti-Jewish feeling of ultra-conservative Catholic

circles has been reinforced since 1967. Here, too, Arab influence has been considerable, through both the Near East clergy and the Arab diplomatic representations at the Holy See. However, after the last rash of anti-Israel activity in 1971 that culminated in the accusation of "Judaization" of Jerusalem and of alleged "massacres" in the city (AJYB, 1972 [Vol.73], p. 508), these circles have quieted down for now. The same was true of "protesting" Catholic groups close to the New Left and hostile to Jews and Israel. The renowned historian Renzo de Felice said in an interview that there were many contacts and connections, as well as collaboration, between Communist political anti-Zionism and Catholic religious anti-Zionism (*Panorama*, November 1972).

#### COMMUNISTS

Much more threatening has been the onslaught from the political Left, since PCI was the strongest Communist party in the Western world. It maintained, of course, that it opposed only Israel's aggressive policy and not the Jews. When some newspapers asserted in October that the party was ousting its Jewish leaders, the Communist press reacted violently with personal invectives.

Communist Senator Umberto Terracini—the only Jewish Communist leader who was registered with the Jewish community—also denied these press reports in an interview with the independent Turin *La Stampa*. But he admitted that attacks in the Italian Communist press indeed made no distinction between Zionism and Jews. Terracini admitted, too, that antisemitism existed in Soviet Russia. He sharply denounced as "a heap of idiocies and moldy quotations" a viciously anti-Jewish and anti-Israel article by Nikolai Rebrov, which first appeared in the official French language bulletin of the Soviet embassy in Paris (p. 398), and in November in the Italian edition of the *Novosti* news agency. Terracini ridiculed Rebrov's thesis of the "progressive, socialist, anti-imperialistic Arab states," which in fact ruthlessly repressed Communism, and the blunder of Communist propaganda, which sees nothing but capitalist and colonialist forces in Israel. Later it became known that Terracini had asked the PCI leadership to disavow publicly the *Novosti* article. The Communist party paper *Unità* reacted only a month later when it printed a parenthetical statement without reference to Rebrov: "We refute the sensation created around a Soviet news agency article of which we resolutely disapprove and which, indeed, we would have preferred not to read."

Partly under orders from Moscow and partly to buttress its own plans for an Italian "red" expansion in the Mediterranean area, all organizations of PCI fully stood behind the Arabs in Italy. Arab student demonstrations, fund raising and pamphlet distribution were actively supported. Every occurrence and every crisis related to the Middle East was a signal for the party to

hammer at public opinion. (From the pages of *Unità* originated the monstrous affirmation—later taken over by the East European press—that Israel itself plotted the Munich massacre in an attempt to discredit the Arabs.)

That such propaganda had an effect, even on Jews, was shown in an article on Munich and its aftermath by the usually apolitical writer Natalia Ginzburg, who defended the “poor Arab peasants and shepherds oppressed by culture, money, or arms,” and more in the same vein. The PCI press lauded these outpourings of an uninformed aesthete as a top political and historical treatise.

As for the Communists’ own anti-Zionist propaganda, Maria Tosi’s *Anatomia di Israele* (“Anatomy of Israel”), to be published shortly, was a venomous distortion of facts. In the huge *Il Marxismo e la questione ebraica* (“Marxism and the Jewish Question”) by Massimo Massara (Edizioni Calendario) all statements critical of the concept of a Jewish nation by Communist leaders, from Marx and Engels to Lenin and Stalin, were carefully selected and expurgated to prove the absurdity of that national concept alone among the many existing nationalistic movements in the world. For activists with little time for reading, a handy abstract was printed simultaneously.

#### ARABS

All these antagonistic movements and parties, which have been engaged in bitter fighting among themselves and which normally avoided common or parallel action for reasons of political strategy, have been drawing closer to each other and even cooperating on questions relating to the Jews and Zionism. The real cause of this absurd camaraderie-in-arms, aside from innate, irrational, often subconscious antisemitism, must be sought in a common driving force—the generosity of the Arabs. Within a few years, for example, three almost identical anthologies of Arab poetry have been published under different titles and apparently by different publishers: *Versi di fuoco e di sangue: Poeti Arabi della Resistenza* (“Verses of Fire and Blood: Arab Resistance Poets”), in Rome in 1969 by the Centro EAST, a racist, expansionist movement; *Poesie e canti della resistenza Palestinese* (“Poems and Songs of the Palestinian Resistance”) in 1972 by the new-left Movimento Studentesco (Students’ Movement)\* of Milan University, and *Il nemico dell’uomo* (“The Foe of Mankind”), in 1971 by Edizioni AR. It is legitimate to assume that the publications were only vehicles for financial support: Italy’s need for Arab poetry could hardly have been pressing enough to warrant three editions.

\*In January members of the group beat up an Israeli student so badly that he had to be hospitalized. An Italian Jewish student was similarly assaulted the following day, when he tried to post a statement by FGEI (Jewish Youth Federation of Italy) protesting the attack on the bulletin board of his high school.

Of course, the Arab organizations were also engaged in independent action, which became more frequent in 1972. It was in Rome that the three Japanese terrorists received instructions and arms for the Lod airport assault (p. 499). Here, too, the unsuccessful "cassette-player" bombing attempt against an El Al plane was organized. In Trieste, Black September terrorists set fire to oil refinery tanks. Shortly after the Munich murder, the Rome branch of United HIAS received a letter-bomb.

The public has been exposed to a steady flow of pro-Arab propaganda predicated on the real damage to Italy's economy by the closure of the Suez Canal and on the not so real threat of possible Arab action to cut off oil supplies to Italy. The blame was put on Israel, and the animosity thus created often was automatically transferred to Jews generally.

#### PUBLIC REACTION

It has been nevertheless asserted that Italian public opinion, or at least the "silent majority," was friendly toward Israel and immune to the antisemitic virus. Although no public opinion polls have been conducted, this evaluation could be accepted, but with two reservations: first, that under present circumstances "silence" was counterproductive and, second, that pro-Jewish sympathy has been subsiding.

The leaders of the free democratic parties made assurances of their continued pro-Israel stand and their absolute rejection of antisemitism. This certainly was so, but there also was a still unexplained incident of antisemitic intolerance in a Socialist youth group in Milan.

Elsewhere, in the January-February 1972 issue of *Raid*, the publication of the Catholic Boy Scouts Association, an outright attack on the Jews was printed—"by error," as explained later. After the Munich massacre, *Ali*, publication of the Christian Union of Girls, member organization of the National Council of Italian Women, carried an article from which we need quote only one single phrase: "Israel after having murdered its hostages. . . ." A protest by ADEI-WIZO, also a member organization of the National Council, brought assurances by the Council's president of her continued friendship for Israel.

Representations by the Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane (Union of Italian Jewish Communities) to Prime Minister Andreotti moved him to make a forceful campaign speech condemning antisemitism in Milan in September. On the other hand, Minister of the Interior Mariano Rumor, though a friend of the Jews, minimized the antisemitic incidents, against all evidence, in a reply to a parliamentary interpellation in October.

Objective observers must admit that anti-Jewish and anti-Israel sentiment was rising, although it was difficult to establish its actual strength. It was related to the critical economic and political conditions in Italy, a situation

making for much anxiety when seen in light of events between the two world wars. There has been more and more talk about Jews in public places. The theme was old: Jews are everywhere—in commerce, big industry, finance; in government and the ministries; in the film industry. Hence there was rising unemployment, especially among the young graduates, hence the “ruinous competition in trade,” and so on.

The suspicion was that direction was in expert hands, for not even the onslaught of official fascist propaganda of Mussolini’s time had succeeded in foisting antisemitism on the Italian public. Even now, many Jews and non-Jews believed that Italy was not fertile soil for antisemitism; that the rising wave must break sooner or later. Therefore, many Jews continued to look upon the reaction of Jewish leaders as exaggerated and as dangerous because suspicion and hostility among Jews toward their environment might breed new suspicions and hostility toward them. However, most Jewish leaders felt it was their responsibility and duty to sound a warning, and the Assembly of Italian Rabbis, meeting in November, decided “to call the attention of the Jewish and non-Jewish public to the phenomenon of neo-antisemitism which was spreading to a disquieting degree.” Defense against antisemitism has thus become the main, often the sole, topic at meetings of Jewish organizations and a good part of their activities. Dissenting voices warning of possible exaggerations continued to be heard.

### *Communal Activities*

The board of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities decided to take upon itself the formulation of a plan for a university-level Institute of Higher Jewish Studies for both rabbinical and other students when the special committee appointed for this task (AJYB, 1971 [Vol.72], p. 509) failed to submit a report. In the meantime both the Italian Rabbinical College in Rome and the rabbinical school in Turin were to continue on the present basis.

The cultural department of the Union and the state-owned RAI television network worked out details of a weekly 15-minute program scheduled for 1973, dealing with Judaism and the Italian Jewish community. The Union representative on the program’s editorial committee was Dr. Augusto Segre; coordinator was Dani Toaff, son of Rome’s Chief Rabbi.

At least once a week, the independent Rome daily *Il Globo*, which was growing in importance, carried a column of Jewish community news under the heading, “Portico d’Ottavia” (a gate in ancient Rome; what remained of the structure marked the border of the old Rome ghetto and was now an archeological landmark in the city’s Jewish quarter). The column created much interest, for it was unprecedented in Italian journalism.

A seminar attended by teachers of Jewish schools and experts in education was held in Milan in April. The participants discussed tuition policy and exchanged teaching experiences.

The Centro Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (CDEC; Jewish Documentation Center) in Milan collected documents to be used as evidence in the Berlin trial of Friedrich Bosshammer, SS *Sturmbannführer* and head of Eichmann's infamous "Amt IV A4b" in Nazi-occupied Verona in 1943–45. It screened state archives in 16 provinces and submitted over 200 testimonials proving the defendant's personal responsibility for the deportation of Italian Jews to the death camps (p. 459). Throughout the year, CDEC also aided the fight against antisemitism by collecting relevant documentation.

### *Youth Activities*

The main youth event of the year was a four-day convention held by the World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS) in May in Venice under the auspices of the Federazione Giovanile Ebraica d'Italia (FGEI; Jewish Youth Federation of Italy). Guest speakers from Israel and France concentrated on social problems in Israel and on evolution in the Arab world. Participants in the lively, often heated, debate expressed the obligatory criticism of the "establishment" in Israel and its alleged failure to enlist the cooperation of Israeli youth. Eric Rouleau, Cairo correspondent of the Paris *Le Monde* and known for his anti-Israeli stand, lectured on student agitation in Egypt. His unexpected conclusion was: "Israel is a reality, which Arabs have not only to accept but also to appreciate and to study."

Apart from the traditional annual congress in Florence, FGEI organized the usual seminars as part of summer and winter camps. Similar study groups were sponsored by Hashomer Hatzair and Bnei Akiva. From a survey of local youth groups conducted by FGEI it appeared that the only active one was Kadimah in Rome. But here, too, sharp differences were found among the different political factions, as well as between Libyan newcomers and Romans. In an effort to eliminate friction autonomous groups were created within Kadimah, so far with good results.

A sector of Jewish youth continued to be torn between an allegiance to "progressive" or new-left ideas—both decisively anti-Israel—and its Jewish, Zionist feelings. Data collected by CDEC showed that criticism of Israeli policy was rising in the youth groups.

### *Cultural Activities and Publications*

The *Ha-galil Ha-ma'aravi* (Western Galilee) folk ballet group won the first prize at the International Festival of Folklore Groups in Agrigento, Sicily. It later performed in a number of cities, including Rome and Florence, with much success.

The works in bronze by the Israeli sculptor Gidon Graetz, exhibited in Florence in March, were widely praised.

A number of books on Jewish subjects were published in 1972. *La*

*persecuzione anti-ebraica a Trieste, 1938-1945* ("Anti-Jewish Persecutions in Trieste"; Del Bianco, Udine), a doctoral dissertation by Silvia Gherardi Bon, sponsored by the Regional Institute for the History of the Liberation Movement, is a valuable contribution to the history of the persecution of Jews. Filippo Bonanno's *Epilogo di un genocidio: Un Romanzo* ("Epilogue of a Genocide: A Novel"; Gastaldi, Milan), though a novel, is largely a description of the October 1943 Nazi deportation of Rome's Jews and their tragic end in the death camps. The epilogue, a love story, depicts the reconstruction of Jewish life in Israel after the Holocaust.

A rather unusual occurrence was the publication of a textbook on Jewish affairs for students in Jewish and non-Jewish high schools—*Israele: Lo stato problema* ("Israel, the Problem State"; La Scuola, Brescia), by Ardizzone Ebe and Rocco de Leon Picca. It is an objective presentation of Zionism, Israel, and the Middle East conflict. Fulvio Tomizza's *La città di Miriam* ("Miriam's City"; Mondadori, Verona), a novel about an intermarried couple in Trieste, deals not only with their problem, but gives an interesting account also of life in the Trieste Jewish community through decades, as experienced by the non-Jewish marriage partner through the eyes of the non-Jewish author.

The Jewish writer Lina Moro published her third volume of poems, *Intorno alla luce* ("Around the Light"; Il Fauno, Florence), which received good reviews. Sam Waagenaar's *Il Ghetto sul Tevere* ("The Ghetto on the Tiber"; Mondadori, Verona) is a well-documented history of the Jews of Rome, from their first settlement before the Christian era to the post-war period. The chapters dealing with the failure of Pope Pius XII to intervene openly on behalf of the Jews during the Nazi occupation, which present some new aspects and information, were widely discussed in the press and elsewhere.

Among notable translations of books by foreign authors were Jacob Tsur, *La rivolta ebraica* ("La revolte Juive"; Barulli, Rome) and Dominique Lapierre and Larry Collins, *Gerusalemme* ("O Jerusalem!"; Mondadori, Milan).

### Personalia

Ester Ascarelli, founder of the Rome occupational high school for girls which was later taken over by the Italian ORT; long-time worker for communal institutions, died in Rome on January 9, at the age of 95. Count Adolfo Corinaldi, for 40 years counselor to the Padua Jewish community and its president since 1967, died in Padua on March 1, at the age of 74. Giuseppe Fano, the philanthropist who had helped thousands of Jews escape to Palestine through the port of Trieste, died in that city on April 1, at the age of 91. Irma Stock, organizer of the first summer camp in Trieste for undernourished Jewish children from Vienna after World War I; head of a

volunteer women's group aiding Central European emigrants between the two world wars, died in Trieste on April 18, at the age of 88. Eugenia Segrè, co-founder with Dante Lattes of the first Zionist group in Rome; for half a century a leader of the Genoa Jewish community, died in Genoa on May 5, at the age of 76. Alice Toaff, descendant of an old Piedmont family and mother of Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff of Rome, died in Leghorn on July 13, at the age of 93. Fabio Tedeschi, architect, founder of the Portico d'Ottavio Jewish literary prize, died in Rome on August 17, at the age of 43. Salvatore Luzzati, former representative in Piedmont of DELASEM (Delegazione Assistenza Emigranti), a World War II refugee-aid organization active in refugee relief work after the liberation of Rome, died in Rome on October 6, at the age of 69. Amalia Artom, principal of a Turin government high school which bore the name of her son Emanuele who was killed in the Italian resistance, died in Turin on October 8, at the age of 82. Laura Padoa, reputed to have been one of the best Italian painters, active supporter of the Zionist movement, died in Venice on October 28, at the age of 65.

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